Roman Households:
Space, Status and Identity

Meredith Leigh Wiggins
University of London

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

DECLARATION:
I, Meredith Leigh Wiggins, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

ABSTRACT:

This thesis seeks to contextualize detailed studies of a number of domestic sites from the Later Iron Age through the entirety of the Roman period within the broader pattern of rural settlement in the modern counties of Oxfordshire, Sussex and Yorkshire. The primary aim is to examine the record of diverse rural settlements for evidence revealing the dynamics of cultural change in such areas. A secondary aim is to illustrate that, although large bodies of work incorporating general data can show sweeping trends, adding to this a more thorough investigation on a site-by-site basis can further illuminate materialities of practice in the past, leading to new ways of considering social interaction and local perspectives. In this way, comparing data at different scales of resolution can fill gaps in knowledge and lead us to a better understanding of group identity and social change.

This study is primarily concerned with domestic occupation in a rural context, though of course in such a context agricultural activities (which in some cases are 'invisible' in the archaeological record) feature strongly among the daily routines which structure the record. Nonetheless, the complexity and multi-dimensionality of both domestic and other everyday activities can be revealed through detailed material studies couched within the interpretive framework of practice-theory. The different scales of research utilized in this thesis range from unpublished site reports to broad regional compendia, and each level of specification has a role in furnishing exploration of the dynamic role of different types of material culture, use of space, and daily practice. Exploiting evidence from rural sites to its full potential, the in-depth comparison of sites within and between different regions offered in this thesis furnishes a novel range of perspectives on the construction and maintenance of local and regional social identities, both prior to and throughout the Roman period.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Roman Households: Space, Status and Identity

Volume I

Title Page 1
Declaration 2
Abstract 3
Table of Contents 4
List of Figures 10
Acknowledgements 19

Chapter 1: Roman Households 20

1.1 Introduction 20
1.2 The Roman House: Research Context 24
1.3 The Roman House and Society 28
1.4 The Roman House and Identity 30
1.5 The Roman House and the Family 33
1.6 New Approaches to Rural Society 35
1.7 Using 'Things': Continuity of Practice and Interaction in Social Spaces 37
1.8 Aims and Objectives 41

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background 43

2.1 Introduction 43
2.2 Changing Interpretations of Material Culture in Archaeology 46
2.3 Identity and Theory 48
2.4 Ethnic Identity 54
2.5 Style, Practice and Materiality in Identity Construction 58
2.6 Conclusion 64

Chapter 3: Methods 68

3.1 Identity in the Roman Period 68
3.1.1. Romanisation, 'Tribe' and Identity 69
3.1.2. Invasion, Boundaries and the negotiation of group Identity 76
3.1.3. Understanding Identities in the Romano-British Household 81
3.1.4. Household Archaeologies, Household Identities 83

3.2 Understanding the 'Cultural System': Disparate Identities in Practice 87
3.2.1. Status, Economic Position and Class 87
3.2.2. 'Roman' Identity and Military Identity 89
3.2.3. Ethnicity, 'Group' or 'British' Identity 91
3.2.4. Other Identities 92

3.3 Space, Status and Identity: Material Approaches **95**
3.3.1. Practical Considerations Part 1: Gathering Site Data **95**
3.3.2. Creating a Holistic Method **102**
3.3.3. From functional groupings of small finds to identities **106**
3.3.4 Practical Considerations Part 2: Gathering Artefact Data **108**
3.3.5. The Importance of Spaces **112**
3.3.6. Settlements and Landscapes **116**

3.4 Challenges **118**
3.4.1. Site Reports: a representative sample? **118**
3.4.2. Chronological Challenges **119**
3.4.3. Spatial Challenges: Excavators' prerogative **120**
3.4.4. Unequal Representation, Site Reports and Scalar Challenges **121**
3.4.5. Site Formation Processes **122**

3.5 An Archaeology of Rural Farmsteads **128**
3.6 Conclusion **131**

Chapter 4: Regional Data, Oxfordshire **134**

4.1 Introduction to Oxfordshire **134**
4.1.1. Geology, Topography, Patterns of Settlement **135**

4.2 Oxfordshire Through Time **137**
4.2.1. Iron Age **137**
4.2.2. Invasion **143**
4.2.3. The Roman Period: Continuity and Change **145**
a. Industry and Craft **148**
b. Road Networks and Trade **149**
c. Metalworking **150**
d. Stone **150**
e. Pottery **151**
4.2.4. Borders and Boundaries **152**
4.2.5. Region-Specific Biases **154**
4.2.6. Sites in Context **155**

4.3 Discussion of data from Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley **156**
4.3.1. Rural Matters **156**
4.3.2. Ceramic Activities and Household Matters **159**
4.3.3. Industry in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley **160**
4.3.4. A Note on Ritual Activity: Oxfordshire **161**

4.4 Rural activity in Oxfordshire through time **162**
4.4.1. Summary **167**

Chapter 5: Regional Data, Sussex **169**

5.1 Introduction to Sussex **169**
5.1.1. Geology, Topography, Patterns of Settlement **170**

5.2 Sussex Through Time **171**
5.2.1. Iron Age **171**
5.2.2. Invasion **173**
5.2.3. The Roman Period: Continuity and Change **175**
a. Villas and Rural Settlement **177**
b. Industry and Craft **178**
c. Metalworking **179**
d. Road Networks and Trade **180**
e. Pottery **182**
5.2.4. Region-Specific Biases **184**
5.2.5. Sites in Context **186**

5.3 Discussion of Data from Sussex **187**
5.3.1. Rural Matters **187**
5.3.2. Ceramic Patterns and Household Activities **191**
5.3.3. Industry in Sussex **192**
5.3.4. A Note on Ritual Activity: Sussex **194**

5.4 Rural activity in Sussex through time **195**
5.4.1. Summary **199**

Chapter 6: Regional Data, Yorkshire Region **201**

6.1 Introduction to Yorkshire **201**
6.1.1. Geology, Topography, Patterns of Settlement **203**

6.2 The Yorkshire Region through Time **205**
6.2.1. Iron Age **205**
6.2.2. Invasion **208**
6.2.3. The Roman Period: Continuity and Change **209**
a. Forestry **213**
b. Pottery **215**
c. Stone **215**
d. Metalworking **217**
e. Glass **217**
6.2.4. Region-Specific Biases **218**
6.2.5. Sites in Context **220**

6.3 Discussion of Data from the Yorkshire Region **221**
6.3.1. Rural Matters **222**
6.3.2. Ceramic Patterns and Household Activity **226**
6.3.3. Industry in Yorkshire **228**
6.3.4. A note on Ritual Activity: Yorkshire **230**

6.4 Rural Activity in Yorkshire through time **230**
6.4.1. Summary **235**

Chapter 7: Microscale Analysis 236

7.1 Introduction: Resolution on the site level 236

7.2 Micro-Scale Sites 237
A. Barton Court Farm, Oxfordshire **237**
B. Bishopstone, Sussex **251**
C. Old Winteringham, Yorkshire Region **257**
D. Shakenoak Villa, Oxfordshire **266**
E. Thurnscoe, Yorkshire Region **274**
F. West Blatchington, Sussex **279**
G. Winterton Villa, Yorkshire Region **286**
7.2.1 Summary **294**

7.3 Evolving Sites, Evolving Activities 295
7.3.1. Introduction **295**
7.3.2. Establishing the Romano-British Period Sites **295**
7.3.3. Evolving Activities **301**
7.3.4. Dynamic Spaces, Dynamic Practices **307**
7.3.5. Summary **324**

Chapter 8: Comparative Discussion: from Activities to Identities 326

8.1 Activities through time 326
8.1.1. Mechanisms of Change **339**
8.1.2. The Roman Period in Britain **340**
8.1.3. The end of the Roman-Period Sites (but not the end of the story) **343**

8.2 Identities on Rural Farmsteads 345
8.2.1. Status, Economic Position and Class **345**
8.2.2. Gender and Age **349**
8.2.3. 'Roman' and 'Military' Identities **353**
8.2.4. Ethnic or 'British' Identities **356**
8.2.5. Summary **363**

Chapter 9: General Conclusions 367

9.1 Local landscapes, local identities **367**
9.2 Limitations of the Research **370**
9.3 Suggestions for Further Research **372**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Roman Households: Space, Status and Identity

Volume II

Accompanying Appendix CD Jacket

References **1**

Figures **34**

Appendix I **188**

A. Oxfordshire: Description of Sites **189**
1. Appleford (Appleford Sidings) **189**
2. Barton Court Farm **191**
3. Cotswold Community **192**
4. Extramural Alchester **194**
5. Hatford (Manorhouse Farm) **195**
6. Mansfield College, Oxford **196**
7. Old Shifford Farm, Standlake **198**
8. Shakenoak Villa (Site A) **199**
9. Somerford Keynes, Neigh Bridge **200**
10. Watkins Farm **201**
11. Yarnton **202**

B. Sussex: Description of Sites **205**
East Sussex **205**
1. Bishopstone **205**
2. Bodiam **206**
3. Newhaven **207**
4. Ranscombe Hill **208**
5. Slonk Hill **209**
6. West Blatchington **211**

West Sussex **213**
7. Boxgrove **213**
8. Burgess Hill **214**
9. Carne's Seat, Goodwood **215**
10. Chilgrove I **216**
11. Chilgrove II **217**
12. Elsted **219**
13. Fishbourne Creek (Chichester Harbour) **220**
14. Lamb's Lea **221**
15. Middleton-on-Sea **222**
16. Park Brow **223**
17. Upmarden **225**

C. Yorkshire: Description of Sites **226**
East Yorkshire **226**
1. Birdsall High Barn Farmstead **226**
2. Hawling Road **227**
3. High Wold **228**
4. Melton **230**
5. Old Winteringham **231**
6. Stamford Bridge **233**
7. Wharram Grange **234**
8. Wharram Le Street **235**
9. Winterton Villa **236**
North Yorkshire **238**
10. Blansby Park (Park Gate Site) **238**
11. Bonney Grove Farm **239**
12. Crab Lane, Crossgates **239**
13. Dalton on Tees (Chapel House Farm) **241**
14. Dixon's Bank **242**
15. Ingleby Barwick **243**
16. Stonygate **245**
17. Wheldrake **246**
18. Womersley **247**
South Yorkshire **248**
19. Sandtoft **248**
20. Thurnscoe (Billingley Drive) **249**

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1. *Building Materials* database form 35
Figure 3.2. *Faunal Remains* database form 36
Figure 3.3. *Pilot Database* form 37
Figure 3.4. *Regional Database* form 38
Figure 3.5 A-D Categorisation of sites, ordered by modern county. 39
Figure 3.6 Various types of remains found on sites in this study. 40
Figure 3.7. Use-Type Categories (after Crummy 1983) 41
Figure 3.8. Symbols present on phase maps 43
Figure 3.9. Colour key for finds to indicate their dates of manufacture and use 44
Figure 3.10. Rippengal's (1993) Categories 45
Figure 4.1. Map of 'tribal' boundaries. Oxfordshire is shown in red 46
Figure 4.2. Four post structures have been interpreted as raised granaries 47
Figure 4.3. The site at Appleford Sidings 47
Figure 4.4. Barton Court Farm, Oxfordshire 48
Figure 4.5. Cotswold Community (reprinted from Poore *et al.* no date) 49
Figure 4.6. Extramural Alchester (reprinted from Booth *et al.* 2005) 49
Figure 4.7. Hatford (reprinted from Zeepvat 1993) 49
Figure 4.8. Mansfield College (reprinted from Booth and Hayden 2000) 49
Figure 4.9. Old Shifford Farm (reprinted from Hey 1995) 51
Figure 4.10. Shakenoak Villa 51
Figure 4.11. Somerford Keynes (reprinted from Miles *et al.* 2007) 52
Figure 4.12. Watkins Farm (reprinted from Allen 1990) 53
Figure 4.13. Yarnton (reprinted from Hey 2004) 54
Figure 4.14. Sites investigated in the regional study of Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley 55
Figure 4.15. Oxfordshire sites and dates. Also total numbers of kilns, hearths, ovens and corndryers excavated 56
Figure 4.16. Sites in Oxfordshire with agricultural evidence 57
Figure 4.17. Top 3 species of animal present on sites in Oxfordshire. 58
Figure 4.18 Access to resources and communications from Oxfordshire sites 59
Figure 4.19. Coarseware types present at sites in Oxfordshire through time 60

Figure 4.20. Form types from all Oxfordshire region sites, compared by presence/absence (by sherd count) 60
Figure 4.21. Metalworking on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley 61
Figure 4.22. Proportions of fine/table wares and imported wares over time 62
Figure 4.23. Late Iron Age – 150/200 A.D. – Floral Remains 63
Figure 4.24. Late Iron Age- 150/200 A.D. – Most common animal remains 63
Figure 4.25. L.I.A. – 150/200 A.D. – Top 3 use-types in the Thames Valley 64
Figure 4.26. L.I.A. – 150/200 A.D. – Top 3 ceramic forms present on sites in the Thames Valley 64
Figure 4.27. Sites abandoned in the 2nd century AD. 65
Figure 4.28. 150-300 A.D. – Most numerous animal species present on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley 66
Figure 4.29. 150-300 A.D. Use-types found on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley 66
Figure 4.30. 150-300 A.D. – Ceramic forms present on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley 67
Figure 4.31. 250-450 A.D. – Sites with significant building work in progress in the 3rd and early 4th centuries 67
Figure 4.32. 200-450 A.D. – Top 3 cultivated plant species from sites in the Thames Valley and Oxfordshire 68
Figure 4.33. 200-450 A.D. – Top 3 animal species present on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley 68
Figure 4.34. 200-450 A.D. – Top 3 use-type activities taking place on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley during this period 69
Figure 4.35. 200-450 A.D. – Top 3 pottery forms present on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley 69
Figure 4.36. Late Iron Age – 450 A.D. – Top 3 activities indicated by the finds from sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley 70
Figure 4.37. Amalgamation of the top 3 use-types through time 70
Figure 4.38. Most numerous plant species in Oxfordshire by date 71
Figure 4.39. Most common animal species through time in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley. 71
Figure 4.40. Quern Types present in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley 71
Figure 4.41. Glass present on sites in Oxfordshire and Thames Valley 72

Figure 5.1. Map of the United Kingdom and the county of Sussex 73
Figure 5.2. Map of Sussex 74
Figure 5.3. The Trundle, West Sussex 74
Figure 5.4. The Chichester Entrenchments 75
Figure 5.5. Sites included in the regional study of Sussex 75
Figure 5.6. Bishopstone, East Sussex 76
Figure 5.7. Bodiam, East Sussex. The dotted lines indicate the areas excavated 76
Figure 5.8. Newhaven, East Sussex 77
Figure 5.9. Ranscombe Hill, East Sussex 77
Figure 5.10. Slonk Hill, Shoreham. The square represents a fence in the Roman period built over a Bronze Age Barrow 78
Figure 5.11. West Blatchington, East Sussex 78
Figure 5.12. Boxgrove, West Sussex (reprinted from Bedwin and Place 1995) 79
Figure 5.13. Burgess Hill. West Sussex (reprinted from Sawyer 1999) 79
Figure 5.14. Carne's Seat, Goodwood. West Sussex 80
Figure 5.15. Chilgrove I, West Sussex 80
Figure 5.16. Chilgrove II, West Sussex 81
Figure 5.17. Elsted, West Sussex 81
Figure 5.18. Fishbourne Creek (Chichester Harbour), West Sussex 82
Figure 5.19. Lamb's Lea, West Yorkshire 82
Figure 5.20. Middleton-on-Sea, West Sussex 83
Figure 5.21. Park Brow, West Sussex 83
Figure 5.22. Upmarden, West Sussex 84
Figure 5.23. Numbers of Hearths, Ovens, and Corn Dryers present on Sussex sites 84
Figure 5.24. Top 3 most common grains found on Sussex sites (by grain count) 85
Figure 5.25. Proportions of botanical remains on Sussex sites 85
Figure 5.26. Top 3 most common species on all of the sites in Sussex 86
Figure 5.27. Proportions of different species at all of the sites in Sussex except those without evidence 86
Figure 5.28. Percentages of querns present at Sussex sites 87
Figure 5.29. Types of Querns present in Sussex 87
Figure 5.30. Stone types used in Sussex querns 87

Figure 5.31 Nearest towns, rural settlements, water sources, roads and other places of interest to Sussex sites. 88
Figure 5.32. Top 3 most common forms on sites in Sussex (by sherd count) 89
Figure 5.33. Percentage comparison of most common forms from the sites in Sussex 90
Figure 5.34. Glass present at Sites in Sussex 90
Figure 5.35. Percentage of all forms of glass from sites in Sussex 91
Figure 5.36. Evidence for metalworking on sites in Sussex 91
Figure 5.37. Proportion of most common coarsewares from Sussex sites 91
Figure 5.38. Fineware proportions in Sussex (by sherd count) 92
Figure 5.39. 'Ritual Activity' on Sussex sites 92
Figure 5.40. Sites in Sussex with phasing between the L.P.R.I.A. and 150/200 A.D. 92
Figure 5.41. L.I.A.- 150/200 A.D. Top 3 cultivated plant species found on site 93
Figure 5.42. L.I.A.- 150/200 A.D. – Top 3 animal species recorded from sites in Sussex 93
Figure 5.43. L.I.A. – 150/200 A.D. – Top 3 use type categories from sites in Sussex (by object count) 93
Figure 5.44. L.I.A. -150/200 A.D. – Top 3 pottery forms from sites in Sussex 94
Figure 5.45. L.I.A.- 150/200 A.D. – Sites with hearths or ovens 94
Figure 5.46. I.A.- 150/200 A.D. – Glass in Sussex 94
Figure 5.47. A.D. 150-350/400 – Top ceramic forms and fabrics at this time 95
Figure 5.48. A.D. 200-450 – Plant species present 95
Figure 5.49. 200-450 A.D. – Animal Species present 95
Figure 5.50. A.D. 200-450 – Corn-dryers present on site 96
Figure 5.51. A.D. 200-450 – Use-type activities found in Sussex 96
Figure 5.52. Overall date ranges for sites in Sussex 96
Figure 5.53. The top 3 use-type proportions on Sussex sites 97
Figure 5.54. Most numerous animal species in Sussex through time 98
Figure 5.55. Most numerous plant species in Sussex through time 98
Figure 5.56. Top 3 activities from all periods in East and West Sussex 99
Figure 5.57. Top 3 ceramic forms and common finewares from Sussex 100
Figure 6.1. Yorkshire County map 101
Figure 6.2. Map of Great Britain with tribal boundaries. 102

Figure 6.3. List of the sites in Yorkshire region along with their overall dates of Roman occupation and the nmber of structures uncovered 103
Figure 6.4. Birdsall High Barn Farmstead (reprinted from Hayfield 1987) 103
Figure 6.5. Hawling Road (reprinted from Creighton 1999) 104
Figure 6.6. High Wold (reprinted from Roberts *et al.* 2009) 104
Figure 6.7. Melton (reprinted from Bishop *et al.* 1999) 105
Figure 6.8. Old Winteringham (reprinted from Stead 1976) 105
Figure 6.9. Stamford Bridge (reprinted from YAS 004) 106
Figure 6.10. Wharram Grange (reprinted from Hayfield 1987) 106
Figure 6.11. Wharram Le Street (reprinted from Hayfield 1987) 107
Figure 6.12. Winterton Villa (reprinted from Stead 1976) 107
Figure 6.13. Blansby Park, Park Gate (reprinted from Watts *et al.* 2003) 108
Figure 6.14. Bonney Grove Farm (reprinted from Annis 1992) 108
Figure 6.15. Crab Lane, Crossgates 109
Figure 6.16. Dalton on Tees, Chapel House Farm (reprinted from Brown 1999) 109
Figure 6.17. Dixon's Bank 110
Figure 6.18. Ingleby Barwick (reprinted from Carne 2001) 110
Figure 6.19. Stonygate (reprinted from Hayes 1988) 111
Figure 6.20. Wheldrake (reprinted from Robinson 2009) 111
Figure 6.21. Womersley (Buckland *et al.* 1987) 112
Figure 6.22. Sandtoft (reprinted from Samuels and Buckland 1978) 112
Figure 6.23. Thurnscoe 113
Figure 6.24. Corn-dryers, kilns, hearths, and ovens on all Yorkshire sites 114
Figure 6.25. Representation of top 3 use-types on all of the Yorkshire sites. 115
Figure 6.26. Proportions of sites having continuity from the Iron Age into the Roman Period 115
Figure 6.27. Pie graph showing the orientations of trackways/droveways/roads in Yorkshire 115
Figure 6.28. The proportions of different types of quernstone found on sites in Yorkshire 116
Figure 6.29. Pie graph showing the different proportions of quernstones found on sites in Yorkshire 116
Figure 6.30. Regional variation in quern types 116

Figure 6.31 Yorkshire sites in relation to nearby settlements, sites, rivers, roads, and other places of interest (1 of 2) 117
Figure 6.32 Yorkshire sites in relation to nearby settlements, sites, rivers, roads, and other places of interest (2 of 2) 118
Figure 6.33 The proportion of the top 3 ceramic form types on all of the sites 119
Figure 6.34. The proportion of fabric types present on Yorkshire sites 119
Figure 6.35. Sites in Yorkshire where glass was found 120
Figure 6.36. Possible 'Ritual' Deposits in Yorkshire 120
Figure 6.37. Late Iron Age - 150 A.D. – Top 3 Animals Represented on each site. 121
Figure 6.38. Top 3 use-types on sites with firm phasing between the L.P.R.I.A. and A.D. 200 121
Figure 6.39. Most numerous ceramic forms on sites with phasing between L.P.R.I.A. and A.D. 150 122
Figure 6.40. Proportions of animal species present on site between 150 and 300 A.D. 122
Figure 6.41. Use types on Yorkshire sites roughly between 150 and 300 A.D. 123
Figure 6.42. Table of the most numerous species at sites in Yorkshire during the period A.D. 200-450 123
Figure 6.43. The proportion of use-types (after Crummy) on sites with phasing between the dates of 200 and 450 A.D. 124
Figure 6.44. The amalgamation of the small finds 'use types' through time in Yorkshire 124
Figure 6.45. The top 3 use-type proportions from all 20 sites in Yorkshire 125
Figure 6.46. The most numerous species of animal on all sites by date 126
Figure 6.47. The most numerous species of plant on all sites by date 126
Figure 6.48. Proportion of form types on sites with phasing between the Iron Age and 500 A.D. 126
Figure 7.1. Map of Micro-Scale Sites 127
Figure 7.2. Sites investigated in micro-scale analysis 128
Figure 7.3. Late Iron-Age Features at Barton Court Farm 128
Figure 7.4. Early Romano-British features and finds at Barton Court. 129
Figure 7.5. The Early Romano-British Phase at Barton Court 130

Figure 7.6. Use types from the early Romano-British Phase 130
Figure 7.7. Barton Court Farm, later Romano-British features and finds 131
Figure 7.8. Pottery from Barton Court A.D. 275 – 375 132
Figure 7.9. Use type indicators from features at Barton Court 275-375 A.D. 132
Figure 7.10. Latest features and finds at Barton Court (A.D. 375 – 425) 133
Figure 7.11. Ceramic forms from the latest Romano-British 134
Phase at Barton Court (1 of 2)
Figure 7.12. The Latest Romano-British Phase at Barton Court (2 of 2) 134
Figure 7.13. Use types from Barton Court, A.D. 375 – 42 134
Figure 7.14. Map of Bishopstone Phase 1 135
Figure 7.15. Pottery from Bishopstone, Phase 1 136
Figure 7.16. Map of Bishopstone Phase 2 (Abandonment) 137
Figure 7.17. Map of Phase 3 at Bishopstone 138
Figure 7.18. Pottery from Bishopstone 138
Figure 7.19. Faunal remains from all phases at Bishopstone 139
Figure 7.20. Location of Old Winteringham (1) and Winterton Villa (2) in 139
Yorkshire
Figure 7.21. Old Winteringham Site Plan. The coloured 140
areas were those investigated
Figure 7.22. Old Winteringham roads and their associated ditches. 141
The trenches between the roads uncovered the earliest activity on site
Figure 7.23. Old Winteringham early features, likely of military construction, 142
dating to the period 50 – 75/80 A.D.
Figure 7.24. Ditches, and Burial 1 in the northwest area of Old Winteringham 143
Figure 7.25. Finewares from Phase 1 at Old Winteringham 144
Figure 7.26. Coarseware Pottery assigned to Phase 1 at Old Winteringham 144
Figure 7.27. Use type Categories from Phase 1 at Old Winteringham 144
Figure 7.28. Finds along the roads at Old Winteringham 145
Figure 7.29. Pottery from Old Winteringham dating between A.D. 138–199 146
Figure 7.30. Coarseware forms from this phase 146
Figure 7.31. Old Winteringham Building 1: c. 201-350 A.D. 147
Figure 7.32. Old Winteringham Building 2: c. 260-375 A.D. 148
Figure 7.33. Ceramic forms present in the 3rd and 4th c. at Old Winteringham 149
Figure 7.34. Ceramic forms from Old Winteringham A.D. 201- 399 149

Figure 7.35. Use type Categories in the final phase at Old Winteringham 149
Figure 7.36. Undated/Unstratified Imported/Finewares from Old Winteringham 150
Figure 7.37. Unstratified Fabric Types from Old Winteringham 150
Figure 7.38. Undated or Unstratified use types from Old Winteringham 150
Figure 7.39. Shakenoak Villa, A.D. 100 – 200 151
Figure 7.40. Pottery from Phase 1 at Shakenoak villa 152
Figure 7.41. Shakenoak villa, A.D. 180 – 250 153
Figure 7.42. Shakenoak, c. A.D. 250 – 350 154
Figure 7.43. Pottery forms from Shakenoak, mid-3rd through 5th centuries 154
Figure 7.44. Small Find use types from Shakenoak A.D. 250 – 430 155
Figure 7.45. Final ceramic phase at Shakenoak villa 156
Figure 7.46. Use types from Shakenoak, c. A.D. 350 – 430 157
Figure 7.47. Period 1 (A.D. 150 – 225) Features at Thurnscoe 158
Figure 7.48. Phase 2 (A.D. 200 – 325) enclosure at Thurnscoe 158
Figure 7.49. Phase 3 (A.D. 250 – 350) Enclosure at Thurnscoe with finds 159
Figure 7.50. Final features at Thurnscoe 159
Figure 7.51. Map of West Blatchington Phase 1 160
Figure 7.52. Faunal Remains from West Blatchington, 1st century 160
Figure 7.53. West Blatchington, Phase 2 161
Figure 7.54. Fineware Fabrics from West Blatchington 161
Figure 7.55. Fineware Forms from West Blatchington 162
Figure 7.56. Coarsewares from West Blatchington 162
Figure 7.57 West Blatchington Use Types, A.D. 101-249. 162
Figure 7.58 Map of West Blatchington 163
Figure 7.59. Map of West Blatchington, with features coloured by date. 164
Figure 7.60. West Blatchington- Fineware Forms 165
Figure 7.61. West Blatchington, coarseware assemblage in the 3rd century 165
Figure 7.62. Faunal remains from West Blatchington 166
Figure 7.63. West Blatchington, undated deposits and 'Hut Floor' 166
Figure 7.64. Trenches covering the site at Winterton Villa (from Stead 1976) 167
Figure 7.65. Winterton Building E. E was constructed around 168
A.D. 130 (reprinted from Stead 1976)
Figure 7.66. Winterton Building J. Building J may have been 168
constructed as early as the Flavian period (reprinted from Stead 1976)

Figure 7.67. Imported and Fineware from the first phase of Romano-British activity at Winterton Villa 169
Figure 7.68. Coarsewares from earliest phase at Winterton 169
Figure 7.69. Use types from the earliest phase at Winterton 169
Figure 7.70. Winterton-Finds in the first phase from buildings A, D, E and F 170
Figure 7.71. Winterton-Finds from the first phase, buildings G, H, J and K 171
Figure 7.72. Winterton-Building C, which was constructed around 150/180 A.D. 172
Figure 7.73. Winterton Building B: 220 – 399 A.D. 173
Figure 7.74. Winterton Buildings and Finds, c. 150 – 399 A.D. 174
Figure 7.75. Winterton Building L 175
Figure 7.76. Late 2nd and 3rd century Imported and Finewares at Winterton 175
Figure 7.77. Winterton- coarseware assemblage, late 2nd and 3rd centuries 175
Figure 7.78. Winterton- Use type indicators of the 2nd and 3rd centuries 176
Figure 7.79. Late 2nd and 3rd century glass at Winterton 176
Figure 7.80. Winterton- Finds over Building E (3rd or 4th century) 177
Figure 7.81. Winterton- 3rd and 4th century Use-type proportions 177
Figure 7.82. Winterton- Building D in the 4th century 178
Figure 7.83. Winterton- Building G in the 4th century 179
Figure 7.84. Winterton-use type categories present in the 4th century 179
Figure 8.1.. The percentage of sites in this study that were abandoned throughout the Roman period 180
Figure 8.2 Sites in Sussex with later coins. The average date of the coins found is listed as a guide. 181
Figure 8.3 Proportions of Top 3 Forms from sites with dating between 150 and 300 A.D. 182
Figure 8.4 Top 3 Form Types present between 200 and 450 A.D. in Yorkshire. 182
Figure 8.5 Sites in Yorkshire with dating around the 3rd to 4th centuries. 183
Figure 8.6 The percentage of sites in this study that were abandoned throughout the Roman period 184
Figure 8.7 Ritual Activity from sites in Oxfordshire. 185
Figure 8.8 Broad-Brush regional burial information. 186
Figure 8.9 Table showing all 50 sites in this study, and their likely Iron Age continuity 187

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sincere thanks are due to the many *many* people who have helped me through this thesis and during my time at UCL – they are too numerous to mention here, but I will try.

First acknowledgements must go to my supervisors, Andy Gardner and Bill Sillar, without whose guidance and (infinite) patience I would never have gotten this far.

Further thanks go to those professionals who have assisted me in my research. Paul Booth of Oxford Archaeology, Dominic Perring at ASE, Greg Chuter for his help with the Sussex N.M.R., Laura Burnett with her help at the SAC collections, and David Rudling at the University of Southampton. Also to Jen Baird of Birkbeck University, who allowed me to look at her brilliant thesis on households in Dura. Particular thanks go to my examiners, John Pearce and Jeremy Taylor, whose notes have helped me improve my work greatly.

Thanks also go to my Institute of Archaeology network (and in particular the G7B crew) who were a lifeline and a source of strength (and more importantly, fun): Amara Thornton, Johanna Zetterstrom-Sharp, Jennifer Wexler, Louise Iles, Nick Gestricht, Tessa Dickenson, Phillipa Ryan, Paul Wordsworth, Gabriel Moshenka. More specific thanks go to Lisa Daniel, who has unquestioningly saved me on numerous occasions in ways that only she can.

Being far away from home means that my friends are my family; there to berate me when I'm lazy and to celebrate with me when I succeed. Andrew Dufton, Paul Margrave, Hana Lewis, Eleanor Girt-Izod, Le'Nise Brothers, Daisy Hawker, Michael Bamforth…you've been waiting for this moment, and here it is. And to the Russell family and Silvana Camelletti for being so supportive over the years.

Also to Tom Stanton, who came to my aid in any and every way he could, whilst all the time plying me with sushi and science. You promised me a time machine, but I'm not so sure I need it now.

Yet more gratitude is due to the people back home who support me from afar, and who I never appreciate enough: Dale Moore, Joan and Bruce Bernstein, Mary Hartley, the Conlon family, Eileen Mullen, Pam and Sam Michaels, Elaine Johnson, Rosemary Fisher, the Ramos family, Elizabeth Fleming, Jason Prowell, James Nicholas Grande, Katie Loffredo. And to Elizabeth Strichland, who has followed my archaeological career with interest for many years now, and who I hope will continue to follow it for many more.

Final thanks go to Norman Johnson and to my mother, Diana Rivera Wiggins, who once tried to read my thesis but quickly gave up and has since provided me with the best assistance a mother can give: unflinching support and many words of wisdom. I could not have done any of this without you both there to provide the tools and teach me how to use them. Also to my father, Robert Howard Wiggins, who I hope would be proud of my achievements.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The overarching aim of this thesis is to explore the dynamic interaction of material culture, space and daily practice in the construction and maintenance of social identities before and throughout the Roman period in different regions of Britain. It is primarily concerned with assemblages from domestic spaces in rural settings, though of course it is understood that the functional dimensions of space vary through time, and the nature of farmsteads as workspaces and homes necessarily means that they themselves influence and are influenced by the people who visit or inhabit them. The proposition which forms the basis of this research is that though the wide patterns of settlement and material practice already published can show broad trends in the past, it is only through a more thorough investigation of changing practices on a site-by-site basis that different identities and materialities of practice can be understood and illuminated. Thus, daily routines examined within the wider context of a changing material culture, can lead us to a better understanding of local or regional identity and social change.

Because I have chosen to study sites falling into the sphere of the 'Roman' period, the study of what the term 'Roman' actually refers to has been a significant part of my research; and the beginning of Chapter 3 is dedicated to the exploration of that term and the ongoing debate associated therewith. If the problem of defining who the 'Romans' were and what it meant to be 'Roman' is one of great significance to my research, this necessarily implies that any proposed definition of 'Britons' and what it meant to be 'British' is just as important a question, if not more so. I will argue that

both during the period of time before the Roman conquest and throughout the Roman occupation, native British people were engaged in physical activities and social processes that negotiated and reinforced both novel and pre-existing kinds of identities. This was possible because the framework which encompassed those identities and actions was a (small scale) local or familial one; one which can be hinted at materially when inspecting the archaeological record in both temporal and holistic ways.

The general methodology of my research is first and foremost a comparative one, seeking to contextualize a detailed study of the material culture found on specific domestic sites within the broader pattern of rural settlement in different regions of Britain during the Later Iron Age and Romano-British period. To do this I have combined elements of several different approaches to create a new and more sensitive methodology for understanding rural domestic assemblages in the Roman period. The theoretical basis of this new approach lies in the examination of a range of social identities, and the exploration of how these identities change and are negotiated through broader activity categories within the rural workplace and home. The differing regional and temporal uses of material culture and architecture or space form the analytical portion of this thesis - and insofar as assemblages can be characterised as being 'rural', my aim will be to situate regional 'rural' domestic assemblages within the wider framework of Romano-British material culture, and compare and contrast each region against the others in an attempt to understand the degree to which different regions were influenced by new material culture trends or the influx of non-native groups. My hope is that by furthering the understanding of regional uses of material culture, I can begin to establish means by which material indicators of identity negotiation and maintenance can be teased out of the data, and used to

underpin new archaeologies of cultural change in Roman-period Britain. Set alongside my wish to create a new method for studying rural households is my very great desire to make use of published data and unpublished grey literature reports. Too often, in my opinion, is data from smaller sites discarded because it is seen as being 'unreliable' or 'weak'. Whilst some data are obviously not suitable for statistical analysis, and some maps unsafe for integrating with GIS applications, and some older reports not completely trustworthy in their description of stratigraphy, most sites do have at least one element that can make them useful in analysis (even if it is simply the site type). In this thesis, therefore, I have tried to make the best of data from a number of smaller, neglected sites, and to show how the information they can provide can be used alongside stronger data to build up a picture of a region.

The importance of a study like this one lies in the implications it has for further research on rural households, both in the Roman Empire and also further afield. In Britain both before and during the Roman period (and arguably in most other cultures in the pre-industrial era), the vast majority of people lived and worked in characteristically 'rural' areas. If new ways of exploring non-urban identities through the study of material culture can be practically and convincingly applied to the study of Romano-British society, they will surely be of use in other contexts. Conventional studies and conventional histories of the Roman world have defined the countryside mainly as a source of produce and industry (e.g. Jones 1960, Cleere 1981), and contextualised non-urban sites solely by their relationships with larger towns and trade routes (e.g. Rivet 1966). Although in some ways this characterisation is valid, it does imply that a more local and intimate understanding of rural life is not useful to the understanding of Roman period society. More importantly, it does not in

any way assist in the understanding of material changes and regionality over time in non-urban and 'lower status' contexts.

Of course the comparison of urban and non-urban sites is extremely useful not only to the understanding their respective roles in the socio-political climate of Roman Britain but also to differences in the way in things were done there (e.g. Maltby 1989), but in order to more fully comprehend the social identities being expressed in non-urban contexts, rural sites must first be understood in terms of their relation to one another, through the sets of practices being performed in the course of day-to-day life. Through the examination of rural activities it will then be possible to see trends and identify probable influences which affected the maintenance of regional or local identities during the Roman period in Britain.

The main sources for the data used in this thesis are regional syntheses, site reports and - importantly - grey literature. However, the eclectic nature of such sources has necessarily limited the types of analysis possible and the detail with which each dataset could be queried. Therefore, the information used in this study ranges from the extremely detailed data provided in some reports to the most general temporal and material information contained in others. For this reason I chose to look at a very wide chronological period (Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (hereafter 'L.P.R.I.A.') to the later Romano-British period (up to the early 5th century A.D.). I also chose to use as much spatial, material and artefactual information as was presented in the site reports to facilitate site-by-site comparison, though I did simplify the data in the regional studies by using a proportional analysis nicknamed 'Top 3' (explained further in 3.3.2). The choice to limit the study to Romano-British archaeology lay in the relative wealth of published sites and grey literature available for investigation - a situation which does not exist in many other countries. However,

the great number of sites excavated before modern standards were established means that many of the most interesting sites included in this study have reports of variable quality (this quality is assessed in the 'grading' or 'categorisation' explained in 3.3.1).

1.2 The Roman House: Research Context

In order to better understand the influence that Roman occupation had on rural groups (and vice-versa), it would seem to be ideal to identify those material elements which typify this kind of context in the Roman period in Britain. But do such elements actually exist, and if so, are they quantifiable? I believe that while there is no such thing as a 'typically' Roman house in Britain there are material, architectural, and spatial characteristics present in the archaeological record of the Roman provinces which can indicate varying degrees of motivated change in intention, interaction and influence. 'Influence', though in some ways presuming a 'top-down' view, necessarily relates to cultural contact and trade, because the geographical spread of materials can indicate either a particular demand for certain items or an outwardly (or inwardly) motivated saturation of the market. 'Influence' is also a two-way process. However, whilst there is no guarantee that the consumers acquiring imported products knew for certain (or cared for that matter) that they were purchasing 'Roman-style' goods, there are some categories of material for which there was (at least at first) no British equivalent – and it was the choice of the consumer to obtain those items (cf. Cooper 2000: 77).

The Roman economy is a popular subject amongst archaeologists and classicists alike, though in the past studies of trade were somewhat divorced from culture, being focused to a great extent on accounts taken from historical source material (Hopkins 1978: 35-79), the labour involved in the movement of goods, or the

quantification of imports and exports (e.g. Duncan-Jones 1974, 1990: 199-211). Though the economy of the Roman Empire has been studied intensively (e.g. Greene 1986) and archaeologies of economy have been finely tuned in to distribution as a practical indicator of trading zones, the role of the Imperial trading system within the context of this thesis is to assist in unpacking the tension between desire and access to imported goods on a rural level, outside of the context of a 'villa-economy'.

The second branch of influence comes from industry, which itself adapts to fit demand. 'Industry' as it will be understood in this thesis refers to both small and large-scale activities for monetary gain which utilised natural resources and/or specialised skills. The period immediately preceding the Roman invasion was already witnessing the gradual centralisation of region-specific industries like stone quarrying/working; however during the Roman occupation the process of industrialisation was spurred on by the wider monetary economy, and larger-scale industries like ceramic production, tile making, and ore extraction developed and sat alongside smaller industries like salt production, glass, bone and metalworking on both regional and provincial levels.

Whilst it can be said that individual consumers may not have known or cared that their material acquisitions were of a foreign style or origin, this cannot be said of the local industries that modified their products to imitate foreign goods. This adaptation would only have derived from demand – and it was the demand, supply, and spread of new and different material elements that developed in tandem with societal and cultural change in Roman period Britain; and which even before the Roman invasion could have effected a shift in self-perception on the part of societies and individuals alike, both within and around their own homes. This shift, combined with the changes in architecture and routine activity evident during the Roman period

would probably have affected the ways in which they negotiated and maintained their individual identities on a daily basis.

If then, we decide that the main foci of any study on the Roman-period household should be cultural material, space, and identity, how should these topics be approached? It may be preferable to work from the inside of the house outward, first determining the possible roles of artefacts in day-to-day activities, exchanges and interactions between the individuals living and working inside the structures, and then moving on to study the spaces within the house to ascertain how those activities were mediated by space. The interior of the house is not the only concern, however; it is also important to consider the wider farmstead or compound as a whole, which might have included workspaces, yards, and outbuildings of various kinds; and the ways in which they change over time. The farmstead is an entity in itself, and therefore can also be studied in terms of its 'life' or 'life cycle' (a topic very well covered in Allison 2002: 12, 14, also see Section 7.3 for my own take on this). Another approach to examining rural houses in Classical contexts is to determine the status of the building by defining the role of the external façade (e.g. Gazda 1991: 56), though this cannot be attempted for most structures in Britain. Nevertheless it is important to consider how the exterior of a rural building may have reflected the choices of its occupants, and the ways in which they wished to be perceived, and this can be achieved to some extent by looking at routes of access to the buildings, or the placement of ditches, trackways, gates, and buildings.

The questions above have been discussed by a range of scholars, although in the past Roman-period households have been studied from a largely art-historical point of view (e.g. Gazda 1991), holding fast to arguments drawn from written records (Rippengal 1993: 79). This has meant that in the past, studies of "Roman

houses" were actually studies of Roman villas, and the reliance on first hand accounts like those of Cicero (Cic. *Fam.* 3.1.2), Pliny the Younger (Plin. *Ep.* 2.17) and Vitruvius (Vitr. 6.5.3) in their discussions of villa life and Roman architecture resulted in heavily biased and unchallenging narratives of the kinds of people who lived in villas, and no narrative at all for those who did not. This had the unfortunate effect (felt even today) of defining what archaeologists and Classicists cared about when discussing the Roman period in general.

However, in the last few decades, new ideas about the rural household in the Roman period have emerged from the writings of scholars like J.T. Smith (1978, 1997) and Richard Hingley (1989; 2005). Hingley's publication, *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (1989) was a key turning point in academic thought about rural Roman-period settlement. In it, Hingley attempted to integrate the history of Roman Britain with ideas about indigenous social structures and the rural industries that flourished after the Roman conquest. Written before Hingley's book, J.T. Smith's work on Roman villas (1978, see also 1997) also proposed new ways to look at rural domestic life, and used the architecture of the villa and the use of space within it to provide a new framework for the examination and understanding of the Roman household. This is a general trend continued more recently by authors like Mark Grahame (1999), Penelope Allison (1993; 1997; 1999; 2004), Dominic Perring (2002), and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1988).

Even though progress is being made towards a more well-informed understanding of Roman-period homes, studies of the Roman period are still fragmented. Whilst some excellent work is being done with data of various qualities (e.g. Eckardt and Crummy 2008, Willis 2004, 2005), Roman archaeological research is still very much a discipline where some scholars focusing on architecture and art

whilst others only work on ceramic typologies or artefacts. A more holistic approach (though one based on urban contexts) is P.M. Allison's work at Pompeii, which has served as the most well-rounded ongoing study (Allison 1993;1997; 1999; 2004); and includes analyses of artefact distribution as well as room decoration and architectural plans. Combining the most successful elements of approaches like those above has been a key inspiration of this project.

1.3 The Roman House and Society

It is important in studying households to consider social relationships insofar as they can be perceived through spatial analysis. The structure typifying the pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain is the roundhouse, a wholly different type of building to the hallmark of Roman occupation, the 'villa'. The adoption of 'Roman' architecture and material culture may have been a very personal choice for a British family, and one which was likely to have affected their everyday lives. This idea was discussed by Engelstad (1991), who used ethnoarchaeological data to highlight patterns in spatial data. Though Engelstad believed that differences in built structure mirror differences in family structure, she concludes that many problems or challenges in using artefactual data are due in large part to improper assumptions about artefact use. However, while Crummy and Eckardt (2003: 45) agree that a contextual approach is more useful, in their study of Roman nail cleaners they seem to assert that the use of the object is secondary to its study. In fact, they believe it is more useful to focus on wider trends in order to assess issues like regional variation and personal choice. I would agree with Hill (2001: 17), however, who goes beyond both Engelstad (1991) and Crummy and Eckardt (2003), maintaining that both regional distributions and close examination of use and deposition are required to address themes of daily life and

identity. Jeremy Taylor (2001: 49) further maintains this position, stating that the society that both creates and shapes material culture is of more importance than the buildings or objects themselves. The combination of these ideas frame and underpin the research in this thesis: therefore it is the tension and interplay of socio-cultural, material, temporal and spatial data that allow real discoveries about everyday life to be made.

In a similar approach to those mentioned above, Grahame (1999: 53) asserts that the 'fixation of practice' implies the 'fixation of meaning', and that this process can be seen in the Roman house. This notion could have implications for the study of provincial Roman-period houses, especially in interpreting architectural choices made in the building of post-conquest structures. Smith (1978: 149) has argued a similar point to Grahame, namely that villas themselves are expressions of Classical architecture, and the choice to deviate from any tradition is significant. While this is an important point, it can be seen from another perspective: Rippengal (1993: 81) maintains that the Classical elements actually adopted by native Britons are more significant than any deviation from a completely alien architectural tradition. However, crucial to remember is the point made by Hill (2001: 13): that meaning and practice are contextual and objects during the Roman period were seen and used in different ways by different individuals.

Nevertheless, Smith (1978: 149) may be right in saying that house plans and facades must be treated differently, as social factors may have played a large part in the appearance of buildings and complexes both before and after the Roman conquest. This is also true of the interior of the Classical house, which has been discussed by Grahame (1999: 59- 70). Grahame likens the Roman house (in this case urban houses in Pompeii) to a theatre, with both a "stage" and "backstage". The movements of a

person unfamiliar with the house were controlled by 'nodes' (areas of high traffic), which could be corridors or courtyards. Therefore, architecture itself acted as a mediator of social situations. This notion has also been argued by Samson (1990: 149-172), who asserts that architectural boundaries lessen social ambiguities; a person could simply walk into a house and know where to go (or not to go) without any uncomfortable discourse on the subject. This kind of architectural dialogue would also relate to power, insofar as human beings are influenced by the spaces they navigate. Though the above work focused on houses in Pompeii, the theory could also be valid in rural British contexts, where spaces like yards and droveway mouths could have served as 'nodes', and where ditches, field systems and earthworks were already in use to communicate unspoken meanings in society (cf. Chadwick 1997, 2012).

If Grahame is correct in asserting that practice is inexorably tied to meaning, then the change in architectural style from roundhouse to rectangular house, and from wattle and daub to timber or stone must have accompanied shifts in society, one of those being that of social meaning as mediated by public and private spaces. The idea of interaction within the house brings to mind the concept of identity (as identities are normally fluid but can be fixed in space), which is another important factor in the study of Roman influence.

1.4 The Roman House and Identity

The traditional approach to identity in Roman Britain has not generally been focused on aspects of disparate identities in the past, but instead has been focused on the identities of specific people in Classical literature (cf. Hill 2001: 13). However, identity is about more than just public self-identification (cf. Meadows 1997: 21-36). Identity changes with context, and therefore in studying the Roman household one

must keep in mind that the roles played out by each individual could have changed both inside and outside their homes. Identity is also taken from one's surroundings, so it is important to consider the changing landscape in which the native Britons lived, and how the "social landscapes of communities were affected by the…appropriation of space during construction of roads, military bases and administrative buildings" (Taylor 2001: 53).

Both Mattingly (2004, 2006) and Hingley (2005) have recently discussed the concept of identity during the Roman period in Britain. In the past the study of identity in Roman Britain was split into two facets: 'Native' and 'Roman'. However, this is clearly a gross oversimplification of a large and complex issue. Neither category is satisfactory; it is demonstrable, for example, that much 'Roman' material culture derived from many parts of the empire (Mattingly 2004: 6), so in what sense is it 'Roman'?

The main problem with studying a complex concept like identity was summed up nicely by Webster (2001) in her discussion of 'creolization':

> "In the same way that European artifacts could be used by slaves - not because they aspired to be European but according to an underlying set of non-European rules - provincial artifacts in the Roman world may likewise appear Romanised, but can operate according to indigenous rules."

If this is the case (namely that the relationship between material culture and identity shifts with perspective), it might seem impossible to be able to tell anything about identity in the Roman period at all - the sheer multiplicity of material culture is daunting. However, one solution proposed by Mattingly (2004), Eckardt (2002), and Jones (1997), and attempted by Crummy and Eckardt (2003, 2008), is to focus on the

differential use of material culture and establish regional characteristics, thus shifting the focus from social groups to 'locales of cultural consumption' (discussed in 3.1.1). This is precisely what has been attempted in this thesis.

As well as the distinction between 'Roman' and 'Native', there is also another important distinction in rural identity: that of 'rich' and 'poor'. These categories have a different relationship with social spaces than those discussed above. However, elites in rural Roman-period Britain could have shared much in common with those in urban settings. Whilst it has been said that the study of Roman elite identity is based around the display of collectively chosen cultural norms (Mattingly 2006: 17-19), it is just as important to identify the kinds of elite display that may have been important to different groups of native Britons. This could be especially important in terms of rural architecture, in the distinction between a functional working farmhouse and a rural building designed to communicate the status of its occupants.

In terms of the identity of the non-elite, Mattingly (2006: 492) notes that:

> "The longevity of the roundhouse in the 'villa landscape' and the low penetration of Roman pottery styles and manufactured goods at many sites are a striking testimony to a sort of resistant conservatism among the rural majority."

This 'resistant conservatism' (if it existed at all) may have consisted of many factors, however it is important to remember that any choices rural populations made were limited by both social convention and the availability of goods as much as by any conscious decision to 'reject' Roman ways. At the same time, it should be always kept in mind that there was probably not one idea or way of being "Roman" for natives to aspire to or battle against (cf. Woolf 1998: 168, 202). In a hierarchy of identities, the social identities that individuals negotiate on a daily basis (age, gender,

ethnic affiliation, and so on.) are the ones which transcend the rich/poor barrier. However all social identities are constituted in interaction, and as an individual living in Roman period Britain your status in society would likely have had the most influence in constraining or facilitating your social routines.

As was mentioned above, the idea of choice is an important concept in the study of identity in Roman Britain. Dress, the preparation and consumption of food, social organisation, and traditions of exchange were all key to the projection of a specifically cultivated identity. Therefore, "to address themes of daily life and identity requires far more than simple regional distributions of artefact types; it also requires closer examination of the specific social contexts in which things were used and how they entered the archaeological record" (Hill 2001: 17). Identity will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 (Sections 2.3-2.5).

1.5 The Roman House and the Family

In attempting to ascertain the changes in British society during the post-conquest period it is obviously important to consider the pre-conquest society as well. Many scholars now believe that the transition from the Iron Age to the Roman period was not as traumatic as was once thought (e.g. James 2001: 192). This new line of thinking stems from the idea that 'Gallicization' was a feature in British society well before the Roman invasion, and that during the L.P.R.I.A. cross-channel trade influenced the perceptions (as well as the material culture (see Pitts 2008: 693-696)) of British 'tribes' (see the discussion of this term in Section 3.1.1). However, the different social spheres that were navigated by individuals interacting within and around rural homes is a difficult topic to address in the archaeological record.

Both J.T. Smith (1979) and Richard Hingley (1989: 149) have suggested that a great many British villas show evidence of the joint occupancy of an extended family, based upon their division of space and the trend (in some villas) for multiple or large and centrally located bath areas. Rippengal however, has contradicted this assertion, insisting that the division of space within a household can not be assumed to be evidence of the survival of a pre-conquest 'Celtic' society (1993: 80). However, I believe that both Smith (1978) and Clarke (1999: 111-121) have a point in suggesting that Roman period and late Iron-Age family structures need not have been so very different, especially in their division of property through partible inheritance (which would likely have affected the ability of adult children to leave the family home). Of course, the term 'family' can not always be clearly defined, and that is why occupancy needs to be addressed when studying households. Also, the roles of individuals within households are in many cases more flexible than those outside the home. However, because identity is socially constructed, familial identities can be as institutionalised as other types of identity categories.

One important point to discuss in relation to 'the family' in the Roman period relates to the military. It is known from Classical sources that 'tribesmen' in many provinces were recruited into service in the Roman army (cf. Dobson and Mann 1973: 191, 203), and this would have had a considerable effect not only on the populations of the areas they left behind but also to the economic situation of the families they left as well. A particularly interesting recent study was undertaken by Carol van Driel-Murray (2008), who questioned the typical interpretation of 'Romanisation' in the lower Rhine, examining evidence for the effect of conscription on families. Her study is particularly relevant to this thesis because the lower Rhine shares some similarities with areas of Britain (see Chapter 8.2 for a discussion), and though there is no direct

evidence, it is assumed that 'tribesmen' from the north were recruited for military service just as those from the south were (Chadwick 2009: 54, Swan 2002: 67).

1.6 New Approaches to Rural Society

Studying different aspects of domestic life in a Roman province is not a straightforward matter, and traditional approaches are largely insufficient. Jeremy Taylor (2001: 47) suggests that a new approach to Roman archaeology needs to be developed, namely a "comparative archaeology of past practice in different spheres of material life at a variety of spatial and temporal scales". This type of study is exactly what I hope to accomplish by using distribution data on inter-site and inter- and extra-regional levels to illustrate how material culture affected and was affected by various modes of social interaction within the province. Before the invasion, however, Britain was not isolated from cultural contact, and therefore was already in the midst of gradual (to a degree externally influenced) change at the time of the conquest. However no society or culture is a static entity, and even if there had been no cultural contact and the Romans had never invaded Britain, indigenous cultures would still have been negotiating their regional identities through their interactions with each other and with the Continent. Therefore it would seem most useful to determine the ways in which the Roman presence could have affected cultural transmission before defining what those changes may have been (cf. Taylor 2001: 48).

To address this sort of challenge, archaeologists need to plot finds according to type and find spot and look for geographical trends (cf. Allason-Jones 2001: 21). However this is not simply identifying production centres and tracing imports. Artefacts are objects which had uses, values and life spans. Their appearance in different archaeological contexts is important, just as their uses in the past were (cf.

Eckardt and Crummy 2008). Therefore their distribution on a regional and household level can tell us about the individuals who made and/or used them, but also the social activities in which they were a part. Changes in the makeup of assemblages on sites can be combined with spatial information over time, and compared within and between regions in order to pick up widespread developments.

Another important notion in rural archaeology is the concept of access, both in spatial terms when considering the farmstead as a workspace, and also in terms of access to goods in a given geographical area or region (this will be discussed throughout this thesis through the context of 'Communicating' (Sections 3.5 and 7.3.4). To address the latter point it has been posited that 'domestic patterning' in ceramics could link directly to economic patterning throughout the Roman Empire (cf. Hawthorne 1998: 162). However, whilst little attempt was made to collate information about the trade routes indicated from the makeup of assemblages in this study (except when these were explicitly mentioned, as in the case of pottery or less frequently, stone), during the data collection process it was clear that some sites obtained similar goods at similar points in time, and this was no doubt a product both of desire and availability. Moreover, when sites in a local area had wildly different assemblages during the same period of time this indicates group choices and the variable nature of social identity expression through practice (see Sections 7.2 and 8.2).

As was mentioned above, Economic patterning has more recently become focused upon smaller scale archaeologies of trade, identifying local zones (the term 'local' referring explicitly to the proximity of sites to one another). This makes more crucial the need to explore Evans' (2001: 26) proposition that patterns can be seen in the comparison of different aspects of quantified ceramic assemblages. Presumably

this can also be transferred to other kinds of material assemblages to capture, "snapshots in space and time" (Cooper 2000: 81-85), and that is where the comparison of activities through 'use-types' of finds (see Crummy 1984, also Figure 3.7) will be helpful. In fact, almost any type of material present on a site might give insight into activities performed there, though (as will be discussed throughout Section 3.4), the information I collected was constrained by many factors, not least the archaeological interests of the people who excavated the sites and wrote the reports. This meant that often pottery and small finds were the only materials discussed at length, and therefore whilst (for example) a comparison of building materials over time would have been very interesting, it was simply not possible in many cases. This is not a new challenge faced by archaeologists, but it was an issue in terms of the methodology of this study. It is true that not every site should be utilised in a study such as this, and the limitations of a project utilising grey literature and published syntheses are many. However the full potential of the non-urban site to inform us about the construction and maintenance of social identities during the Roman period cannot be exploited and better understood unless studies like this are performed, with full disclosure of their limitations.

1.7 Using 'Things': Continuity of Practice and Interaction in Social Spaces

In seeking to use as much of the material record as possible, it is important to recognise that the wider context of artefact utilisation is key. If ethnicity is socially constructed then differences in the usage of objects can serve as a focus for communicating group distinctions (Lucy 2005: 86- 87). Therefore, the 'practical' reasoning underpinning ideas about the desirability of Roman comforts cannot be dismissed (Taylor 2001: 49), but a full understanding of factors like choice and

accessibility must also be incorporated into any interpretive framework. Of course, the archaeological record also needs to be more closely examined to identify differential uses in cultural material (Mattingly 2004: 22), as this is a problem in determining activities.

In comparing different rural households it is an aim of this thesis to identify pre-invasion cultural practices still being performed regardless of the newly-acquired Roman material culture available (Pitts 2008, Chadwick 2004, 2012, King 1999). Therefore, I hope to investigate the maintenance or change in architecture (or space) and also in the daily routines on farmsteads in a given regional area. This will be achieved through the study and comparison of the work and living spaces and material culture present in each of the household assemblages, and by examining differences within and between the study regions. The contribution this kind of investigation can make lies in its potential to identify constituent indicators of similarity and difference in the wider community (cf. Lucy 2005: 109-110), and to attempt to determine how these were negotiated in times of social and/or cultural change.

As was mentioned above, emulation cannot be the only reason why Roman-style goods are found on both wealthy and modest farmsteads alike. It is possible that the presence of Roman items could be a "resistance to the establishment of class distinctions, or the plebeian tradition of peer-competition in hospitality, exploiting the accessibility of 'novel' items" (James 2001: 204). While this is just conjecture, the simple act of being categorised (as 'non-Roman', in this case) may have served to strengthen pre-existing group identities (Jenkins 1994: 59). By paying close attention to the spatial/geographical distribution of the artefacts and investigating the accessibility of different goods at different times in different areas it may be possible

to gain insight into consumer choices and to highlight any probable motives. Of course using the term 'motives' lends a personal quality to the study of 'choice', and one that may be misleading: It is therefore important to remember that rural farmsteads don't stand alone, and are part of a larger landscape in which they interact with other farmsteads, as well as markets and towns. Hodder and Millett (1980) developed two statistical models to measure the decline in villa density with distance from a town. They concluded that villa distribution actually reflects political choices rather than economic ones. This contradicts the belief that the location of rural Roman-style buildings was governed by their ability to access the market for trade and commerce (see Walthew 1975 for an example of this kind of assumption). Whilst their study is now somewhat outdated, it is probable that houses closer to towns would have been placed there for specific reasons just as houses along roads or sited close to natural resources would have been. The siting of farmsteads therefore would probably have been of interest to the local and sometimes wider community, and possibly indicative of socio-political standing on a regional level. In fact, during the course of this study, it became increasingly important to consider how the physical landscape (and perceptions of that landscape) may have changed from the pre-Roman Iron Age. A number of scholars have written about the strength of architectural elements and Roman roads in the enforcement of a cultural ideal (e.g. Dark and Dark 1997), and certainly this notion can be used in consideration of changes in pre-existing ditches, enclosures and trackways on Romano-British farmsteads (cf. Chadwick 1999, 2012). Whilst the changing spatial organisation of rural farmsteads is an important consideration in this study, it is necessary to note that this is not a new approach in archaeology, anthropology or even sociology. In fact, very similar

phenomena have been studied in quite modern settings, the Swahili settlements in Eastern Africa being one of the most interesting (Donley-Reid 1990).

Hill (2001: 16) asserts that "changes…in the 1st century [A.D.] organization of craft production, growth of towns, domestic architecture, [and] farming [were] all grounded in household relations and division of labour". Indeed, the idea of social hierarchies playing a part in spatial planning was hinted at by Grahame's (above) arguments on the mediation of social situations by architectural elements. However, architectural plans and spatial changes are not the only markers of identity or status; in fact, too often the "passive aspects" (Sackett 1990: 33) of architecture and artefacts are taken to be the only link to group relations (this idea will be discussed further in Sections 2.3-2.5). This perspective however, as with much of the "Style debate" in archaeology (Section 2.5), pays little or no attention to the chaîne opératoire, which has much more to tell us about daily routine and cultural change than does physical decoration (Lucy 2005: 102-104, Edmonds 1990).

In *An Imperial Possession,* David Mattingly (2006: 492) calls for:

> "…studies…which seek to identify types of artefact or behaviour that related more to a British or non-Roman identity."

As was mentioned above, because of the sometimes relatively limited range of artefacts found on rural sites, it was important in terms of this study to consider carefully what types of materials were present and to think about why they were purchased (or made), as well as their life-span, usefulness, and value. While it is likely that some objects were procured without conscious consideration of any outward 'meaning', the things that were used in and around a household still reflect the choices that native Britons made in their day-to-day existence. However these choices may not have had anything whatever to do either with outwardly rejecting or accepting Roman rule: in fact, it is entirely possible that their choices were shaped by

their need to reinforce *their own* ideas of what it meant to be 'Roman' (or 'British' for that matter).

1.8 Aims and Objectives

Before moving on to Chapter 2, which will investigate the more theoretical aspects of my research in much greater depth, it is first necessary to outline in more detail the key questions which this thesis seeks to address (which all have been discussed above in some form). The overriding aim of my research project is to better understand the influence that the Roman invasion and ensuing occupation had upon indigenous ways of life (and vice versa) through the study of material culture and use of space. I hope to look for intra- and inter-regional similarity and difference in the changing layouts of farmsteads over time, as well as in the material objects which allude to the routine activities performed there. By analysing the changes in architecture, use of space, and material culture it is hoped that an exploration of some of the varied social identities present in rural Roman Britain can be illuminated, and that this kind of study may highlight the potential homogeneity or diversity of assemblages even within a very small area.

My primary research aims are threefold:

1. To investigate the shift in uses of space in and around rural farmsteads/settlements before and during the Roman period, and to compare changing activities in different regions as a way of identifying cultural change, by working forward from the premise that locales of cultural consumption (discussed in Section 3.1.1) illuminate regional characteristics.

2) To gain a fuller understanding of the social identities being negotiated on rural sites. Are there new kinds of identities being negotiated after the Roman invasion, and does the spread of material culture or architecture pre-empt this change? If so, do these identities become salient at different times in different regions? For that matter, does influence vary by region?

3) To contribute to the ongoing critique of 'Romanisation' in an attempt to encourage a new, more comprehensive approach to studying Roman rural households. Can the considered and systematic use of cultural, spatial and architectural data (combined with theoretical approaches) be employed to inform the current dialogue on the study of Roman period dwellings as well as in assisting wider archaeologies, to illuminate past practice?

This introduction has served to frame the fundamental research questions of this thesis in the context of wider literature. Chapter 2 will be concerned with the theoretical background to the thesis and Chapter 3 with the methodologies employed and the challenges inherent in the study. Chapters 4, 5, 6 will present and discuss the regions (though the individual site summaries and 'ranking' of the sites (see Section 3.3.1) can be found in Volume II, Appendix I, A-C), and Chapter 7 will present and discuss the micro-scale data, as well as looking at the 'life' of the farmsteads. Chapter 8 involves a comparative synthesis of the regions using the micro and macro-scale data together, and Chapter 9 brings the conclusions of chapters 4-8 together and poses questions for research in the future.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together a number of theoretical topics which are relevant to my study. Before attempting analysis of my datasets, it is first important to outline the theories which give meaning to the data above and beyond the representation of material culture in the past. But is such a basis necessary? In the past, deterministic and functionalist archaeologies made much of the rigorous scientific method, attempting to let the past 'speak for itself' - but this led to a stagnation in archaeological understanding (cf. Hodder 1986: *xi*), because 'the past' is not a cohesive or homogenous entity; it is the agglomeration of many perspectives, realities and events.

Without delving too deeply into the history of theoretical archaeologies, a subject which has been reviewed elsewhere in detail (e.g. Johnson 2010, amongst others) – I subscribe to the notion outlined by Johnson (ibid.) and also by Gardner (2001, 2007) that all archaeology is theoretical. I also maintain the position of Shanks and Tilley (1987), Hodder (1999) and others, that theoretical frameworks are vital to our understanding of the past as more than a fixed entity. If we, as human beings living in the present, wish to discover facts about the past, an explicit theoretical approach must be employed in part to help us negotiate the inherent biases stemming from our social and cultural worldview, and the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record.

Of course, we can never know what people in the past thought or believed, nor can we positively know their intentions in making the material choices that they did. Nonetheless, with the limited information provided in the archaeological record, I

believe it is possible to pinpoint *some* choices (e.g. building practices), look at *possible* interactions (like those alluded to in dress accessories or ceramics), and infer *limited* intent (by comparing material choices with possible options). Assessed together within an overarching framework that takes into account the agency of both individuals and groups, routine action can give insight into social practice.

Though many different theories can be used to help in our understanding of the past, I believe that when searching (as in this thesis) for evidence of identity in the archaeological record, material practice is key to understanding social change; and the only way to confidently assess normative behaviour in the past is through assessing the agglomeration of routine practices over time and on varying scales. Of course local, regional, (see 2.3 below for a brief explanation of these terms in the context of this thesis) or more widespread changes cannot be seen when investigating a single site, and that is why a number of levels of inspection have been employed in this study; to best identify daily activities in different social contexts.

To this end, theories involving both material culture and identity must be employed to aid in the understanding of routine practice in the past. By way of illustration, I point to Amos Rapoport's (1992: 13-14) anthropological example of 'environmental elements'. Rapoport uses scales of features within a building to 'unpack' cultural transmission. The architectural elements are seen as 'fixed features', the furnishings (and I would add material culture such as pottery, toilet items or dress items of the occupants) 'semi-fixed features', and people themselves are 'non-fixed' features – all of these acting together to transmit cultural information, whether to a stranger or a family member. The importance of this example is not only its reference to multiple scales of evidence within the larger setting of the 'household', but also a reminder of a crucial fact; though Rapoport and other philosophers, anthropologists

and social scientists maintain that the best indicators of cultural cues are the people and their behaviour, we as archaeologists cannot ever know what the actions or behaviour of past people constituted. We therefore utilise the 'semi-fixed' elements to gain insight into behaviour and activities, and the 'fixed' elements to understand the settings in which those activities were framed. The 'unfixed actors' play a part in manoeuvring and manipulating fixed and semi-fixed elements in routine ways, and from these actions we extrapolate possible motives with the aid of theory. The construction of these theoretical frameworks and their use in the interpretation of the past is crucial, and allows us to contextualise our findings and to *critically analyse* our modern assumptions (cf. Trigger 2006: 537-541) or 'pre-dispositions' (Gardner 2001: 40).

The main purpose of this chapter is to explore the way in which archaeologies of identity can be constructed using similar approaches to those used in other social sciences. However, as has been explored above, in an archaeological context it is more specifically the linking of material culture studies to actual practices in the past which serve as a baseline in finding meaningful patterns in behaviour. For example, if a steep rise in the incidence of platters and/or drinking vessels is concurrent with a change in site use or a period of expansion of a site, this could be explained not only as the providing of more supplies for the enlarged population, but could also relate to a change in dining practices on the site (see Section 7.3.4 for an example of this). The sections below will focus on exploring theoretical frameworks and how theory and practice assist in the interpretation of both material culture and interaction in the past. This goes hand in hand with the exploration of the historical development of archaeological ideas about identity, which will also be a focus of this thesis, and is discussed below.

2.2 Changing Interpretations of Material Culture in Archaeology

The beginning of archaeology as a discipline was deeply embedded in the romanticism of 19th century European nationalism. This in turn had a significant impact on the study of past cultures through the use and misuse of history and archaeology to validate contemporary ideologies concerning ethnic or racial identity (cf. Cornell and Lomas 1997: 3). Critical discourses about nationalism often go hand-in-hand with those regarding the effects of imperialism, and these are subjects which have in recent years been successfully investigated by a number of scholars (Webster and Cooper 1996, Meskell 1998, Diaz-Andreu 2008). However, in the context of this study both nationalism and imperialism relate to the appropriation of Classical ideals or roots that led in part to theories of 'Romanisation', which will be discussed in the next chapter (Section 3.1). Whilst it is impossible to say that archaeology is a "value-free and neutral social science" (Diaz-Andreu 2008: 4), the importance in considering the past of the discipline is plain: our understanding of our present affects debates about how we group not only past peoples, but also how we characterize both their material culture and their actions.

The way we as archaeologists view material culture is in some ways the most important factor in our examination of the past. More than fifty years ago V. Gordon Childe wrote: "Generation after generation has followed society's prescription and produced and reproduced in thousands of instances the socially approved standard type. An archaeological type is just that." (1956:8). Childe certainly oversimplified the notion of material culture change, but progress has been made and since the 1960's material culture has been viewed as a flexible, socially constructed tool employed in the negotiation of power (cf. Barth 1969). In viewing material culture in this way the fluidity of certain cultural traits (as seen through the lens of material

culture studies) is generally assumed to be a function of the degree of interaction between individuals or groups (Graves-Brown, Jones, and Gamble 1996). However, even with the assumption that changes in material culture can be clearly seen, it is still difficult for us to determine how and why specific cultural traditions emerged when they did. Perhaps this is because archaeologists themselves are such a varied group, and preferences within the discipline for one hypothesis or another depend entirely on factors arising from the interests and social context of the practitioners (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 22-23). In fact, this fact has led to the assertion that "political interests have conditioned archaeologists' ideas about the type of grouping they ought to be constructing" (Shennan 1989:6). That is why in modern archaeological discourse a self-reflexive approach is crucial to the process of acknowledging personal bias when interpreting the archaeological record.

Though past (and present) viewpoints (both political and archaeological) have affected and continue to affect our interpretation of material culture and cultural change, archaeologists should not refrain from making inferences about the past, because "appeals to evidence can constrain the 'free play' of archaeological interpretation" (Shennan 1989: 24). Of course, inference does have its limitations (Wylie 1989, Gardin 1989). That being said, any dataset can support numerous interpretations, and 'data' only becomes 'data' in the context of specific theories, because all observations are theory-laden (cf. Barnes and Bloor 1982: 21-47). As in any scientific discipline, what can be known about the past will change through time because of developments in technology and perspective (Wylie 1989: 108); and those developments will in turn affect our understandings of what and 'who' we are studying, not to mention what the groups/people we are studying may have thought about themselves and each other.

2.3 Identity and Theory

Social identities have been conceived as being types of self-definitions (Jenkins 2008: 20, 49, 83) or relational systems delineating 'us' and 'them'. Identity is also about managing differences and taking into account agency and personal choice (Woodward 2002: viii). In order to understand how a person's identity can influence material choices and social actions, one must conceive of 'identity' as being an overarching term which can represent a number of different kinds of *specific* identities (such as gender, age, class, occupation, ethnicity), all of which can characterise a single person or represent a group. This thesis focuses on the material evidence indicative of specific types of social identities present in local and regional rural groups, and what the archaeological record can tell us about social change over time. For the purposes of this thesis, groups are defined as 'local' by their proximity to one another and 'regional' by their placement within larger socio-economic areas; see 4.1, 5.1 and 6.1 for specific discussions. This study is most concerned with finding evidence of regionally-specific reactions to the Roman invasion and also determining the degree to which different local practices were maintained, altered or discarded during the subsequent occupation. The continuity or change in local practices is key to understanding how people were negotiating their identities during the Roman Period.

As was mentioned above, examining the successes and pitfalls in previous scholarship is crucial to acknowledging bias. Therefore, in order to find the best method of tying practices to identities, the study of identity itself must first be examined. The modern tradition of thought exploring identity can be traced as far back as the 1600's, though it was a disciplinary split in the 20th century that led in part to our (post)modern understanding of how identity can be constituted through

practice. This 'split' was in essence a divide between the proponents of identity theory (i.e. explaining the behaviour of the individual as it relates to their role in society) and those arguing for social identity theory (i.e. exploring relations between and interactions within groups) (Hogg *et al.* 1995: 255-256). Whilst these parallel frameworks sought to explain aspects of self-definition as constituted by society, it was not until the 1950's that the behaviours (mediated by social structures) and social roles (both self-defined and group-defined) described by these theories began to be explored as being generated and maintained through repeated actions.

If identity is personally created and also rests on the notion of 'us' and 'them', as mentioned above, then it is certain that any individual would have a whole range of 'us' identities, from inter-personal, familial, group, local, regional, and so on. The words 'identification', and 'categorization' have been used to describe the ways in which both individuals and/or groups rationalize or define themselves or others (Jenkins, 2008: 23, 64). However, group or individual self-identification, "is not the only 'mechanism' of…identity formation. People are not always in a position to 'choose' who they are or what their identity means in terms of its social consequences" (Jenkins 2008: 49). While this is true, it is problematic to focus too heavily on ascription/categorization, because this leads to group identities being seen as rather fixed and unchanging. Instead, identification and categorization must be put on equal footing and utilised together to understand identity in the past. In terms of the study of small groups, it is the multi-faceted interplay of identity categories (e.g. age, gender, occupation) that offer a way of understanding social change in the past. It is those same self-definitions which would be likely to have strengthened local defences against external definitions given by 'Others' (Jenkins 2008: 59), and arguably have played a part in the everyday actions performed by individuals. These

agreed-upon norms are crucial to communal 'meaning-making'. Of course, meanings within a given society can be shared with other groups, just as material culture can. However, though different groups can share meanings they may not necessarily identify with one another – in fact their shared cultural meanings could in fact be a root of their categorization of each other as separate entities, and consequently be tied very firmly to ideas of their own group identity.

When considering the search for identities in an archaeological context, it is clear that certain kinds of social identities like age and gender (usually thought of as 'fixed') may have been flexible in the past, and are usually more difficult to pinpoint in the archaeological record (Meskell 2001). For example, age may have had less to do with biology and more to do with socially accepted rites of initiation. Not only that, but studies of gender often use burial evidence, which is generally presumed to be a compilation of the deceased's personal items, but which could just have easily have been gifts (and unwanted or unsuitable gifts at that). Consequently the study of identity in the past *must* be sensitive both to ideas of personal identification and also social categorisation - and though individual choice cannot be clearly seen in the archaeological record, it is important to consider the role of the individual in the creation of personal or group identity (Jenkins 2008: 9, 14). This is important because considering such a role banishes the idea of a 'decentred subject', implying a lack of human agency (Derrida 1978, Foucault 1966), and places the individual in their daily life (and their community) into the position of an 'agent': an active participant in the construction of his or her own identity.

Anthony Giddens (1979, 1984, 1991) defined 'agency' as being the ability of each person to act using both practical consciousness in the performance of routine actions, and discursive consciousness allowing them to think or speak about what they

do. Agency in these terms is a reflexive capacity which represents the ability of the human agent to make choices. Giddens' idea of 'agency' is one element in his model of structuration, which posits that individuals produce and reproduce social structures while also being affected and empowered by the structures they create and maintain (Giddens 1984: 1-35). Zygmunt Bauman has also discussed agency at length, and both he and Giddens agree that agency's chief contribution is its role in the continual and reflexive generation of a 'biographical narrative' (Woodward 2002: 3-5, Bauman 1992: 75, Giddens 1991). However, Giddens' view of agency as a series of 'multiple choice' questions (Giddens 1991: 5) is challenging to interpret from the archaeological record, though he does admit that part of his argument is based upon a late twentieth century framework of personhood and that 'personal identity' is not universal throughout history. Giddens also maintains that previous notions of identity were centred on the concepts of obligation and duty (Woodward 2002: 3-4). These can be related to social structures in the past, and have been explored in relation to the institution of the Roman military (Gardner 2001, 2004, 2006, 2007). Of course, some scholars believe that identities need not be studied in specific relation to social constructs - in fact, Fredrik Fahlander's 'microarchaeological' approach (Cornell and Fahlander 2002: 21-22, Fahlander 2008: 138) advocates moving away from the study of cultures altogether (Cornell and Fahlander 2002: 21). Whilst the microarchaeological approach does focus on the study of practices across time and space in a local arena, divorcing those actions from the greater institutions which shape and are shaped by them is a step too far. More pertinent to the study of rural identities then are the spheres of influence that tie local communities to their surrounding areas, or the overlapping socio-material networks or 'locales of cultural consumption' into which certain groups fall - it is also important not to view 'social

institutions' only as sources of power and control (cf. Moore 1999: 13-14). It is true, though, that both time and space have a part to play in limiting the degree to which people are affected by larger social institutions.

The studies discussed above (along with Giddens' contribution) centre their frameworks on agents as active creators of their own realities, whilst also keeping in mind that they maintain the social structures within which their identity categories are negotiated. Crucial to understanding the tension between structure and agent is the aforementioned relationship between 'practical'/'discursive' consciousness in the performance of daily routines and in the creation of meaning, which has been discussed by Duara (1993: 14). This distinction between different types of meanings is important because it is frequently the 'discursive meaning' which poses the biggest challenge in the study of the past. Being outsiders to both the time and culture of the individuals we study, it is possible for us to misinterpret discursive symbols, the meanings of which for the groups in question would be obvious. However, the 'symbolic meanings' (Giddens' 'practical consciousness') specific to any group are rooted in daily life, and can be sought through the examination of everyday activities. These routine actions were performed in a way which was consistent with accepted social practice. Whether the person or people performing these actions were outwardly aware of this fact makes no difference; in fact, in a sense the actions themselves make little difference. The key factor to consider in the examination of agency and identity in the past is that individuals or groups reproduced structures which, though possibly invisible to the participants in the context of daily practice would have been recognizable as different to those from a different locale, social group, or culture. Therefore, it is important to attempt to recognise differences in practice as markers of similarity and difference in the past, and to critically consider

how changes in those practices over time reflect possible changes affecting on the one hand discursive and symbolic arenas, and on the other hand, wider social institutions. If we take the view that all groups are institutions, and furthermore, that all institutions are sources of agency (Giddens 1991, cf. Gardner 2004: 36), then it must follow that it is the everyday activities and interactions carried out in group living which give rise to the feelings of similarity and difference on an individual level.

The notion that different kinds of agency can exist in different groups, places and times is a key topic for all social scientists. Critiques of Giddens' *duality of structure* (see Archer 1995 and Parker 2000) stress the different scales of both structure and agency, as well as the significance of the social hierarchy (Gardner 2004: 35). However, this variability can be accommodated if it is remembered that consciousness has both practical and discursive aspects, and that past actions and choices were mediated by factors like access, desire and need, as well as by social constraints. This is important in archaeological studies because we rarely know the precise economic condition of past individuals (households/settlements/towns); what we have instead are the remnants of the items of material culture they chose to acquire, evidence of the ways in which they ordered their surroundings through the appropriation and manipulation of space and (to some extent by using the clues that epigraphic evidence gives us, for example) knowledge of changing social conditions in a historical context. The study of societies in the past must be part of a self-reflexive approach which takes into account the inevitability of modern bias, the role of the individual in the maintenance of social structures and also the likelihood of past social categorisations, in order to identify how daily routines best allude to social identities in the past. As was briefly discussed above (and will be further discussed below) identities are hardly ever clearly defined because they are in constant

negotiation and flux. However, though they represent socially mediated constructs, some identities are less fluid than others. Ethnicity, as we will see below, has in the past been seen as a static identity. However, modern investigations show it to be both flexible and context-dependent.

2.4 Ethnic Identity

Ethnicity, being a component of individual or group identity, has been described as the realisation of an unspoken social agreement which unites people holding a shared belief in their commonality (not necessarily to do with familial or group descent) (Jenkins 2008: 11-15, cf. Jones 1996: 84) or joint ownership of cultural traditions (cf. Woolf 1994: 1-2). Though in modern-day contexts it is sometimes seen as unproductive and possibly divisive (Diaz-Polanco 1989: 52-59), it must be acknowledged that ethnicity is not a single 'thing', it is a complex set of identifications negotiated by people and groups (Jenkins 2008: 11-15). Not only that, but as ethnic identity emerges from perceived differences, its significance stems from the social relevance attributed to those differences (Jaspal and Cinnirella 2011: 10).

An important definition of ethnicity in the context of this thesis was proposed by Fredrik Barth in 1969. Barth called ethnicity "The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference" (in the title of his book), and his work focused on the social processes which produce and reproduce meaning in society, and which organise similarity and difference in and between groups:

> "We can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regarded as significant...some cultural features are used by the actors

> as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied" (Barth 1969: 14)

This was a particularly significant change in thinking about the ways ethnicity is constructed (turning further away from already stagnant theories of biological essentialism), because it recognised that individuals/groups can choose their identificatory markers with reference or in opposition to other individuals/groups. In doing this it also shifted the focus away from the makeup of groups themselves and onto relationships both within and between groups, and took a more instrumentalist view of the construction of ethnicity.

Instrumentalist approaches to understanding ethnic identity recognise differences in cultural features as active tools in the negotiation of ethnic difference, and are critical of views of ethnicity that define it simply as "…the world of personal identity collectively ratified and publically expressed" or "socially ratified personal identity" (Geertz 1973: 268, 309). Ethnicity is a facet of identity; however it is not true that the "socially ratified" public expression of an individual's personal identity must be their ethnicity, nor does ethnicity represent the only public presentation of a person's identity (some other identity categories will be discussed in Section 3.2). The concept of ethnicity as a passive social identity that can be vetoed or judged internally by members of a group fails to engage with the idea of individually-constructed public aspects or facets (cf. Mead 1934: 415) – those facets being composed from agreed-upon social norms that convey meaning and relate to collective identities expressed in 'routine public interaction' (the "…face-to-face interaction that occurs, much of it outside on-going social relationships, within the gaze of others" (Jenkins 2008: 66, cf. Goffman 1956, 1959)). This is interesting to consider in the case of archaeology because the archaeological record consists (in

many cases) of objects meant to be seen by others, and what they 'say' about the people who constructed, purchased and utilised them is always up for debate. It cannot be known if an individual chose to acquire an item because they wanted to be seen to belong to one group or because they believed they did belong. Of course it is also true that the purchase, creation or use of objects need not have been (consciously) socially motivated at all. However, the fact that an action is not deliberately performed with an audience in mind does not mean that that action lacks meaning; ways of doing things themselves communicate information that others perceive. Social meanings are contextualized by people interacting in specific ways and in specific settings. In terms of ethnicity, this can relate to changes in material culture that would have been visible to those outside the group, and would have affected specific types of interactions in daily life. This could also be said of other types of identities, like gender for example, but ethnicity differs from those other identity categories because it can be manipulated more easily in certain types of contexts than other identities. Various ethnic identities can also exist in within a person and expressed together without necessarily lying in opposition to one another, just as ethnicity and other social identities can (cf. Dion *et al.* 2011).

However, when considering an archaeological perspective, it is vital to remember that though the interactions between individuals and groups do reinforce norms, cultural traits themselves don't constitute ethnic difference, and 'culture', for those living in it, is for them something which simply exists (Jenkins 2008: 11). Ethnic sentiments stem from the beliefs of people in groups in their shared ancestry. That knowledge of communal roots is reified in material practice, because ways of doing things highlight similarities and differences between groups. That being said, focusing on the tangible is not enough; we must endeavour to take into account

interaction across the symbolic, ideological, administrative or physical boundaries that initiate the reflexive identification or classification process in a person or group (cf. Moore 2011: 354).

The connection between symbolic meaning and physical/social reality has been likened by Bentley (1987: 28-29) to Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus* (1990: 53-97) in that the 'mastery of culture' is embodied in the everyday routine of habitual behaviour. This draws ethnicity (and, of course, identity more broadly) into the sphere of the personal, as well as the communal, because ethnic attachments do not have the same meanings or salience everywhere, or for everyone. Nor do physical things like artefacts always have universal meaning. However, by attempting to understand how material culture may have transmitted information to people in the past we are also investigating its ability to reflect aspects of their identities.

This thesis focuses on small-scale interactions on rural sites that illuminate social identities over time. The landscape of which these farmsteads were a part are likely to have focused to a great extent on local connections, and local pressures were probably felt the most strongly (though the wider communities alluded to fall into the sphere of the 'locales of cultural consumption' mentioned throughout this thesis and defined in Section 3.1.1). Every day interactions, the effects of which may have possibly been felt in the wider area (in regular non-local trade between different production areas or wider locales of cultural consumption), were centred upon routines that were based on agreed-upon normative behaviours; and these routines were negotiated in part using material objects. However, tying routines to objects is not enough. In order to link subjective identities and objective contexts, theories of practice like Bourdieu's (1977: 78-93) *habitus* must be employed (c.f. Graves-Brown, Jones, and Gamble, 1996: 63, Bentley 1987) to instantiate social structures through

the study of human actions. Siân Jones suggests that drawing on theories of practice that are concerned with the general relationship between social life and the perception of the individual of their place in that reality (like Bourdieu's *habitus*) can help to resolve the relationship between self-perception and socio-cultural contexts (Jones 1996: 67). That is why the archaeological study of groups is important; because the puzzle of properly understanding the relationship between an individual's perception of facets of their own identity (hinted at by the objects they used on a daily basis) and the cultural and social constructs they negotiate (which produced or ratified the procurement of those objects) can only be solved by understanding both past social action and drawing upon theories of practice (Jones 1996: 67). This brings us on to the consideration of style in material culture, and the role of material culture in the formation and maintenance of social identities in the past.

2.5 Style, Practice and Materiality in Identity Construction

Stylistic choices in both the production and selection of material culture have been discussed as a medium for the communication of information (Wobst 1977, Schiffer 1999), and their variation can function to transmit messages of one kind or another that themselves facilitate social interaction (Shennan 1989:18). Lewis Binford (1962: 118-225) gave an early archaeological definition of style, though his discussion mainly focused on material characteristics which do not seem to have clear functional purposes. The most influential view of style has seen it in terms of a flexible information exchange (Wobst 1977). Sackett (1982) and Wiessner (1989) have also discussed style in more depth, dissecting the broader term into specific expressions (active (emblemic or assertive), or passive (isochrestic) style), and (through the active expressions), stressing the concept of style as a medium for negotiating identity.

Wiessner (1989) separated style into two aspects, 'emblemic' and 'assertive'. Emblemic style represents a formal variation in material culture transmitting a clear message to a specific social group, and assertive style transmits information conveying an individual's identity. Sackett coined the term 'isochrestic variation', in which particular aspects of artefacts are not of great importance, so that choices about how to make and use them are largely automatic or subconscious, arising from the local pattern of enculturation.

The now largely outdated studies of Sackett (ibid) and Wiessner (ibid) served to identify an important role of style, namely to transmit information to people both inside and outside of a specific society. However, while Sackett focused on the subconscious nature of style as a self-propagating system, Wiessner chose to put forth the notion that style can be used by a group to alter how they are perceived. This concept is especially important in Roman-period Britain, where the change from Iron Age materialities to those affected by Roman material culture is of major interest to archaeologists. Clearly, something of social significance occurred after the conquest and made it desirable to native Britons to alter their material choices (even if that alteration was over the course of fifty or five hundred years because any change within a fairly contiguous material culture is significant). The very idea of changing material practices could be where Sackett's (1982) concept of isochrestic variation lies in conflict with Wiessner's assertive style aspect, because whilst the former may view change in terms of people's 'mental templates' of how to do things (Shennan 1989: 20), it fails to understand or postulate why such variation takes the form that it does, or what different variations in material culture could have meant to past peoples. Clearly, finding an answer to those questions involves the detailed dissection of a series of adaptive processes, none of which Sackett puts forth for discussion.

‘Style’ as concept has been criticized for its inability to encompass the meaning-context of artefacts as vital elements of human realities (Hodder 1991:2-4). The notion of emblemic style in particular, presupposes that stylistic variation is related to differences between ethnic groups (cf. Franklin 1989), and this (as will be expanded upon below) has little salience in modern studies where ethnicity is seen as a fluid and flexible identity. However, it is true that material attributes, when mapped geographically can indicate what could be evidence of those attributes gaining an emblemic role, and this is of special interest to this thesis.

Before the conclusion of this chapter it is first important to move on from discussions of style to focus on the role of material culture in human interactions. However, to understand the importance of material culture in the moulding of cultural identities and ethnicities, one must first comprehend what material culture is. Ian Hodder (1999: 75-76) defines material culture as “a reifying, solidifying and naturalizing medium involved in repetitive practices which express what could otherwise be spoken meanings” (though that is obviously only part of the wider picture of everyday material-human interaction), and states that “the relationship between consciousness and material culture can be used by archaeologists as a tool for understanding the past”. However, in much earlier archaeological work (especially in Classical traditions) material culture was treated as a passive reflection of cultural norms (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 77-83).

Today it is widely accepted that artefacts actively conveyed information to their users during their lives as functional objects (this is of course dependent upon your definition of what an ‘artefact’ is (cf. Ingold 2012: 431)), and that they may also now be analysed by archaeologists. Both Hodder (1991) and Tilley (1991) proposed the idea of ‘material culture as text’- material culture being part of a body of

specifically ordered knowledge which can be deciphered to enable us to understand the past. While this theory has been more readily accepted into prehistoric contexts (e.g. Lechtman 1977, 1984), it also has a place in histories of Roman occupation, where even today the discipline has arguably been hampered by an unchallenged over-reliance on epigraphy and literature (*e.g.* Ireland 2010, cf. Hodder 1991).

At the heart of "material culture as text', is the notion that material culture can be 'read'- which presupposes an 'author', and almost more importantly, a 'reader' (Munslow 2000, cf. Moreland 2001). Of course, the idea of an artefact as a statement aimed at a specific audience makes the interpretation all the more difficult, because as *manuports* most artefacts can be used in different contexts and therefore can have numerous meanings. So in the face of our lack of direct access to the nature and basis of the cultural patterns which lie behind the situations that we wish to reconstruct, how do we know that our perception of the significance of material culture patterning is either relevant or valid (cf. Shennan 1989:4)? Gardin (1989: 111) calls for the establishment of rigorous rules of archaeological interpretation which take into account the essential specificity and local nature of cultural situations; "they must be local rules rather than universal laws, they must be internally consistent and fit the data, and they should contain a statement of the limits of their own application". Gardin's rules apply themselves especially well to this thesis because of their insistence that cultural situations are governed by strictly local convention. The identities of people in local societies were intangible and fluid, but presumably obvious, if not visible to those around them. These identities were socially agreed-upon categorisations that we can see traces of in the archaeological record by using theories of practice to frame our analyses.

Theories of practice are at the heart of this thesis. In part they, like other social theoretical concepts have their roots in power and class-focused Marxist ideologies (see the next chapter for more on this in relation to nationalist ideologies and 'tribes'). However, it was in post-processual dialogues that theories of practice began to reconcile the essentialist (primordialist)/ instrumentalist dichotomy and really 'get at' the objective bases of communal sentiments and social understandings.

'Essentialist' (and 'primordialist') views explain the generation of common identities through claims to common roots, whilst 'instrumentalist' views (as mentioned above) see identities as tools to be manipulated in social or political discourse. These opposing viewpoints shaped both sociological and anthropological studies of groups until fairly recent times (see 3.1 below, cf. Bentley 1987: 25), but neither focused to any great extent upon how people recognise commonalities and how those commonalities are embodied in physical interaction.

Social identities are viewed as malleable in day-to-day life, though in times of upheaval it has been said that they can become less a 'choice' than a tool in collective action (cf. Bentley 1987: 25). Some contemporary studies of present-day social identities rely upon cultural phenomenology, using evidence from testimonials and interviews as well as photography to infer 'embodied memory' (e.g. Dion *et al.* 2011). Seeing group identities as more than just discursively constituted is an important part of the study of modern groups; but practices, which are inherently embodied, can serve as windows into past identities. We must therefore assume firstly that practices in the past can be identified, and secondly that they can provide evidence for patterns of behaviour which can be measured and studied. This means looking for evidence of practices which sustain or give rise to feelings of similarity within and possibly between groups. Of course if these actions are to be studied in the archaeological

record they must be related in large part to repetitive daily routines, unthinking 'principles' (Bourdieu 1977: 77) that lay at the root of everyday life and are representative of a consistent 'way of being' in the world (Dion *et al.* 2011: 316).

Ideas about these actions, then, are anchored in each person's experience and also structured by the wider society of which that person is a part. Material culture comes into the picture any time individuals interact with their surroundings, and lies at the heart of human life (Schiffer and Miller 1999:2, cf. Ingold 2012:430). Materiality, therefore, can be defined as the physicality allowing possibilities of action to human agents (cf. Boivin 2008: 26, Graves-Brown 2000:1). The material choices people made, therefore, tell us something about the varieties of action they believed were available to them. This cannot simply be explained by market availability, rather they inform us about what people in the past saw as being acceptable 'purchases' or 'actions' and by extension, acceptable lifestyles.

The 'acceptability' of material items in particular contexts by certain individuals tells us something about character of materiality. Items can be purpose made for use, but they also serve conceptual functions as well as practical ones (Thomas 2007:15, cf. Ingold 2012: 432). Simply functioning on a daily basis requires numerous conscious and unconscious assumptions about the world around us. In the fluid identity negotiations routine in everyday interaction, different items can belie how people feel about a situation without the need for discussion. They also allow archaeologists to get insight into what role individuals may have believed they had to play in their families and communities.

The belief in common materials and material practices serves to link people or groups together in a belief of common ancestry or roots. The term 'tribe' will be explored more in the next chapter, but suffice it to say that, as was alluded to in the

paragraphs above, studies of identity in the past rely on practice-theories constructed with the habitus of the practitioners in mind. Market forces cannot be the only explanations for the social reproduction of material trends; people (consciously and unwittingly) use items that link them together in communities of practice.

2.6 Conclusions

People in the past were not only changed by the physical and social structures around them, but they also had the power to manipulate their surroundings to change the way they were perceived. In saying that social interaction and the creation and maintenance of personal identities are of interest to archaeologists it is important to remember that it is not 'personal identity' which we see in the archaeological record, because:

> "Archaeological patterns very much tend to involve aggregations of actions, and therefore the ways in which individuals are important in a given context may be swamped by social phenomena of greater scales." (Gardner 2004: 36)

These 'aggregations', then, relate to activities indicative of group identity and certain 'facets' of personal identity. However, any study of identity involves exploring these social relationships as well as the specific ideas that underpin theories of identity both in the present and in their formulation, conceptualization and reproduction across time (Woodward 2002: 1). The modern way of thinking about identity, group formation, and ethnicity hinges on the ideas of 'categorization' and 'identification'. Both Jenkins (2008: 1-9) and Woodward (2002) discuss the idea of categorizing others, and identifying oneself. They both call first and foremost for a recognition that categorization, in contrast to identification, is fundamental to how any kind of identification works because it is bound up with notions of power and

authority. This way of thinking about identity-creation as a measurement of similarity or difference shows the relational nature of interaction within and between groups. Of course not all identities can be seen thorough the examination of the archaeological record, and there are some identities that are more clearly expressed on certain types of sites than others. As this is a study of rural sites, those identities expressed in the negotiation of every day rural life are those most likely to be visible, and they will be outlined and explored in the next chapter.

An overarching theme in this chapter is the use of material culture in creating, understanding and interpreting experience both in the past. As was mentioned above, in the tradition of culture-historical archaeologies, artefacts have been considered passive reflections of cultural norms (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 77-83), but as archaeology as a discipline has matured, so have the perceptions of the role of material culture in the interactions between past peoples. Of course it is group choices and not personal ones that can be seen most clearly in the archaeological record, but it cannot be forgotten that any group is made up of individuals asserting their identities independently of one another, and it is through the agglomeration of material culture that those identities can be assessed. Theories of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) and human agency in interaction underlie the theoretical grounding of this thesis, but it cannot be forgotten that the identities that would have been perceived by "outsiders" are just as important to consider as those expressed by individuals or groups themselves.

Materiality, then, is the link that allows human action the possibility of creating different meanings for 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. The adoption of accessories and other objects as well as some building techniques and practices is a process which is multi-scalar, and probably holds different meanings in all of its forms. However, before an understanding of material culture can be grasped, it must first be understood

that past interactions are influenced by many factors in the present, among the most important being our understanding of group affiliation: both the lifestyle affiliations of consumers in the past, and the theoretical affiliations affecting the perceptions of academics in the present.

It is clear that all social identities are greatly affected by the perception of and interaction with 'Others' during times of conflict. However, the Romans did not bring "Other-ness" with them to the British Isles. Richard Jenkins (2008: 79-81) discusses the degree to which ethnicity plays a part in daily life as being variable: unconscious for some and absolutely vital for others. Though the Roman army and subsequent influx of foreigners did not *create* within the native people a sense of Other-ness, by nature of being outsiders they changed people's perceptions of themselves, as well as (in some cases) their physical surroundings. Also, their affect upon the archaeological record cannot be explained as simple emulation, political pressure (Bentley 1987: 43) or 'market forces'. Rather, the material changes that happened over hundreds of years must be seen as a product of the continued maintenance of local societies – societies which themselves reinforced 'normative' identities. Those identities were then interpreted by each individual, group or household to reflect the different types of social interaction present in their daily lives.

My aim in writing this chapter was to introduce the theoretical issues which have influenced my research, and which I will use in this thesis to understand rural activity in the past. Following this chapter will be an outline of my methodological approaches, beginning with a consideration of the over-used and under-criticized terms 'Romanisation' and 'tribe', and their role in shaping our modern understanding of identity in Roman-period Britain. This will serve as a link between this chapter and the practicalities of investigating specific identities. Region-specific chapters follow

on from there, introducing Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley, Sussex, and Yorkshire and the sites I have studied there. While the theoretical concerns raised here have influenced my work throughout, they take a back seat in these chapters before returning to the heart of the discussion in Chapters 7 and 8.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Identity in the Roman Period

The previous chapter sought to both outline the general principles of an approach to the archaeology of identity and also to explore the construction of identities through material practice. Moving on from that, the first part of this chapter will focus specifically on Roman-period concerns by exploring the modern debate regarding "Romanisation" and the concept of 'tribe', as well as the effect of invasions and social/physical boundaries on the construction of social identities. The next part of the chapter will then move on to outlining the kinds of social identities which may have been significant on Roman-period rural farmsteads, and how those identities can be identified in the archaeological record.

The second half of this chapter will then introduce and outline the methodology created for this thesis, and discuss the challenges inherent in this study. However, before beginning the chapter in earnest, a little should be said about the basic structure of the methodology itself. In Chapter 1 It was stated that the method created for this thesis is multi-scalar, and focuses on three levels: inter-site, intra-site (or region), and wider province. All of the data used in this thesis are from excavations, whether in the form of grey literature, published reports, syntheses, and so forth. The different scales of resolution are addressed in different parts of the chapter. Sections 3.1 and 3.2 provide the overarching context and tie in closely with the background information discussed later in the early parts of Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Section 3.3.1 moves on to the middle (or regional) scale of detail, explaining the regional database along with the methods that made it possible to examine fifty sites in varying locations and find meaningful similarities over time and space. Working

inwards from there is Section 3.3.2, which focuses more closely on how artefacts and functional groupings can be linked to identities on Romano-British farmsteads, but ties itself back to the wider scale with discussions of landscape and other overarching factors. The result is that the conclusions from the 'microscale' sites in Chapter 7 can work together with the broader trends from the regional database (Chapters 4, 5 and 6) and the wider background provided by secondary literature, to identify trends in both space and time. Each level of detail serves to strengthen the others, building up a picture of flexible identities negotiated through material practice.

3.1.1 Romanisation, 'Tribe' and Identity

Interpretation of identities in Roman-period Britain has been dominated by the concept of 'Romanisation'. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, it is in part the preconceptions attached to this term which many modern scholars find troubling. The danger in the casual use of this term is that in saying that something is 'Romanised', we may be failing to engage fully with the complexity of the process of cultural contact, or perhaps be accepting a misleading description of the adoption or rejection of foreign traditions by indigenous peoples. Every individual encountered by the Roman army, or that came into contact with intrusive material culture was part of a unique group with their own traditions and customs, and to blanket all of the cultures affected (and their responses to cultural contact) under the term 'Romanised' seems to infer that all cultures experience outside influence in exactly the same way.

David Mattingly (2004: 6), in a key article arguing for a new approach to Roman archaeology, describes Romanisation as:

> "A concept that emphasizes conformity, that presents cultural change as a unilateral and hierarchical process, involving the passing down of Roman culture and ideas about identity to grateful provincials."

The term Romanisation and the connotations attached to it imply a superiority of Roman society that gives no agency to (non-elite) native society (cf. Creighton 2006: 10-11) and also mirrors the Imperialism of past centuries (cf. Hingley 2005: *vii*). In thinking about the term it is also important to remember that different spheres of cultural influence overlap in space and time (Bradley 2000: 190), and that in discussing 'Rome' one must be clear of what and where one is referring to: Rome the city, the Roman Empire as a whole or any of the various subcultures present in different regions (James 2001: 77, 86-7)?

A further problem with the concept of Romanisation is that emulation or the trickle-down effect have generally been cited as the reasons for cultural change, without much dissection of what those terms actually mean (Millett 1990, Mattingly 2004: 6). What these terms relate to is the assumption that elites in a given native society were the first to adopt 'Roman material culture' (elites, then, were the only individuals given agency by scholars adopting the Romanisation model), and that its adoption was followed by a sort of 'natural' osmotic transferral to the 'lower' echelons of society. At first glance this would seem to be a logical conclusion, especially when seen as a continuation of the trade and negotiations that were taking place across the channel in pre-Roman times (see Reece 1988 for a discussion of Romanisation as emulation of neighbouring provinces, and James 2001 for a discussion of pre-Roman La Tène influences and 'Gallicization'). However the use of emulation as a blanket concept to explain social change simply does not take into account the diversity of experience possible within each scale of society. It also gives little attention to the definition of what constitutes 'Roman' goods (Freeman 1993: 441), and how these goods were perceived in indigenous societies. The interface between cultural and ethnic identities is a highly complex one in the past as in the

modern day, and it acquires great significance in a world in which personal identity categories are being continually re-shaped and re-defined not only by everyday interaction but also by the introduction of new cultural material.

Another assumption inherent in archaeologies of Romanisation is that the extent to which a given society was affected by Roman culture can give us an insight into its basic structure (Mouritsen 1998: 82-4). Of course the flaw therein lies with the idea that the extent to which a given society was affected by Roman culture can be measured at all. Whilst there is not necessarily one tradition in the understanding of Roman Britain (Hingley 2008: 427), if one were to follow this line of argument then Britain seems a 'good' example to consider, as the southernmost areas (seemingly having strong evidence for the ready adoption of many facets of 'Roman culture') were the first to encounter the Roman army, and they were also those for which there is the greatest evidence for pre-invasion cross-channel cultural exchange. However, though it is widely believed that groups like the *Regni* were the most readily able to adopt 'Roman' ways of life because of their greater degree of social hierarchy and other factors like sedentism (cf. Henig 2002, cf. Russell 2006), extrapolating information about the cultural cohesion of a given society based on the degree to which they were 'influenced' by the Roman occupation is not sufficient as an explanatory factor in cultural change. This is because this kind of logic serves to justify a false hypothesis or circular argument; the peoples 'most like' the Romans (i.e. 'civilised') readily integrated because they **were** most like the Romans.

In any study of a Roman province then, the crucial question is not so much one of tracing developments within a static or homogenous society, as of firstly making sense of what was probably a culturally diverse and ever-evolving region (Cornell and Lomas 1997: 3). Alternative theoretical frameworks for the

understanding of the Roman period have been put forth by authors like Martin Pitts (2008), who uses Globalization (and "Glocalization") as alternatives to Romanisation in a study focusing upon local pottery consumption patterns and social practices. Globalization has been defined as "The compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992: 8). Glocalization on the other hand, represents the negotiation of 'globalizing' factors by predominantly locally-focused societies (Pitts 2008: 494-495). The usefulness in including Globalization and Glocalization into critical studies of Roman-period colonial and Imperial interactions seems to be that resolution at different scales is possible, allowing us to look both at local consumption patterns and wider provincial trends, so that pre-invasion trends and regional patterning can be made visible.

Patterns of similarity and difference are the lenses through which we can view cultural change, and though an admirable study focusing on daily practice was undertaken by Louise Revell (2009), it was necessarily (being urban in nature) somewhat more focused on Roman institutional forces than local or regional rural ones. Therefore, instead of taking as our starting point the idea that an overarching Roman culture affected local groups in a similar fashion, we should attempt to isolate the specific changes in local culture and identify their roots, working forward from the premise that locales of cultural consumption exist and can be studied and compared to investigate social change. In the context of this thesis, 'locales of cultural consumption' refer to geographical areas within a wider region where (as was mentioned in Section 3.1.1) groups of people were connected by socio-cultural networks based around production, trade and consumption (cf. Moore 2011: 351). This notion goes hand in hand with the idea of agricultural or exchange networks, which would have been facilitated in interaction, and would themselves have

facilitated exchange in the aforementioned locales. Therefore, not only could they be linked in webs of reciprocal exchange (see Chapter 4 for evidence of this in Oxfordshire), their material culture was in many cases the same, and presumably it was used in similar ways. However this is not a given, and that is why this thesis' comparison of daily routines on rural sites in certain areas will attempt to understand local and regional changes through time and identify aspects of similarity and difference in both practice and, by extension, meaning-making ('meaning-making' in this case relating explicitly to the negotiation and maintenance of agreed-upon norms in society).

As was stressed in the last chapter, material action and daily interaction (themselves resting upon notions of similarity and difference within and between groups) form the basis for understanding identity negotiation in the past. It is impossible to assert that the inhabitants of pre-Roman-conquest Britain made a conscious decision to 'adopt Roman culture' (whatever 'Roman culture' actually means), but as in Italy after the Roman conquest it is possible that a shift in the collective viewpoint occurred, and Roman citizenship suddenly became very desirable (Bradley 2000:190). Because we can see in the archaeological record that a number of people in rural Britain were choosing to acquire foreign goods and also to rebuild their homes in a different style with different materials and using different techniques, we must assume that something influenced them. However, this did not necessarily mean that all peoples incorporated into the Roman Empire thought of themselves solely as "Romans". In fact, Cicero (Cic. *Leg.* II, V, VIII) may have said it best when he wrote:

> "Ego mehercule et ille et omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo
> patrias, unam naturae, alteram civitatis."
> ('I think that both he and all townspeople have two homelands,
> one through nature, the other by citizenship').

Tying oneself to a larger group may not necessarily be a conscious choice, but maintaining those ties in interaction is part of what generates group sentiment. Ethnicity, which was discussed in the last chapter, serves as a highly situational component of group identity. It has been said that competition and comparison are key elements in the construction of ethnicities (Hodder 1979), but it is important to remember that different kinds of identity and different material practices can combine in a myriad of ways. The more complex the interactions, the more insight gained into both specific practices and the core relationship between nominal (or labelled) and virtual (or experienced) aspects of differing identity categories (Jenkins 2008: 58-59, Gardner 2002: 327), precisely because ethnic identity is anchored internally in experience as well as externally in cognitive distinctions (Bentley 1987:36).

Exploring ethnicity in the context of past individual or group identification leads us on to the problematic concept of 'tribe'. As a social identity, ethnicity has been variously used in both political and academic discourses of nationalism and race, as well as in the creation of archaeologically sanctioned histories. This is because archaeology itself can 'legitimize' groups by giving them a past and also be employed to 'undermine' them by revealing different cultural histories within a single group (cf. Shennan 1986: 10). However, archaeology can also be used to legitimize historically-accepted characterizations of the past (e.g. Rhys 1884, cf. Moore 2011: 334-336), which has been the case with the 'tribes' of Roman period Britain.

The separation of different groups within a certain area into 'tribal' units has been debated over the last fifty years, with varying conclusions. As an explanation, Fried suggests (1967: 15, 1968: 15-17) that 'tribes' as entities arose as a reaction to external pressure - coalescing in the face of an outside threat. Though this definition does not engage with or problematise the term, it is still utilized in studies of the

Roman empire; especially to understand political change and in conjunction with the idea of enlisting in the Roman army to gain citizenship (see Cary and Scullard 1979: 338, Mattingly 1992: 33 and Mattingly 2006: 166-8).

That being said the colonial connections are not particularly surprising, considering that creation of 'tribal' histories stems from a 19th century view of indigenous culture which was coloured by Classical narratives (including the understanding at the time of the nature of Roman/Native interactions) and European colonial activity at that time (cf. Moore 2011: 354). What is surprising is that the term is still being used uncritically in archaeological publications even when the studies themselves are thorough (e.g. Yeates 2008). In modern post-colonial discourse, the power of words must not be underestimated (Fried 1975:114), nor can it be forgotten that the use of loaded terms like 'tribe' (if they must be used at all) must be a wholly critical process, with full exploration of the implications of their use.

Going back to the point made above, though it is generally accepted that the British population were separated into 'tribal' areas by the Roman administration (e.g. Rivet and Smith 1979 and Mann and Breeze 1987), this assumption comes with three main problems. First is that the documents from which we get descriptions of 'tribal' areas (like Ptolemy's *Geographica* and Tacitus' *Annals* and *Agricola*) were written well after the conquest (and by outsiders); and secondly (as has been discussed at length by Tom Moore (2011: 338-342)), the varying translation and interchangeable (Classical) uses of words like '*civitates*' (states/cities), '*gentes*' (peoples), and '*nationes*' (countries/kingdoms) presents a problem for their proper interpretation (not to mention doubts about words like 'elite' or 'chief'(Hill 2012: 347)). The third issue is slightly more subtle, and concerns an element of the first point: namely that the 'tribal' names and 'tribal' areas are artefacts of Classical literature; the literature of

the conquering party. Again, Moore discusses this (2011: 339) saying, "Ptolemy was…highly selective, referring only to sites of perceived importance to Roman administrators (Jones and Mattingly 1990:18), which were post conquest 'Roman' centres rather than 'indigenous' pre-conquest settlements (Rivet and Smith 1979:116)". A fundamental point is being made here - that a conscious choice may have been made to only include the 'tribes' that had become important to the Imperial establishment. This limits our understanding of both pre-Roman activity and also of Roman-period interactions. Another point which has become increasingly important is our lack of knowledge about L.P.R.I.A. social organization (Hill 2012 has attempted to tackle this issue) and pre-Roman contact situations (see Creighton 2006); not to mention the fact that the social groupings in pre-invasion Britain seemed to be more fluid (Moore 2011), begging the question of the long-term effects of Roman (social and political) categorizations upon the local population.

In any study of Roman period Britain, it is important to remember that both before and during the Roman period individuals were constantly negotiating and constructing different variants of their local identities. After the invasion and during the ensuing occupation, locals must also have had differing ideas of what it meant to be a non-Roman individual/society under Roman rule (cf. Mattingly 2004: 6). However, before the occupation became a fixture of daily life, the invasion itself must have affected both local societies and their economies.

3.1.2 Invasion, Boundaries and the negotiation of group Identity

The beginning of the Roman period in Britain is typically dated from the Claudian invasion, when the large military presence began to strongly affect both the population and the material culture of Britain. The study of migration or invasions is

important to the understanding of cultural change in the past, even when that transition is relatively peaceful. Having said that, however, there is little point in attempting to find an overarching characterization of invasions to fit every historical, sociological, anthropological or archaeological context. Their form and strength is determined primarily by the amount of power held by governing bodies or elites in society, and it could be surmised that the level of control defining certain social groups or networks could correlate to different types of migratory patterns (Hamerow 1997: 7). However, the effect any invasion has on a population can vary greatly and result in any number of societal, economic, and material changes. For example, in the 3rd century B.C. in Umbria, the population rose by about 35% when around forty-thousand Roman settlers migrated there (Bradley 2000: 193). Of course, it is probable that not all of those 'Roman' settlers were from the city of Rome, in fact some of them may have been individuals from neighbouring areas who had become Roman citizens. However, whilst becoming 'Roman' did not necessarily mean drastic change in the day-to-day lives of the locals who eventually chose citizenship, it may be true that their new status caused them to be seen differently by both other locals and outsiders, and see themselves differently. This is why, along with the points mentioned in the last section, methodical consideration of social groupings in the past is so important. Terms like 'tribe' (if used at all) must be used critically because the term 'tribe' implies a cemented categorisation that was chosen by or for groups, whilst actually allowing very little fluidity or agency therein. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, I have found that describing social groups in this thesis as being 'familial', 'local' and possible locales of cultural consumption or networks as 'regional' is a more useful approach.

Admittedly, the example mentioned above is an Italian one (and also much earlier in the Roman period), and in Britain the initial 'settlers' were not civilians for the most part but military groups. However, it nonetheless poses an interesting question for Roman-period Britain, namely, what material effect did the insertion of foreign people and foreign goods have on the local population? How did local non-urban life change, and in what ways did individuals or groups need to adjust their routines to accommodate this change? On the other hand if we are discussing civilian migrations to Britain in the wake of the invasion (adding to the 40,000+ soldiers already there (Salway 1998: 73-75), these could have affected the indigenous population further because it is probable that the kinds of people following the army would be skilled labourers or merchants (Creighton 2006:78). Therefore, this could have had a significant effect on local traders and on the relations between the settlements closest to the camps and those further away.

Without downplaying the dynamic nature of the pre-existing societies living in Britain, it must be admitted that the invasion must have had a great effect upon both rural economies and groups, and the ensuing occupation and the influx of new and different material culture continued to affect social and cultural trajectories throughout the Roman period. However, the change effected was not homogenous in nature, and different areas experienced change in different ways, and at different times. This was not simply a product of the degree to which rural societies had contact with Roman material culture – as dynamic communities and regions they themselves were naturally changing, regardless of outside influence. Nonetheless, different areas of Britain were affected by changing social and economic pressures during the Roman period, and this resulted in independent regional histories that will be sought out and explored later in this thesis.

Of course, the study of the Roman period in Britain is not just about looking for evidence of change through the investigation of native-Roman interactions, it is also about looking at the ways in which different groups viewed and categorised one another. Whilst the importance of local boundaries and spatial relations is important both to the study of material meanings and to the understanding of the generation of feelings of difference, there are other types of non-physical entities which separate communities. These 'boundaries' have been discussed at length by Anthony Cohen, in *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (1985), which focused on the creation and maintenance of 'boundaries' between communities, be they administrative, physical, ideological, racial, religious, and so on. Cohen maintained that "the consciousness of community is encapsulated in perception of its boundaries, which are themselves largely constituted by people in interaction" (ibid: 13). Non-physical delineations were just as important as the physical boundaries separating communities.

The physical boundaries which are created and maintained to separate groups of people have been discussed by a large number of scholars, and due to space limitations only a selection of the most relevant work can be presented here. James (1999) has argued that the construction and negotiation of boundaries is dependent on such factors as power relations (insofar as they affect day-to-day routines) both before and after the Roman invasion. This is an important factor to remember when studying Roman period Britain, because the nature of such a constructed social environment was likely to affect not only the spatial organization of daily practices, but also patterns of thought. The influx of migrating traders would have slowly affected local markets as the demand for products and building techniques changed and increased. The construction of Roman roads would affect local routes (cf. Witcher 1998: 68-70) especially if these roads did not follow the paths normally used by locals; and any

settlements or farmsteads in the path of Roman roads would have been fundamentally altered by both the physical presence of the road and by the ensuing traffic. Trackways and roads around the sites studied in this thesis will be scrutinised in later chapters in relation to '*communicating*' (which itself is discussed in 3.5 and 7.3.4). The trackways themselves are discussed separately in Chapters 4-6 and together in Chapter 8.

In other words, the relatively decentralized nature of the Roman occupation in the British countryside still determined the factors which influenced not only communication and trade (cf. Laurence 2004), but also personal choice and the role of local pressures. This has little to do (in the early post-conquest period) with the assignation of 'tribal' labels upon areas by the Roman administration. However, later in the Roman period when the Imperial infrastructure had had time to assimilate itself into the province, both the physical and non-physical boundaries separating groups would be constituted in different ways, representing their changed priorities and identities.

Though my research is focused on domestic and other settlement spaces of rural farmsteads, it is important to explore wider connections – a farmstead did not constitute the whole world of its inhabitants, and their homes and primary workspaces were only one locus for the expression of their identities in a multitude of settings, only some of which are accessible in the archaeological record (see 3.1.4 below). A crucial part of the study of material activities is the recognition that activities and identities *change with* and are *changed by* settings (cf. Rapoport 1990: 13-14).

As was mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, I have chosen to look at a number of rural sites within specific geographical areas, and therefore will have the chance to investigate the idea of regional characteristics and locales of cultural consumption

both in pre- and post-invasion Britain. These areas could prove archaeologically distinct in terms of the makeup of their artefact assemblages over time, if not their uses of space and their activities. The study of regional differentiation over time affects the way different scales of interaction at different levels of society can be understood, by identifying differing local practices within greater regional traditions. The invasion and ensuing occupation probably affected groups at different rates and in different ways, and the study of changing physical and non-physical 'boundaries' (Cohen 1985: 12) allow room for group choices and identities to be seen over large timespans. People living in neighbouring areas would in many cases have had access to similar kinds of materials and resources, which could make their choices significant (especially if they varied, or indeed, if they were the same) and provide clues about how they saw themselves, and how they may have constituted similarity and difference in their societies.

3.1.3 Understanding Identities in the Romano-British Household

In the previous chapter, I outlined some theoretical considerations affecting the archaeological investigation of the past. Most pertinent to this research, however, is the tension between the material record and the negotiation of identities in rural settings. In Chapter 2 I wanted to reiterate the importance of material practices in the maintenance of social identities. In this chapter, the focus lies upon the identification of social identities likely to have been present on rural farmsteads, and the scrutiny of activities that may indicate the expression of different facets of identity.

The study of 'practice' (as discussed in the previous chapter) has been used in the understanding of society for a considerable time now (Bourdieu 1977, Giddens 1984, Woodward 2003), but is of particular importance to the investigation of identity

in archaeology because of its constructive transparency: that is, you can relate a type of practice to an artefact without necessarily obscuring the other practices that artefact may have been utilized for, or assigning a single meaning to a single class or type of object (this is a key consideration taken into account when adapting Nina Crummy's 'Use Type' categories for my own methodology (Section 3.3.2)). When looking for identities in the archaeological record then, alteration or transformation in practices through time can be markers of social activity and social change. Therefore, it is through the "balance of routine and transformation in daily practices that larger-scale social and cultural formations are made or unmade" (Gardner 2007: 131), and in this thesis, it is the interplay between different scales of investigation which seeks to address these flexible and numerous meanings. In Sections 2.3 and 2.4, and again in the paragraphs above it was explained that group identity and ethnicity are built upon the idea of perceived similarity in ways of doing things, and following on, this chapter strives to demonstrate how I will be tying those theories to the archaeological record through the study of material culture and daily practices. However, though similarity in practice can be telling, *differences* are equally important; and it is through the scrutiny of routine actions that I hope to find regional or local variation and therefore possible evidence of discrete identities in the archaeological record of the British Roman period.

Later in this chapter is an explanation of the types of identities I plan to look for on the rural sites I will investigate. However, implicit in any study of identity is the notion that each individual has multiple identities (such as age, gender, occupation, status). Equally, different identities are not static; they are constantly negotiated depending on context. It is also important to remember that the identification of an identity category does not necessarily solve the problem of

understanding human action in the past: "…there are broader scale processes in political economy that go beyond, and even fly in the face of, human intentionality." (Stein 2002: 914). Those broader processes are particularly relevant to studying the impact of material change because in their relation to the everyday lives of individuals lies the link between theories of identification and the archaeological record (specifically, how routine practices could have been affected by the Roman invasion and subsequent occupation). In order to begin to understand rural identity during the Roman period, we must first draw on the distinction between virtual (experienced) and nominal (named/discussed) aspects of identification (cf. Jenkins 2008: 44) to compare different 'British' experiences, and the often subtle interplay of everyday routine, material culture, and social change. However, before different identities themselves are investigated, it seems appropriate to discuss the setting in which many are formed, negotiated and expressed: the household.

3.1.4 Household Archaeologies, Household Identities

Household archaeology has been said to be the realm in which theories of organisational change can bridge the existing 'mid-level theory gap' (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 908), because the study of households allows archaeologists to move from processually-oriented studies of function and typology to holistic investigations of the 'human behaviour behind the material remains of settlement' (Ashmore and Wilk, 1988: 11). One of the characteristics evident to the various scholars who have examined households is their variability – the term 'household' can mean different things to different people at different social strata within a given society. In this thesis "household" is taken in a broad sense, as all of the people residing in a dwelling (or closely related group of dwellings) who worked and lived in close proximity to one

another, and who were possibly (though not always) related by kinship. This notion of a household is generally larger than a family unit, and includes servants or slaves and extended family members – as all of those people would be tied together economically and functionally in terms of production and consumption, regardless of the nature of their blood ties to one another. Farmsteads in pre-Roman Britain and those during the conquest and occupation were multi-purpose spaces hosting a myriad of diverse activities – only some of which can be identified in the archaeological record. As well as being based in a primarily agricultural setting, many rural dwellings also produced goods like metalwork, ceramics and textiles. Social activities can be seen in the archaeological record as well, in the form of pottery indicative of display or feasting, animal remains which can tell us about the diet of the occupants or deposits indicating possible ritual behaviour (all of these types of activities will be discussed throughout the following chapters).

To create a methodology for understanding the diversity of households in rural Roman-period Britain, different scales of study must be employed. Wilk and Rathje (1982: 621) recommend the 'sphere of household function' as a tool in comparing and contrasting domestic units to the functional spheres of other types of groups. When the sphere of household function (or combination of functions) has been determined, it seems logical to then attempt to understand the different activities necessary for that function, and to isolate the possible roles which would have been required to perform those activities. This study then goes beyond that, linking the activities within the sphere to the probable identities expressed through the actions.

All of the farmsteads in this study are rural, and most seemed to have focused on agricultural activities, though regionally-specific activities (based in part upon the natural resources of the area) can also be seen in the archaeological record (the

region-specific activities pertinent to this thesis will be discussed in Sections 4.2.3, 5.2.3 and 6.2.3). On closer inspection, it can also be possible to determine different gender and age-specific activities probably performed by the members of a household (cf. Neff 2002, Lightfoot *et al.* 1998 and Robin 2002). Gender as an identity lies in an uncomfortably contentious place in the social sciences, and especially archaeology (Geller 2009; 56-57, also see below). Gender roles, however, are an important consideration in the study of rural Romano-British farmsteads, in part because the recruitment of men into the army would likely have greatly affected the farming community (see Sections 8.1 and 8.2, and also van Driel-Murray 2008). Both gender and age will be discussed in the next section, but as this thesis is focused on the identification of possible material expressions of identities in the archaeological record of daily rural life, it is important to remember that whilst some activities can be said to be more gender-or-age-specific very few can be conclusively assigned to one age or sex.

Because this study begins with the premise that the physical remains of routine activities are indicative of certain ways of doing things, and that those ways of doing things can tell us about how people chose to perceive themselves and to be perceived, specific 'identities' cannot be considered in isolation in an arena where a number of other identities would have been expressed on a daily basis (and it is the interaction of multiple identities which is most often visible in the archaeological record). More salient to this thesis than those studies which focus on single identities is the work of scholars like Deagan (1983, 1998) and Ewen (1991), who have attempted to understand complex notions of transculturation and ethnogenesis through activity areas in houses, or Chadwick (2004), who examines changing depositional practices and domestic areas with a view to understanding social change.

However, it is not as easy as simply determining the types of actions performed in or around a household; the difficulty comes in trying to understand what those actions meant to the people who performed them, and how they defined who those people believed they were. Acculturation models or 'Romanisation' would explain the changes in post-conquest British material culture as a simple cause and effect scenario: 'The Romans' invaded, the indigenous population saw the 'Roman way of life' as more desirable than their old one, and they strove to emulate their conquerors. However, a simple one-to-one relation cannot characterise the whole of the Roman Empire, and certainly not Roman-period Britain. As was discussed in the above in Section 3.3.1, the inhabitants of Britain were not a culturally homogenous entity (nor were the invading armies or other groups of immigrants), and therefore physical or cultural encounters were not bipolar events – they must have involved the interaction of multiple groups. The link between these 'multiple groups' and the negotiation of identities lies in the material culture, which has in the past often been 'misread' to support theories of Romanisation. However, acculturation or control by a foreign body cannot be indicated by the presence of foreign artefacts alone. Even if emulation was taking place it need not imply control or subservience either, because, "…although foreign knowledge, goods and styles may bring prestige to those who borrow them, this prestige will be defined in terms of the borrower's own cultural system" (Stein 2002: 907-8). In archaeological terms, this can be seen in the way that individuals utilised items and maintained (or changed) routines to reinforce social identities.

3.2 Understanding the 'Cultural System': Disparate Identities in Practice

As discussed in the previous chapter and above, identity is a fluid construct utilized in the creation/identification of similarity and difference within and between groups. However, multiple identities co-exist within each individual, household, group, society, nation, and so forth. David Mattingly (2004) has attempted to outline and understand the numerous identities present in Roman-period Britain, and his discussion of ascribed identities has been influential in refining the identity categories in this thesis. These identities were presumably individual and personal, but they could also have been visible and public to some extent. It is true that a significant part of identity lies in the 'interaction order' (Jenkins 2008: 61), where our 'public image' and 'self-image' meet, but the 'self-image' or 'personal identity' is not the goal of this study; rather, it is the projection of the self as belonging to a group which is of interest, and the traces of those groups which can be investigated in the archaeological record. Though many types of social identities must have been present in Roman-period Britain, I have chosen to focus on a select few that I believe will be most visible in the archaeological record of rural Oxfordshire, Sussex, and Yorkshire. Below, these identities are briefly discussed.

3.2.1 Status, Economic Position and Class

Status plays an important role in the understanding of the Romano-British period, especially in terms of the archaeological exploration of the countryside. In the past, the focus on villas and the over-reliance on texts by Roman authors have skewed perceptions toward a view that rural life was dominated by rich landowners and transplanted 'Roman' elites (e.g. Russell 2006). However, the vast majority of those

living in the countryside were not villa-owners, and a 'villa owner' is not a single type or class of person. Also, the diffuse boundaries in place before the Roman invasion are likely to have marked the rough territories of different societies, who could have assigned very different meanings to architecture and material culture. These groups may not simply have differed in their cultural viewpoints; they lived and worked in separate regions with varied landscapes, and therefore probably focused on different types of agricultural and craft activities (see Sections 4.2.3, 5.2.3 and 6.2.3). Their pre-Roman period interactions with outsiders and one another likely affected their views about themselves and their material choices (cf. Moore 2011: 351), and an uncritical characterisation of their interaction with foreign material culture serves to tell us nothing about the way in which local societies worked.

Status and wealth are not easily extricated from one another in textual sources, nor can they be easily differentiated in the archaeological record because (like many terms) they have the ability to mean different things to different people using them. In rural Roman-period Britain we have to contend with the idea that farmers, local or regional elites, retired military officers, Roman officials, craft workers, merchants and other types of people could all have owned or lived on farmsteads in the countryside, and we can never know for certain who the occupants of any given domestic unit were. However, indicators of wealth or status can be defined through the likelihood of access to (and presence on sites of) certain types of material remains, and also through changes in diet, architecture or use of space. Status can be closely tied to both age (see Section 3.4.4) and occupation, though these pose challenges to our understanding of primarily agricultural settlements because of the myriad activities likely to have been performed by many members of the household at different times of day and in different seasons.

Of course, at the other end of the spectrum of status is the position of slaves or indentured servants, which are only really known from textual sources (George 1997). Indications of possible slave or servant presence can be alluded to in the architecture of the house or outbuildings, or by finds such as locks and keys and shackles (see the discussion of Barton Court Farm, Section 7.2), though these objects themselves could have been used in military contexts as well. It is important to note however, that while the nature of any search for slaves or servants in the archaeological record is extremely problematic (cf. Webster 2008), the presence of people of different status living together in the same dwelling or compound would have affected the movement within and around activity areas.

3.2.2 'Roman' Identity and Military Identity

Discussed earlier were some theories of 'Romanisation' – and to a large extent anyone wanting to address 'Roman' identity must first grapple with ideas that have been brought to the forefront by the critique of that concept: namely the question of what 'being Roman' may have actually meant. To a large extent, the notion of 'being Roman' can be understood in the context of citizenship; individuals outside of the city of Rome were not 'Romans' *per se* (i.e. not 'of Rome'), however they were 'citizens of the Roman Empire' (and citizenship itself was a variable concept as well as a variable reality until the 3rd century A.D.). As such, their local identities probably manifested themselves more strongly in their day-to-day lives than any all-encompassing 'Roman' identity could. Critically for Roman-period Britain then, Roman citizenship was not necessarily exclusive of other identities, and local groups or societies were probably able to negotiate both political and cultural attributes. Evidence of this negotiation is what I hope to find in my research. By studying

different regions, it may be possible to see evidence of regional traditions/ways of doing things, which are likely to have evolved at different rates in different localities.

Enmeshed with ideas of 'Roman identity' are those of military identity, though the military community also stands apart as a source of 'institutional identity' (James 1999). The study of military identity in Britain has involved analysis of the use of artefacts on military sites to grapple with the differentiation of military and civilian identities and with studies of female or family presences on fort sites (Gardner 2001, 2007; Allison 2007). Military identity was probably as affected by experience as much as any other type of identity, especially as many of the soldiers were from different parts of the Roman Empire. It is possible that some active military personnel lived outside of the barracks with their families, and it is also possible that later in the Roman period, the presence (or absence, to be more precise) of conscripted individuals can be seen in the archaeological record of farmsteads that experience rapid changes in activities, due to the loss of male members of the household (cf. van Driel-Murray 2006).

In terms of this study then, military identity is a difficult notion because evidence of military presence can come from different sources. Firstly, military units like garrisons may have affected life on farmsteads in an economic way, requiring produce, livestock, or other goods like metal objects. Also, during the Roman period both retired and also possibly active military personnel may have lived in the countryside. Lastly, later in the Roman period men may have been conscripted, affecting the workload on farmsteads and perhaps necessitating changes in activities. Of course, the various signs of military identities are difficult to identify with complete certainty, though attempts will be made by looking at both artefacts and activities.

3.2.3 Ethnicity, 'Group' or 'British' Identity

Previously, I discussed theories of ethnicity and their relation to group identification in societies. Of course, as was discussed above, the Roman period in Britain cannot be characterised by a dichotomy of 'Roman' vs. 'Native', nor can the material culture be described in that way. Instead, we must think of interacting 'spheres of influence' which allowed groups to mark themselves out as the same or different from one another (cf. Moore 2011: 350-351). Those spheres of influence may have been characterised by differences in language, rituals, and symbols, including the practices people engaged in on a day-to-day basis, the clothes they wore, and the meaningful actions they undertook; and it is the cultural traits they held in common (or believed they did) that provide a "basis for ethnic closure" (Jenkins 1997: 10, Ruane and Todd 2004), and even more importantly, the resources for creating a typology of ethnicity in the archaeological record. This typology, being necessarily rough in nature, involves using the material record to pinpoint evidence of past practice, and then refining those practices into groups of activities. Once activities have been identified, it will be possible to use the material correlates for those activities (and the contexts those artefacts/activities were situated in) to highlight patterns which then can indicate choices made by different groups.

As was mentioned in Chapter 1 (Section 1.4), it seems likely that there was no universal 'British identity' at the time of the Roman invasion (Matthews 1999). Instead, it is likely that occupational, social or kinship group affiliations were the strongest communal identities. However, currently the archaeology of communities is of growing interest in linking household and regional studies. The context of this research is well-positioned to address such links, as this study seeks to "investigate how the localities of people's lives and work articulated with larger social, political

and economic institutions" (Robin 2003: 331). The investigation of these kinds of group or communal identities is where the importance of the aforementioned locales of cultural consumption comes into play. It is likely that the articulation or overlapping of these loose socio-economic links in time and space is where the strongest evidence of identities will lie.

3.2.4 Other Identities

The kinds of identities discussed above are just a few of the myriad that are likely to have come into play in the Romano-British countryside. Unfortunately, as was intimated above with the example of slaves (Section 3.2.1), some identities are less visible in different archaeological contexts than others (cf. Casella and Croucher 2011), and only those facets of personal identity most visible on Romano-British farmsteads have been investigated in this thesis. However, even though some identities were less visible in the archaeological record of the sites in this study, they still had an important role to play in thinking about the social interactions and daily routines of a rural dwelling.

Gender exists both as (arguably) the most important identity category in human society, and also a challenging concept to address in the archaeological record, not least because of its varying definitions within each individual, group, and society. Social gender roles, being vague in some instances and strict in others, remain difficult to specify materially, and making assumptions about gender-specific items can be detrimental to our understanding of the past (cf. Allason-Jones 1995: 27-28, Allason-Jones 1999). Also, assigning activities to a particular gender is not feasible in many contexts, especially rural ones. This is because it is likely that the division of labour would have been mediated by the nature of agricultural work, which may

necessitate the mobilization of the entire household as a workforce at certain times of the day or year (Robin 2003: 327).

Investigations into gender, particularly those revolving around activity on military sites, have been fruitful (Allason-Jones 1999; Allison 2007), but the kinds of assumptions made in such studies concerning the nature of gendered activities cannot be used everywhere. More concrete evidence tying gender to the material record has come from mortuary evidence, which, if compared locally, can be used to investigate gendered dress over time (though mortuary items are chosen by the living, not the dead). However, dress does not conclusively project gender identity (cf. Scott 1997: 9).

Another avenue of study which has been both interesting and fruitful is the analysis of architectural plans in terms of gendered activities. Lisa Nevett's (1999) investigation of spatial segregation in ancient Greek houses illustrates that while still problematic, the understanding of accessibility within a house, when combined with an understanding of contemporary societal norms can serve to inform our perceptions of domestic interaction in the past. In any case, it seems likely that many Romano-British rural farmsteads were structured in terms of workspaces, which in some cases could indicate activities involving individuals of different genders, but which cannot be used to conclusively prove the presence of "gendered behaviour" (see Hingley 1989). These types of areas have been highlighted in chapters 4, 5 and 6 and discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 with discussion of what gender-specific evidence they produced.

Another challenging identity category is that of age. Age can be defined by biological (based solely upon physical maturity) or symbolic (e.g. based upon socially accepted rites of passage) markers, and plays a crucial role in facilitating or limiting

one's actions and interactions and determining one's level of contribution to a group. Understanding age in the archaeological record is troublesome because age-specific evidence is extremely difficult to isolate without mortuary data, and age categories (like gender identities) are culturally variable (Baxter 2005: 18). Age is also strongly linked with the problematic concept of status (discussed above); as the position of an individual and their role both within and outside of the household was in constant flux throughout their lifetime (cf. Harlow and Lawrence 2002: 2). Materially, age is difficult to pinpoint not least because many functional objects were used by people of all ages. In addressing the materiality of age however, Baxter (2005) has suggested some methods for identifying children's artefacts, one of which is to note the nature of manufacture of an item (as children often break toys, items for children may be less well-made). However, in (non high-status) rural contexts, a given biological or 'social' age may not have had much meaning in the day-to-day working of the farmstead, and temporary 'adult status' could also have transferred to the wider community when a young person was sent off the farm to run errands in the place of an adult (Baxter 2005: 36).

A number of probable rural identities have been discussed in this section. All of these types of social identities have been sought out in this thesis, but as was elucidated above, some are more visible in the archaeological record than others. However, it is not simply the archaeological record itself that affects modern investigations, but also the methods which are chosen to study the past. Below, the methodology created for this thesis will be outlined, along with a discussion of the specific challenges inherent in this study.

3.3 Space, Status, and Identity: Material Approaches

Chapter 1 included a discussion of the works of Richard Hingley (1989, 2005), Jeremy Taylor (2007), Penelope Allison (1993, 1997, 1999, 2004), Nina Crummy (1983), Jeremy Evans (1995, 2001) and J.T. Smith (1978, 1997). These works focused on different material aspects of the Roman period and asked different questions, but few other studies, either before or since, have sought to understand material changes through a hierarchy of interacting scales which were flexible enough to characterise different groups in different ways. My approach to understanding rural Roman households begins with the acknowledgement of local pressures as the primary factors in sociocultural and material change. Therefore, if past practice can serve as a medium through which social identities can be investigated, how are they to be found and understood in the archaeological record? This thesis will be using different kinds of material remains and different types of analyses to address a specific question, namely:

Can the day-to-day activities evident in the material record of rural farmsteads be seen to change in the Roman period, and if so, is this evidence of region-specific reactions to the Roman establishment?

If this question can be answered in the affirmative, it will bolster the hypothesis that local or regional identities were the most salient in mediating social change (cf. Gardin 1989:111).

3.3.1 Practical Considerations Part 1: Gathering Site Data

As was discussed in the preceding chapters, the study of rural settlement in Roman-period Britain has rarely been approached in an effort to understand social identities

through the analysis of multiple scales of interaction that include not only the household but the settlement, wider region and the province itself. I began by choosing three regions for study, which corresponded roughly to the modern counties of Oxfordshire, Sussex and Yorkshire. Oxfordshire was chosen because of the large amount of construction work and gravel extraction (and consequently, commercial excavation) that has taken place along the first and second gravel terraces of the river Thames. Sussex was chosen for this study because of the modern history of interest in Roman material culture in that area (owing to the likes of Fishbourne Roman Palace), and because I was personally interested to investigate evidence of the widely known ceramic disparities between west and east Sussex (cf. Green 1980:84). Yorkshire was the final region to be chosen, and was identified as a good candidate because it could give a picture of the north of Britain and also because it seemed to have interesting L.P.R.I.A. settlement activity (cf. Taylor 2007: 59-60, 98).

Needless to say it was kept in mind that modern counties do not necessarily equate to boundaries of any kind during the Roman period, however choosing sites from the same modern region does increase the likelihood of similar standards of reporting, especially for those sites which were excavated more recently by commercial units. Also, in the past as the present, excavations were written up (and landscapes/regional attributes studied) by a small number of individuals whose names came up again and again in the literature (e.g. O. Bedwin and M. Bell in Sussex, D. Miles and R.M. Timby in Oxfordshire/Gloucestershire, R.H. Hayes in Yorkshire), and further increased the likelihood of standardized reporting. Originally this thesis was to be based largely upon data from grey literature reports (a similar but more detailed approach to that taken by the Roman Grey Literature Project (Fulford 2011)), many of which lie in county records offices, local museums and/or with commercial units in

specific counties, and this was another reason for limiting my research to the boundaries of modern counties. Lastly, the choice of modern county boundaries meant that local units and specialists could be contacted, and their advice and knowledge proved invaluable in my research. In order to find suitable sites, Eleanor Scott's Gazetteer of Roman Villas (1993), local HERs and the journal *Britannia*'s annual listings of known Roman sites were used to search for excavations of rural domestic settlements by area. Suggestions were also taken from regional experts like David Rudling at Sussex University and Paul Booth of Oxford Archaeology.

In order to get an initial idea of the correct approach to address the question outlined in the last section, a pilot study was undertaken with two well-documented excavations in Oxfordshire (Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak Villa). To compile the data in the pilot study in a uniform manner, a number of databases in Microsoft Access were created (*Building Materials (Figure 3.1), Faunal Remains (Figure 3.2)* and *Pilot Database (Figure 3.3);* all of these can be found on the Appendix CD). The largest of these is the latter database, which holds over 1800 records of artefact data from the two sites. The pottery and small finds from the excavations were inputted using The Museum of London Archaeology Specialist Service's standard format and type codes where at all possible. The records were regularized by an arbitrary 'primary key', and the artefacts inputted using the variables present on the form in Figure 3.3. The other two databases in the pilot study have similar variables, but in the case of the faunal remains only one entry per site was created (Figure 3.2). This 'assemblage-focused' approach was found to be much more expedient than an artefact-focused one, and eventually inspired the construction of the mid-scale regional database discussed below.

When the original databases were created it was thought that when linked together they would hold all the relevant information for each site, and provide an easy avenue for comparison between sites. However the analysis of Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak Villa proved to be overly detail-focused and somewhat redundant, as the inputting of the artefacts, ecofacts and building remains into a database was, in essence, simply digitising the published records.

My original approach, therefore, proved problematic for two reasons. Firstly, having explored the constraints of a regularized database, I determined that it was only possible to input very detailed data for a small number of sites. Secondly, and more importantly, the digitising of an entire site, whilst perhaps useful in a context outside of the thesis, did not help me to best address the questions I was interested in exploring; the field of inquiry had not been narrowed.

Consequently, another Access database was created in order to investigate the broader regional scale (*Regional database, see* Figure 3.4 and also the Appendix CD). This database utilised my own syntheses of the published material. To do this I read through each report and created one entry/page per period in the regional database. This involved quantifying the known pottery forms by percentage of the entire assemblage, as well as quantifying them by period (taking into account both periods of manufacture and, where possible, use). Small finds were categorised using Nina Crummy's (1984) "Use Types" (more on this below in 3.3.2.) and quantified again by percentage of the total small finds assemblage (or published small finds assemblage; other information given in the report text, where not quantifiable, was also kept in mind for the discussions of the sites. The same thing was done for the floral and faunal remains, though a number of the reports had already quantified the bone by percentage themselves (see Section 3.4.5 below for a discussion of site formation).

The regional database, therefore, consists of simplified versions of the site reports (organised by the phases created by the excavators), which holds basic information regarding features (corndryers and wells were taken into account as well as any burials and cremations), small finds, coins (numbers were totalled from each period and the most common coin dates were noted), pottery (the three most common vessel types were included as well as the most common coarseware and fineware fabrics), structural and spatial information (noted in text fields) and faunal and floral remains (three most common noted for each period). The decision to use the top 3 finds in each category is explicitly discussed below in 3.3.2. All of the sites examined in this thesis were inputted into this database, including the sites used in the micro-scale analysis (Chapter 7), which were also looked at in more detail in spreadsheets included on the Appendix CD.

The micro-scale sites were chosen for further investigation because of their preservation and recording and also because a number of them had characteristics of interest (e.g. early construction dates, overlapping periods, multiple building sites, clear farmyard/activity areas, evidence of industrial or craft activity). The selection of these sites involved balancing different factors. Other sites like Dalton Parlours (Yorkshire), Norton Disney (Lincolnshire) and Beddingham Villa (Sussex) may have been exceptionally well excavated and would be of interest, but after the pilot study of Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak Villa it was determined that some sites (though theoretically ideal for investigation on the micro scale) had excavation histories and stratigraphic records that were so complex that they had the potential to come to dominate the analysis. On the other end of the spectrum, there are a number of sites included in the regional section of this study (e.g. Lamb's Lea, see Figure 3.5 or the site summary in Volume II Appendix I, B #14) which have not been fully excavated,

or which have very small assemblages. These sites have been included because even if they do not have strong finds assemblages, they may have other points of interest like unusual features, multiple building styles/phases, or large-scale industrial activity (West Blatchington is a good example, Volume II Appendix I, B #6 and Section 7.2, F); and can thus be of use in building up the larger picture of rural settlement. Whilst a site with a published pottery assemblage of 29 sherds, for example, is not useful on its own, when added into the larger analysis it becomes part of a regional characterisation. This study aims to wring the most information out of the reports, and this meant seeing the sites holistically, assessing their usefulness not only in the size of their assemblages but their makeup, and in spatial layouts and structural change over time. Each site chosen for this study has its own peculiar strengths and weaknesses, and to say that any one site was a 'best fit' for this study would be false.

Having said that, though, it is crucial for the reader to know the strengths and weaknesses of the sites in question, and that is why all of the sites were entered into an Excel chart and ranked on their data quality (Figure 3.5). This grading system was created both to inform the reader and also to streamline the information, so that all of the data from the sites did not have to be reprinted and discussed at length (a process I have left to the excavators themselves in their reports).

"A" sites refer to those which provided the greatest amount of good-quality data, with a clear indication of their limitations and possible biases, and with trustworthy spatial/context information. "B" sites are sites which were fairly well excavated and written-up, though they may be missing some details, or the domestic building (or other pertinent features) may have fallen partly outside the area of excavation. "C" sites are those that may be quite old, with limited reporting and which had notable issues with sampling or mapping. Lastly, "D" sites are the least

trustworthy sites because they are either extremely limited in their scope or they have very little useful artefact/ecofact information. There were many 'D' sites from each region that were discarded in the initial stages of my research, for just these reasons. The categorisation or ranking can also be found at the end of each site summary in Volume II, Appendix I: A-C, and can be referred to (along with the analyses on the Appendix CD) to gain a fuller understanding of possible bias in the sample. That being said, there are some sites which are categorised as "D" sites that were well-documented in one or more aspects, and made clear in the way that they are used in the regional characterisation, analysis or discussions in later chapters. In fact, one interesting point to consider when looking at the regional site surveys is that the characterisation of each of the regions was helped significantly by information found in the "C" or "D" category reports (examples of this can be seen in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and by looking at the 'Points of Note' in Volume II, Appendix I, A-C).

As was discussed above, a number of documentary/catalogue/gazetteer sources were utilised to identify sites of interest. In general terms then, the compilation of information from those sources for any given region produced a list of around 100 sites, more information usually being available for roughly half that number. Of that half, many of those sites were tile scatters, crop marks or sites excavated more than 70 years ago. Removing those, the lists shrank to around 30 sites excavated and recorded to varying degrees. In most cases then, of the sites left, approximately half that number were published in extremely small (1-5 page) reports. The rest (usually between 5 and 20 sites per region) were published as full sites, to a fair or good standard. This relatively small number necessitated the use of the broader regional studies and less well-published sites to bolster the more detailed data.

In terms of their recording, data from all of the micro-scale sites other than Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak Villa was collected in spreadsheets (organised by context) in Microsoft Excel, though they were also of course inputted into the regional scale database (these spreadsheets can be found on the Appendix CD). The combination of a queriable Access database and Excel spreadsheets (which are colour-coded by date range of deposits/features) was very useful in attempting to move between regional and local scales of investigation. In section 3.3.3 these scales are unpacked in order to describe their creation and utilisation. However, before going on, a fuller justification of the aforementioned 'Top 3' method and the use of 'Crummy's Categories' is necessary.

3.3.2 Creating a Holistic Method

As was mentioned above, the compilation of data from Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak Villa Site A involved the inputting of each artefact from the excavation report, along with the corresponding spatial and dating information. As can be seen from the Pilot form (Figure 3.3), this involved adding a significant amount of information into the database, some of which was redundant or unhelpful, in order to ensure accuracy. In some cases the artefact had little accompanying information that could be easily entered into the database, and a lengthy note was needed to explain a given point of interest. This meant that when querying the database I found myself reading through side notes, unable to clearly see patterns in the data because any underlying similarities between different sites were not clearly picked up by the query. I needed a method that still allowed reliable information to be entered into the database, but one that made patterns more visible and facilitated comparison within and between a greater number of sites. This method ended up having both temporal

and spatial dimensions, and combined Nina Crummy's (1983) aforementioned 'Use Types' for small finds with a percentage-based method I nicknamed "Top 3". The Top 3 method was inspired by ceramic studies like Jeremy Evans' (2001: 28, 34) (which suggested that the relative proportions shift through time as activities on site change), and relied upon using the reported proportions or percentages of items/individuals in each period (if the report gave them), the three largest of which were then inputted into the database. If no percentages were given, items were quantified using the published sample together with information from the text of the report. If very similar proportions of items/individuals were present, this was noted and both were entered into one field (e.g. "PIG/SHEEP"). This method allowed more sites to be examined over the whole of their lives, through various phases of expansion, retraction or relative stasis.

The 'Top 3' method, however, does place limitations on certain types of data. For example, though "regional variation, discrepant experience and indigenous resistance" could clearly be detected in my sample of sites (Redfern *et al.* 2010: 1149-1150), it is generally acknowledged that the most common species of plant and animal present in Britain during the Roman period vary little from place to place. Therefore in hindsight, a 'Top 10' approach may have picked out more significant variation among less common species for the environmental and faunal evidence. However, changes in the most numerous species on a given site can still be detected, and cannot be dismissed as insignificant – for example the switch from sheep to pigs, cattle or horses would have necessitated the construction of shelters or barns, and likewise, the tending of sheep rather than cattle would provide different material benefits, such as wool for textile production. Obviously dietary shifts are also very likely over time (cf. Redfern *et al.* 2010, Cheung *et al.* 2011: 70-71), and these can be hinted at not only

by the faunal remains but also by the changing ceramic assemblage, which is also scrutinised in the same way. Therefore, the novelty in this methodology lies in the fact that it facilitates the comparison of pottery, small finds, floral and faunal remains; which together strengthen patterns in time and space. However, in order to see the range of different variables possible, see Figure 3.6 for the pottery forms and floral and faunal remain types, and 3.7 for use-types (see the next paragraph).

After deciding to examine bulk finds through the 'Top 3' method, it became necessary to change the construction of my database completely from its pilot form. The new database (discussed above) was more focused on finding material and temporal trends in assemblages then comprehensively replicating data (the pitfall of the databases I created for the case study of Shakenoak Villa and Barton Court Farm). Also, an approach that made clear the different activities being performed on site was necessary. The 'Top 3' approach, whilst useful for pottery and species of plant and animal, would not be as useful for individual small find types, because the finds themselves are not as important as their various uses. Also, different types of finds can be used in the performance of the same kinds of general activities, and when counted together, better represent actual past activity (e.g. spindle whorls and loom weights are both associated with cloth making). Therefore, Nina Crummy's (1983) 'Use Type' categories (explained fully in the next section) were utilised to highlight activities and also facilitate comparison between small finds assemblages from different sites and in different areas. Using the use 'Top 3' use type categories together with the 'Top 3' ceramic forms, animal species and plant species greatly added to the degree of confidence placed in any material patterns found in the small finds. As an example, in Section 4.4 there is a discussion of change over time in Oxfordshire, in which a rise in the incidence of items for spinning and weaving is

accompanied by a shift in the most numerous animal on site (from sheep to cattle). The use of the 'Top 3' faunal data along with the use type activities serves to strengthen the argument that sheep were being kept for their wool, rather than killed for their meat.

Though it is true that (as was mentioned above with environmental material) there are some cases in which the 'Top 3' method is less successful at capturing completely novel trends in environmental assemblages, this does not detract from the strength of the overall approach. The advantage of using this combination of methods lies in its utility to examine changes in material culture in a greater number of assemblages over long or short periods of time. From this level of resolution, linking material changes to changes in activities (and consequently identities) in both temporal and spatial dimensions helps to bolster and contextualise the trends identified in the micro-scale studies. Whilst it is true that neither the patterns elucidated by small find 'Use Types' nor my own 'Top 3' method would stand alone as robust bases upon which to build an argument about past practices, when used together they act as a robust and flexible mid-level system for exploring material and spatial changes on farmsteads.

Moving on from the 'broad brush' or 'regional' examination of sites, in which the 'Top 3', temporal and activity-based site information allowed broad trends to be highlighted, a closer inspection of a limited number of individual sites was necessary in order to really look for identities in the archaeological record. As was mentioned above, the sites had to be well-documented and the assemblage strength/reliability assessed. Also, the sites could not be too large or stratigraphically complex, but (a good number of) the reports had to be sufficiently detailed to allow for meaningful patterns to be a possibility on inter- and extra-site comparison. In the next section,

Nina Crummy's 'Use Types' are practically tied to artefacts in order to identify activities, which can later be assessed with the pottery, floral and faunal data, as well as with the rest of the baseline site information. The kinds of broad activities described by the 'Use Type' categorisation are also ranked in the mid-level database with the 'Top 3' method. The shorthand assemblage data in the mid-level database, then, works together to give the most possible information about on-site activities over time.

3.3.3 From functional groupings of small finds to identities

As was mentioned above, in order to address the aim of this thesis, I believe a multi-scalar and multifaceted approach is necessary for identifying social practice in the past; however, it is first important to outline the types of practices indicated by the functional groups of small finds I will be using to understand activities on my sites. The functional or use-type categories have been taken from Nina Crummy's Colchester excavation report (Crummy 1983). Use-Type categories have also been created and used for ceramics (e.g. Whitelaw 2000), but are less nuanced when using published assemblages (cf. Winther-Jacobsen 2010: 279-280). Crummy's use-type categories were used for the small finds, with the addition of "Locks and Keys" from Hilary Cool's York report (Cool 1995), and a further subdivision of "Domestic" material, "Weapons" and "Building and Construction" (see below for an explanation of why this was necessary).

The types of activities I plan to look for are inspired by practice theories like Bourdieu's *habitus*, or Giddens' structuration theory, and fall in line with Gardner's 'contexts of practice' or 'ways of doing' (Gardner 2007: 128-132). These involve overarching concepts like *dwelling, working, appearing and communication*

(discussed in 7.3.4). Dwelling, which can be subdivided into further activities like *cooking/eating* (using both pottery and faunal/floral remains as indicators), *leisure*, *writing*, *household activity*, and so on, involves the activities immediately within the domestic structure, and not necessarily those in outbuildings. On a rural farmstead, *working* can involve tools, livestock, spaces, outbuildings, and production activity areas, among other things. Obviously there is some overlap between *dwelling* and *working*, because some forms of production can be based in the household. However, I have made an arbitrary division between production for the household (under *dwelling*) and larger-scale production possibly for economic gain (under *working*). The next overarching concept, *appearing,* relates to the outward facades of people and their property (and hence how they would like to be perceived), and can involve items of personal dress, toilet items, fixtures and furnishings, and architectural features (cf. Cool and Baxter 1995). *Communication* is a somewhat more nebulous term, which I have used in place of Gardner's '*Exchanging*' (Gardner 2007: 128-132). *Communication* can be seen in the archaeological record through the procurement (whether by monetary exchange or bartering) of non-homemade or non-local items, as well as in larger-scale construction activity which could have involved people other than the members of the household. Though it can relate specifically to coinage (as the widespread use of coinage was an important change from the previous bartering system, and therefore important to consider in possible transactions), *communication* as it is used in this thesis also relates to the likelihood of social interaction, as with farmsteads or sites which lay close to natural resources or roads. In this way, *communication* not only encompasses possible activities relating to exchange but also those involving negotiation. Taken together, this forms the rough typology of activities mentioned above and advances the study of household archaeology by

providing a more holistic approach to the understanding of rural domestic identities that is sensitive to material markers of change in both local and regional contexts.

3.3.4 Practical Considerations Part 2: Gathering Artefact Data

The smallest scale of data resolution in this study is that of the single artefact; however, artefacts in isolation can tell us little unless they are understood in their wider context. Nevertheless, in the pilot study each artefact (whether small find or potsherd) was entered separately into the aforementioned *Pilot Database*, with all the available information about its composition, context and date, as well as other notable attributes. All of the data inputted into the *Pilot Database* was taken from the published syntheses for Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak Villa (Building A). After the *Pilot Database* was found to be too exhaustive, finds on the smallest scale of resolution were inputted into separate Microsoft Excel sheets (see Appendix CD). Of course, having a single spreadsheet for each period of a site is not as detailed as having one database entry per find, but the spreadsheet allowed key information (date of object, type of object, date of deposit) to be included, as well as allowing context groupings and finds to be colour coded by date.

For the sites in the Access database, artefactual trends were sought out by querying the materials database by the variable *Period* and then transferring the results into Microsoft Excel. The spreadsheets compiled in Microsoft Excel were then used to determine the percentages of artefact types in each period, and to discern which types of artefacts may have been residual, intrusive or in some cases curated over time (this was based upon feature date as well as artefact date and artefact condition). Other queries involved organising the finds by find spot (if this information was given), looking at the regularity of finds in relation to certain features

(like pits and ditches), looking at the proportion of different types of floral/faunal remains over time to attempt to understand agricultural or dietary change, and also looking at architectural changes in relation to finds and activity areas over time. For the microscale studies from Yorkshire and Sussex (i.e. those in Microsoft Excel), contexts which were dated to the same approximate date were moved into phase-specific sheets (all of these sheets with their corresponding analysis are on the Appendix CD (see help document on CD)), which allowed the finds to be investigated in the context of their use and deposition, and compared with the colour-coded site maps to look at distribution over time (see 3.5).

As mentioned above, in order to understand and analyze the possible social implications of the regional assemblages of small finds, a system inspired by Nina Crummy's (1983) 'Use Types' was utilized. For a summary of Crummy's categories (and my own additional categories) which will be helpful in reading the discussion of finds below, see figure 3.7. However having a system to order artefacts does not mean that classification is always straightforward. Therefore, when a specific object could not be found in Crummy's Colchester report, it was either inserted into the category of "Unknown Items", "Fastenings and Fittings", or occasionally "Household or Domestic Items" (as items like small mounts were likely to have been attached to items in the household, like furniture). Also, certain types of sheet metal (e.g. Sheet Bronze, Iron Plate), were allocated to "Metalworking" unless they are particularly unusual, as in the case of a shaped "disc" of sheet bronze from Barton Court Farm, which was put into the category "Unknown Use".

Burials and grave goods are associated in Crummy's categories with "Objects associated with religious beliefs or practices" (her number 14, 1983: 141-148); however I have not counted grave goods as religious material because of the high

number of infant burials with grave goods on many rural sites. Instead, I have labelled placed deposits under evidence of 'Ritual' behaviour, not because they are necessarily 'ritual' (cf. Chadwick 2012: 294), but because they represent actions out of the ordinary, which were governed by social rules of interest to this study (especially as there has been seen (Fulford 2001: 215) to be little difference between 'ritual' deposition in urban and rural contexts, and this certainly suggests a process beyond the scope of routine behaviour). The category of "Military Equipment" has also been addressed, as I found it misleading to consider fittings from armour and simple weaponry together. I have therefore placed obviously military-associated items in the military category, and created a new category, "Weapons".

The category of "Buildings and Services" was a challenge, in that Crummy's category focuses on worked stone and the fabric of the building but not the items which are used to hold it together. Though it seems obvious that this is logical (e.g. a nail may be used for many reasons other than to build a building), the category itself is not as straightforward (or useful) in rural contexts as it might be in urban or military ones. Therefore "Buildings and Services" has been replaced by "Building and Construction", and where the use of an item is uncertain, the percentage has been split between that category and "Fasteners and Fittings".

As in Cool's (1995) York report, certain specific types of finds were split between different categories of use (e.g. Buckets between "Agricultural Use" and "Domestic Use"). This approach was decided on so as not to bias the sample, and can also be understood to represent the likelihood of items being used equally in separate contexts. Other finds, like chains (which could be categorized as personal adornment, agriculture, military, fastenings and fittings, or transport) were simply placed under the category of "Unknown Use", unless I could determine their probable function

from the illustrations or descriptions. Whetstones and mill/quernstones have been split between the "Tool" category and "Item of Agricultural Use" (or in some cases removed from part of the analysis because they skewed the dataset), because their presence could have been attributed to both the household and the farm. Fragments of glass, though included by both Cool and Crummy in terms of "household" material, are dealt with independently of both pottery and small finds for the simple reason that the addition of 5 tiny fragments of glass could bias a small rural dataset, over-representing "household" material.

Moving from small finds to bulk finds, pottery is an extremely important resource for understanding household dynamics. In reference to this thesis, the work of Jeremy Evans (1995, 2001) is most pertinent, as he rejects the notion of ceramic studies as being separate from finds studies, and calls for methodologies which treat pottery as part of the larger assemblage. This is a method reproduced in this thesis' materials database, where pottery is included with the rest of the finds. However, practically, whereas all finds in the microscale site reports were inputted into the Excel spreadsheets, only certain types of bulk finds (ceramics, glass, building material, animal bone and plant remains) were inputted into the regional database. This is because the above types of bulk finds were generally omnipresent on the rural sites and were determined to be the most likely to facilitate comparison between sites and regions. Other types of bulk finds which were rarely present or which may have been cumbersome to include at a broader level were included in the 'use types' (e.g. slag would be included with 'Metalworking' evidence, but as with glass and whetstone/quernstones was scrutinized during quantification in case it biased the sample).

3.3.5 The Importance of Spaces

Primarily associated with the microscale, but reaching into a wider scale of resolution is the study of spaces and activity areas associated with the household. The study of households has not always involved the study of space, but more recent work (Hendon 1996, Ashmore 2002, Robin 2003, Nevett 1999, Parker Pearson and Richards 1994, amongst others) has linked households to spaces, spaces to activities, and activities to societies in the past. The most comprehensive ongoing study of domestic room functions in the Roman world is arguably the research of Penelope Allison (1993, 1997, 1999, 2004), which takes account of artefactual information to highlight activity areas on sites. However, her approach is specifically tailored to urban Mediterranean houses and Roman military architecture, and cannot be easily transferred to a rural British context.

This is because geographical location and settlement context are not the only divergence between Allison's work on Pompeiian houses and this study of Romano-British farmsteads; Allison's focus on 'room function' is made possible by the considerable in-situ preservation at a site like Pompeii. However, due to the fact that many Romano-British sites have sporadic or non-existent in-situ indications of activity areas, this research uses information from features to infer information about movement through spaces and activities around the farmsteads. Therefore a multi-scalar approach to households in the Romano-British countryside must be more grounded in temporal change than studies like Allison's or Lisa Nevett's (1999, see 3.2.2. above), because it is the varying proportions of artefacts and the evolution of spaces on sites through which material choices and changing practices can be seen.

As was mentioned above, different identities can be investigated through the examination of similarity and difference in practices. This is applicable to the

investigation of space in Roman-period Britain because the socio-cultural stimuli which spurred the adoption and adaptation (into routines of domestic daily life) of novel artefacts and novel architectural forms necessarily affected use of space in a rural context. Having said that change is important, however, does not diminish the significance of the maintenance of practices; and these can inform us about what may have been meaningful traditions before and after the Roman conquest. This has been convincingly demonstrated by the work of a number of scholars (Bowden and McOmish 1987, Collis 1996, Hingley 1990, Robbins 1998), but most recently by Chadwick (1997, 1999, 2004, 2012) who has argued that the continuity of depositional practices in ditch-ends and pits from the Iron Age into the Roman period can inform us about the continuity of identity. Chadwick (1997, 1999, 2012) has also argued that the maintenance of larger spaces like enclosure ditches and field systems can also imply the continuity of communal or group identity.

The study of space is not a new avenue towards understanding the past. Classical archaeology has long been concerned with architectural space, and particularly with the idea that architectural forms reproduce and/or enforce social norms in the Classical world. However, tying architecture in a meaningful way to social change is a relatively recent phenomenon, and has in the case of the North Western provinces (including Britain) been tackled by J. T. Smith (1978, 1997). Smith used house plans to infer the development of 'villa society', and to define the groups who may have resided in villas. Smith hypothesises an extended kinship-based system in Roman-period Britain (cf. Hingley 1989) for which he sees evidence in the development of a 'unit system' (the partitioning of a single domestic structure). He contrasted this with complexes of multiple buildings, possibly indicating single families with 'social inferiors' living in outbuildings of lesser quality. However, this

part of Smith's argument has been questioned by Rippengal (1993: 88), who rightly points out that, "...it is possible for there to be considerable inequalities within a kinship system". Even so, Smith's approach to looking at villa architecture as representative of social relations is a very useful model, though only partly applicable to the study of (non-villa) Romano-British farmsteads because of its focus on masonry and floor plans, which are not always preserved. Therefore, broad architectural concepts like the presence of 'reverse symmetry' (mirroring in the floor plan of the structure, 1997: 59-62) could be assessed in this study, where there is evidence of a structure, but, to my mind, these cannot stand alone as evidence of social relations in themselves and must be assessed along with other forms of material evidence. Also dependent on *in situ* architecture is 'space syntax' analysis, which can identify 'nodes' where people interact or practice activities, and connections between them. The usage of nodal analysis can illuminate transformations in practice (cf. Hillier 1996), but as with Smith's architectural method, is dependent upon very good preservation of buildings (with doorways and identifiable rooms in different periods). Unfortunately, therefore, this approach could not be attempted in this thesis, as only a fraction of the sites included have such preservation (and detail in their reports). However, where little or no structural evidence is present, a focus on spatial change or change in features, combined with artefactual evidence both within and without architectural spaces is a more useful avenue toward the identification of work areas. These areas of activity can then inform us about the transformation or continuity of practices over time (cf. Gardner 2007: 131).

In order to identify areas of activity on the sites, it was necessary to be able to look at artefacts and features together, without losing sight of their specific temporal contexts. This inspired the creation of interactive maps for the micro-scale analysis in

Chapter 7 (these can be seen in better resolution on the Appendix CD). These maps were created by scanning and digitally tracing site maps into *Adobe Photoshop* and *Illustrator*, creating separate layers for each site period and placing the relevant features in these layers (if features were present in different periods this was taken into account). Once the maps were completed, the period-organized Microsoft Access and Excel tables were referred to in order to place artefacts onto each site map and into each feature by period. In order to make a clear and dynamic image, graphic symbols were created for each type of artefact (Figure 3.8). At the same time, a colour-coding system was put in place so that, at a glance, it is possible to see the likely intrusive or residual material in any given feature/period (Figure 3.9). These maps are interactive in the sense that the various layers can be toggled on and off to show different snapshots in time (For example, you can see how much intrusive 2nd century pottery was found in 1st century ditches, or where there are groupings of 4th century small finds). I believe that this type of flexible analytical mapping can be used to strengthen many of the approaches discussed above. Being focused in part on looking at change through time, and also tailored to scrutinize spaces and artefacts separately, these kinds of maps could be of use to studies like those of Allison (1999, 2001, 2004, 2006) and Nevett (1999). They may also be used to investigate changing depositional processes like those that interest Chadwick (2001, 2012), and build upon the more architecturally-focused work of J.T. Smith. However, though a single farmstead can serve as a home and workspace to individuals, it does not constitute their whole world, and this is why the micro scale of investigation must be considered in the context of wider regional considerations, which in the context of this thesis are provided by the broad regional information given in Sections 4.1, 5.1 and 6.1.

The previous chapter mentioned the work of Amos Rapoport (1990), and more specifically his "systems of settings", which relate to theories of the socially shaped and activity-ordered use of space. Rapoport posits that social variables like 'values' and 'lifestyle' characterize groups, and in turn, groups are the key to relating culture to built environment (Rapoport 1990: 10-11). Though Rapoport's work is more concerned with modern society, his theories can be applicable to the past because it is the "redundancy of cues" (ibid: 17), that play a large part in informing archaeologists about routine practice (the redundancy of cues relates in architecture to specific unspoken messages that are related through the built environment. The more ways in which a 'cue' is dispersed into different systems, the more likely it is to be understood). The spaces in which day-to-day life is carried out are not isolated settings, and:

> "…activity systems are inevitably organized in space and time. It follows that one cannot look at single activities but must consider activity systems. It also follows that one cannot merely consider a particular building because (the great majority of) people do not live in, or act exclusively in, single buildings; they use various buildings, a variety of outdoor spaces, settlements, and whole regions: they inhabit cultural landscapes. One cannot, therefore, only look at architecture. Any given building exists in a wider context to which it is linked through the activity systems of its occupants." (Rapoport 1990: 17)

This notion brings us to the widest scale of resolution, which involves thinking about the household as part of a broader pattern of settlement within the rural landscape.

3.3.6 Settlements and Landscapes

The widest scale of data-resolution used in this study is also unsurprisingly the most general: the investigation of macroscale regional patterning using the data from published synthetic studies to look at very broad trends in finds, architecture, and settlement. Rural domestic units do not stand in isolation; they are usually attached to

some form of agricultural or (small-scale) industrial production, which in turn ties them to the larger economy. Arguably, the first detailed study of rural settlement in Roman-period Britain was by Richard Hingley (1989), who focused on settlement types as indicators of societal change. However, more recently Jeremy Taylor's *Atlas of Roman Rural Settlement* (2007) has also endeavoured to isolate temporal and social markers through landscape change. Works like these lay the foundations for a broader understanding of overall patterns through time, and will be used in the context of this thesis to underpin the studies of space, which in turn integrate the architectural and artefact data in the regional histories. These larger studies and regional histories are not only useful for understanding settlement patterns, however. Results of other studies on specific artefact types (e.g. Evans 2001) can be used to further contextualise the results. In Chapters 4-6, the regions are also discussed in terms of their specific resources, attributes and industries (Sections 4.2.3, 5.2.3, and 6.2.3), and this is governed in part by the types of relevant studies that have been performed there. It is for this reason that not all of the regions are discussed in terms of the same factors.

3.4 Challenges

3.4.1 Site Reports: A representative sample?

Using data from published reports and not the original excavation archives was a major concern in terms of biases in reported information; however an investigation into the feasibility of obtaining the original reports themselves indicated that this would prove time consuming in the extreme, and ultimately fruitless in most cases (for example, information on a number of the sites were held by archaeologists who had passed away without archiving the original site documents). This result inevitably means that the information gathered is only a sample of all of the artefacts excavated on site; however one of the core precepts of this thesis involved the use of commercial excavation data, in order both to highlight its usefulness in general and also to test the multi-scalar method discussed above. By comparing the summary percentage calculations with my lists of finds it was determined that in many cases the assemblages were sampled relatively evenly. Discussion of individual problems with specific sites are discussed either in 4.2.5, 5.2.4 or 6.2.4, in the site summaries in Volume II (Appendix I), or in the latter parts of Chapters 4 – 7.

In the case of some of the site reports, objects and features were at times mentioned in the text but not followed up in the later descriptions or the finds analyses. In these cases I found it essential to 'read between the lines' and include this information in whatever way I could in my analyses. The varied assemblage sizes of the different sites also meant that in some cases, the presence or absence of certain types of remains was all that could be noted. This was seen to be the best way to include smaller samples in the quantification of the 'Top 3', and is a method that has been used with success to build up pictures of wider areas/time periods (see Van der Veen *et al.* 2008). There were also some sites which discussed proportions of finds in

the text, but did not quantify them, and some that discussed finds in features that were not later expounded upon; in these cases I referred in the tables or on the microscale site maps that an uncertain number of finds existed in certain periods/ features (e.g. West Blatchington in Sussex, where the finds from the early Romano-British ditches were discussed but unquantified in the report (Figure 7.51, indicated by the '+' inside find icons). At other times the varied site reporting made certain specific assertions by the excavators interesting, or pertinent to my study (e.g. 'Points of Note' in the site summaries in Appendix I in Volume II).

Whilst I did spend a certain amount of time wrestling with the idea that without numerical data, assertions by the authors without reference to proportions or deposits could be misleading, I came to the conclusion that as points of interest seen fit to relate by the excavators, they could only serve to inform my interpretation of the regional studies (see Hilary Cool's allusion to the issue of 'reading between the lines' in her study of eating and drinking in Roman Britain; Cool 2006: 1-2). As for my recognition of presence/absence as a viable tool, it must be said that I see it being most successful within the wider context of a multi-scalar method. As is discussed throughout this thesis, there are some sites that have weaker information than others, but this information is not always in the same area. For this reason, it was decided to keep as much information in the quantification and discussion as possible, to show where possible weaknesses might lie, or where further study may be useful (see Figure 5.51 as an example).

3.4.2 Chronological Challenges

Each site was represented within the regional database by one to five records divided by time period (Usually L.P.R.I.A. – 50, 0-100, 50-150, 100-200, 150-300, 200-400,

250-450). These periods were dependent on the length of occupation and phases created by the excavators, so that different finds or structures present in specific time periods on sites could be compared independently. The result was that when the sites began to be analysed together as a unit, it necessitated grouping some sites together which may have slightly different period ranges (e.g. Appleford 75 B.C.-150 A.D. is grouped with Hatford 75 B.C.- 125 A.D.). As is obvious, these dates are not wildly dissimilar. The fact that excavation dating systems (and indeed the original dates of occupation) differ on most of the sites studied has been a challenge. To address that issue it seemed more prudent to utilise the date ranges offered by the excavators then to create a completely new and ultimately more confusing independent date range (so, for example I have compared the "Latest Romano-British" (375-425) period at Barton Court with the "Period 3b" (350-430) from Shakenoak Villa). This issue of date discrepancies has also been addressed by looking at the 'lives' of the detailed sites (Section 8.1) as well as discussing their changes over time; this meant that characteristics and events could be scrutinized independently of phase.

3.4.3 Spatial Challenges: Excavators' prerogative

Different reports offered different perspectives on excavation standards. At some sites findspots were clearly labelled for (nearly) every published find (and some unpublished finds), while at others no feature numbers were given for artefacts at all. In some reports the area indicated for the finds was frustratingly vague (e.g. "North of Building A." Brodribb *et al.* 2005: 47). However, in all cases great effort was put into placing finds on the maps in the most accurate way possible, and when at all unclear, the problem was noted. In a number of cases (dependent on site), finds of

questionable provenance were simply placed with unstratified material rather than possibly creating a misleading picture of the spatial distribution over time.

3.4.4 Unequal Representation, Site Reports, and Scalar Challenges

Modern understanding of the archaeological record is constrained by any number of factors, one of the most important being the intensity of construction and commercial excavation in different geographical locations (see Sections 4.1.1, 4.2.5, 5.1.1, 5.2.4, 6.1.1 and 6.2.4 for region-specific issues). As was mentioned above, sites included in this research are grouped roughly within modern administrative areas. However, because of the hazards involved in grouping ancient sites within a modern geographical area, included in the broad-brush database/research are a few sites which are not in the modern regions at all (but closely neighbour them). I felt in many cases that these outlying sites were crucial to the understanding of the overall picture of rural settlement, not least because they were in many cases better excavated than other sites in the region. A few extra-county sites were also suggested to me by local archaeologists whose knowledge of the region outweighed my own (e.g. Cotswold Community, Winterton, Old Winteringham).

Nearly as important as the different intensities of excavation in different locations are the varied standards of recording in different areas and at different periods in time (where relevant the excavation biases of each individual site have been mentioned, and taphonomic factors are also discussed below). Though it is right to be critical of the use of (frequently un-standardised) published reports in a modern research context, the alternative is simply to let them fall into obscurity. This is not to say that grey literature and unpublished reports are the ideal material to work with; in fact a number of the sites suggested to me could not be used in this study because data

had been lost and/or reports had gone unwritten. However grey literature can be used with much success (e.g. Bradley 2007, Fulford 2011), and now that the study of rural sites is more than simply the study of villas, it is becoming increasingly clear that previously excavated rural sites should not be neglected (cf. Hingley 2000: 41, 193).

The site reports used in this thesis are varied in form, nature, quality and content, but they all add information and texture to the regional studies. When discussing the results of my analyses I have always attempted to be critical of patterning which may be an artefact of insufficient data. However, even if less well-documented sites' assemblages can be used only on the basis of presence/absence; they still exist as a part of the overall rural picture. Of course, the choice of three varied regions of Britain meant that each 'rural' picture was a slightly different one (discussed in Sections 4.4.1, 5.5.1 and 6.6.1), affected by both natural and artificial factors over time. These naturally create different site histories, the notion of which leads us to the important consideration of taphonomy in archaeological studies.

3.4.5 Site Formation Processes

Though this study aims to be a holistic one, this does not mean that the material used in the analysis can ever present the entire picture of rural life in Roman period. Considerations of site formation are central to the investigation of the past, because the archaeological remains found in the stratigraphic record are generally only a portion of the original assemblage. Some admirable discussions of various taphonomic processes have been published recently (e.g. Peňa 2007, Torben 2002, Wright 2010: 44-47, Van Der Veen 2007), focusing on different aspects of the material record, and also sites themselves, as well as introducing new, more 'holistic' approaches (e.g. Madgwick 2010). In the context of studies using published material

for a research project such as this one, however, it is important to consider that taphonomic factors are more than just natural processes. For example, many studies focus upon post-depositional events or 'cherry-pick' specific types of taphonomic processes to answer particular questions (e.g. Outram 2001: 401-410). These kinds of studies, when used uncritically, can be as misleading as research using heavily sampled material, because they do not give the reader the full picture. This thesis seeks to use published sites to their fullest potential, but each of those sites is affected by both natural processes and human action. Classes of artefact are not created equal in the sight of taphonomic processes, and that variation can create bias, because artefacts of different materials weather at different rates, and are broken by various natural and artificial processes.

The rates at which things decompose in different conditions are obviously of interest to archaeologists, but as we cannot always know the specifics of when items came into the archaeological record, we are forced to judge the items by a number of factors, not least their degree of brokenness, the likelihood that they may have been trampled (this can point to activity areas (cf. Nielson 1991: 483)) or the fact that they may have been moved about in the clearing/maintenance of areas/ditches or manuring of fields. Even more likely is the re-use of items (like pottery base sherds (Peňa 2007: 199-200)), which affects even rigorous methods of quantification. The issue of the 'life cycle' has discussed by Paul Tyers (1996: 24-37) in terms of pottery, but the notion of a 'life assemblage' (use), 'death assemblage' (breakage) and 'archaeological assemblage' (sample recovered from excavation) can also be utilised for the understanding of other types of evidence.

Another related factor is the fact that there are varied recovery rates for different types of item, which also impact upon quantification. For example, the

calculation of estimated vessel equivalents (EVE's) uses rim sherds, which themselves vary greatly in thickness, quality of manufacture, and sturdiness; and are very much affected by the method of their recovery (Orton 1993: 32, 179). This is also true of animal bones, which can come in various shapes and sizes and have various uses.

Though every object that is recovered from an archaeological excavation has been affected by various "transforms" (see Schiffer 1976 for a discussion of this), ecofacts present significant challenges to interpretation, both because of their variable preservation and also because of their numerous uses in the past. Grains, for example, may have been dried and stored, consumed, or cooked (or a combination of these, as when grains are fed to animals and their dung is then burnt for fuel), and each of these actions (or combination of actions) would have left them in a different state of decomposition (Van der Veen 2007). Animal bones found in the archaeological record, on the other hand, could be a product of food preparation as well as a sign of ritual behaviour, or of industries like wool or tanning, or tool or jewellery making (or a combination of the above). Animals could also have been the commodity themselves, being traded and bred for improvement of stock (Albarella *et al.* 2007). However the differential preservation (and usefulness in the past and present) of different parts of different species vary (cf. Ionnidou 2003: 255), and different elements of bone can be used for multiple purposes. Needless to say, these details need to be recorded during analysis in order to be useful. The investigation of butchery, for example, relies upon careful assessment of cutmarks (Maltby 2011: 46), which were not often recorded on sites excavated before metrical coding systems were established. One final issue with animal bone is dating; in the case of this thesis, the degree of confidence placed in the dating of bones is directly proportional to the

degree of confidence in the deposits they were associated with. Of course, residual material does affect the dating of both features and groups of artefacts, and in the micro-scale sites it is possible to see what residual material was present on site (see the maps in Chapter 7 or on the Appendix CD). However, for the wider scale of resolution in Chapters 4-6, I calculated the residual material in the quantification stage by using information in the reports. In many cases, animal bone was quantified by the authors of the report, and had little specific provenance; but small finds and bulk material were discussed both by feature/area and date. The degree to which the excavators and authors of reports noted residual material clearly was explicitly taken into account when 'ranking' each of the sites (Section 3.3.1).

The processes by which ceramic material comes into the archaeological record are also variable. Certainly, pottery can be used in different ways and can enter into the archaeological record after secondary use. Whilst this does not diminish from the original 'purpose' of the object, it does make the study of activity areas more complicated. As was mentioned above, different types of quantification affect the modern interpretation of assemblages (Orton 1993: Drennan 2001: 663-4); but also, different types of ceramics break or decompose in different ways, and therefore enter into the archaeological record in varying quantities. The ongoing challenge lies in interpreting how a published or sample assemblage represents an assemblage in the past (Orton 2000:40). Because published assemblages were used for this thesis, there were necessarily concerns with the trustworthiness of the published sample. In the context of this study (as with small find use-type activities, agricultural evidence and animal bone), the 'top 3' method was applied to ceramic forms, with notation of the most common ceramic fabric where detailed. Of course, different reports had different quantification methods; some sites gave EVE/MNV/MNI/NISP values, whilst others

weighed pottery or bone. Where this was explained fully in the report, I noted the method of quantification in the mid-scale database, and where possible, I checked the percentages against the site totals. However, some reports did not give information about methods of quantification, and these have been clearly noted in the comparative figures in Chapters 4-6. That being said, there is still much information to be gleaned from other aspects of these sites, and even from their weaker points (for example, if a large deposit of Iron Age pottery in a feature is mentioned in the text, that feature can be plotted on a map, and spatial analyses can show possible activities).

The important point in the above paragraph is that to get the most out of varying qualities of data, new approaches must be attempted. Whist it is true that comprehensive ceramic taphonomy studies like that of Felgate *et al.* (2013) are ideal, they only work for recently excavated sites where the entire assemblage can be studied; and are therefore unsuitable for a study using older reports.

The rural activities studied in this thesis are determined by examining all of the data together, but as was mentioned in the last section, are tied strongly to the small finds. Small finds, being (to a great extent) objects of a personal nature and of greater value, seemed likely to have entered the rural archaeological record largely through accidental loss, though there is much evidence of their use in special deposits and/or ritual deposits also (cf. Hill 1995: 16-17, Groot 2008: 115-116). Considering the different ways the items could have entered the archaeological record is important for small finds (Cool and Baxter 2002: 370) because their varying contexts can be kept in mind when studying uses of space and human activity in the past. In the context of studying rural farmsteads, it remains an important part of analysis (relying on a strictly 'life cycle' or 'life history' approach (Peňa 2007: 1-15, Schiffer 1995) can be somewhat limiting), even though the nature of domestic work/living spaces is

such that most activity areas are generally kept fairly clean with rubbish deposited in designated locations (cf. Peňa 2007: 311-16, 341, Winther-Jacobsen 2010: 261).

Of course, human action is not the only factor which can affect the archaeological record. Disturbance by animals (scavenging or burrowing) as well as natural occurrences like weathering and water can affect both objects and stratigraphy (cf. Felgate *et al.* 2013: 1323). Natural factors are a concern in Prehistoric contexts in regards to the movement of stone in the stratigraphic sequence (cf. Hiscock 1985: 82-83), and the possible movement of stone is important to consider when investigating the placement of quernstones or other features on Romano-British rural sites.

Though the processes by which the stratigraphic sequence is created are important to understanding the ways that things may have been used during their (sometimes numerous) lives as functional objects, equally important to modern research are the potential biases created during excavation and publication (cf. Drennan 2001: 663). In the past, excavation itself as well as reports and artefact catalogues were largely tailored to the interests of the authors, and reports rarely contained all the necessary information regarding assemblage size and sampling. The 50 site reports used in this thesis are of varied age and quality, as can be seen from the list in Figure 3.5. However, as one of the aims of this thesis is to make use of fragmentary or 'legacy' data (Allison 2008), I have included sites which were probably fairly heavily sampled, though in most cases the excavators or report authors indicated the most numerous types of objects (where at all uncertain, the reader can refer to the 'ranking' table (Figure 3.5) to determine the relative reliability of the data). The weakness of some published assemblages was the inspiration for the creation of the multi-scalar method; each scale of resolution strengthens the others, making patterns in the data clearer and more reliable.

3.5 An Archaeology of rural farmsteads

In Rippengal's article, *Villas as a key to Social Structure? Some Comments on recent approaches to the Romano-British Villa and some suggestions toward an alternative* (1993), he outlines a possible alternative approach to studying villas which is in some cases better suited to the study of Roman-period farmsteads than J.T. Smith's aforementioned and architecturally-based approach. This approach involves looking at different elements within a single domestic unit (Figure 3.10) to determine if different houses "encompass the elements…in the same way…[if] they express the same '*habitus*'" (Rippengal 1993: 97). Rippengal's approach takes into account the different roles played by artefacts and architecture both within and around the household. This way of looking at domestic activity is the basic 'bare-bones' method behind the specific approaches taken to address each class of material, and when combined with the more general settlement studies like Hingley's (1989) and Taylor's (2007), this lays the foundation for the methods discussed both above and below.

Through the last few sections, a number of identities likely to have been present in the Roman period in Britain have been isolated, and different approaches have been discussed which seek to better understand different activities within and around households. In summary, some of these approaches will be refined into a single methodology towards an archaeology of Roman-period farmsteads in Britain.

As was mentioned above, the microscale analysis in this study involves examining pottery and small finds in their contexts over time at a small number of sites. In terms of looking at the pottery within and around the households, Jeremy Evans' (1995, 2001) proportional analysis seems to be the most useful model for assessing local or regional similarity and difference in a simple, expedient way. However, because more types of cultural material than just pottery will be used, a material methodology using

the ‘Top 3’ method and involving a combination of Evans’ (2001) ceramic analysis with Crummy’s (1983) ‘Use Types’ for finds will be demonstrated in Chapter 7 to juxtapose the proportional emphasis of different interrelated activities (like Wilk and Rathje’s (1982) ‘spheres of household function’) on different sites and in different periods in order to isolate local and regional preferences. Of course, it is always difficult to determine under what circumstances finds and pottery entered into the archaeological record (Van der Veen 2007), but understanding assemblages in a meaningful way involves considering events both before and after deposition.

Discussed in Section 3.3.4 are some past approaches to space both within and around houses that have been utilised in the identification of routine practices. Each method mentioned above is useful in context, but an approach tailored to the understanding of Roman-period Britain involves a combination of elements. Understanding architecture in a social context is helpful, but J.T. Smith’s (1979, 1997) method presumes an architecturally visible class-division for villas which cannot always be transplanted onto farmsteads. However, trying to identify similar building trends through time in different areas *can* inform us about possible social trends. The work of Lisa Nevett (1994) and Mark Grahame (1999), which analyse spaces in the household and possible movement through rooms, can tie together household architecture and gender roles, social roles, or activities by measuring access; and in some ways this is more useful than attempting to reconstruct simple room-use, as per the work of Allison (1993, 1994, 1997, 1999, 2004). Thus, specific evidence of ‘room use’ cannot be found on every site due to different levels of preservation and different recording methods. However, repetitive practices like rubbish dumping can be isolated in rural Roman-period British sites (though rubbish dumping is both an activity in itself and also a practice which deposits evidence from

other activities into the archaeological record), and that is why approaches like Chadwick's (1999, 2004, 2012) can be useful in recognising the maintenance of activities over time, and moreover the possibility that those activities related in part to the group identities of communities. This is especially important for the rural population of Britain, who were affected more diffusely and indirectly by wider political changes in the Roman period. It is the aggregation of their repeated actions (dumping, clearing, cooking, farming, working) that we see in features, not specific events in their lives. This necessarily means that we are forced to make sense of the process of cultural change and how it affected groups, not individuals. In terms of tying specific routines on a site to identities, Andrew Gardner's aforementioned (2007: 128-132) 'ways of doing' can be utilised to link functional categories of finds to specific routinised behaviours indicating static and changing identities.

A combination of the above approaches utilising the various databases and worksheets together to address different scales of daily interaction means that the microscale data (artefacts, floral and faunal remains, architecture) can be tied to practices on specific sites. Those practices can then be set into the context of the regional scale data, and tied to different ways of doing things (*working, dwelling, appearing, communicating*). Finally, those ways of doing things can be assessed over time with the broadest meso-scale data, as markers of social change and possibly related to wider political events. The fact that this study involves different regions also can make change in different areas visible, and if those areas can be said to change in different ways and at different rates, this can give us not only insight into local traditions, but also group identities and ethnic affiliations. In terms of the quantitative methods employed, the flexibility of the databases and Excel spreadsheets themselves means that as more information is entered, more ways of

manipulating the data can be explored. Tailored interactive site maps (Chapter 7) also make temporal and spatial patterning much more visible, depositional studies possible even on sites where architecture is lacking. The different scales of resolution build upon one another whilst the tailored methodology remains flexible enough to cope with the varied data quality.

3.6 Conclusion

In the preceding chapters and through the last few sections I have discussed the need for an archaeology of identity in rural Roman-period Britain, outlined the types of identities I believe can be found in the material record there, and put forth a basic system by which I plan to access those identities in my research. Through the integration of practice theory with multi-scalar archaeological datasets, different activities can be highlighted over time, and those activities can in turn inform us about the changing dynamics which affect and shape societies on local, regional, and provincial levels.

On a theoretical level, it has been said that "economic, cultural and social changes, which have become embedded in institutions and practices, involve changing constructions of the self" (Woodward 2002: 21), and it is those fluid self-identifications which structure relationships in society. However, group action and group identification is just as important, and groups are more easily accessed in the archaeological record. It is the recursive relationship between the actions of the group and the social structures which constrain them that allows for organisational stasis or change in society (Stein 2002).

A significant part of the last two chapters has been devoted to unpacking and dismantling 'Romanisation' and acculturation models. Hand-in-hand with this is an

approach which puts the agency of (members of) local societies on equal footing with any other groups (be they Roman armies or Gaulish traders), as heterogeneous entities in cultural contact situations. Even the idea of 'invasion' can be understood in different ways, as different forms of power (military, political, economic, ideological) would not have extended uniformly across the social or geographical landscape (cf. Schortman and Urban 1994).

On a more practical level, then, in 'getting at' the identities being hinted at in the archaeological record, certain material concerns are paramount. In this chapter, challenges specific to the use of commercial excavation data have been discussed. Each site used in this thesis was chosen with care, and it is with no less care that their data will be used in analyses of activities on the farmsteads. The 'ranking' of the sites (Section 3.3.1) makes clear the trustworthiness of the data, and the use of Nina Crummy's small find 'Use Types' to highlight specific types of activities means that sites from different regions can be compared on equal footing, as homes and workspaces. Lastly, the multi-scalar approach taken means that at each level of resolution the agglomerated information can build upon the level before, and create a more reliable picture of past practices.

Following on from this chapter are the regional syntheses, in which each of the study areas are discussed and the regional sites are introduced and then analysed. The template for Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are the same; in the first part the regions are discussed in terms of history and landscape, as well as investigated in terms of the activities which were likely to have been taking place there. They then introduce the chosen sites in the region, discussing their history, chronology and any other particulars, as well as points of note. The final part of each of the regional chapters is

dedicated to looking for patterning both over time and space, and discussing evidence for region-specific activities.

Chapter 4: Regional Data, Oxfordshire

4.1 Introduction to Oxfordshire

Oxfordshire as we know it today is a completely modern construct, dating most recently to the political reorganization of county boundaries in 1974. In the past, however, particularly in the Iron Age, it was not a unified whole but an area shared between regional groups (Figure 4.1). Before the Roman conquest, the area which makes up modern Oxfordshire was straddled by three Roman-labelled 'tribes'; the Atrebates, the Dobunni, and the Catuvellauni. These were (at least to the Romans, and now presumed by scholars to be) distinct groupings of people, independent political entities, separated by both natural and (presumably fuzzy though existent) cultural or agreed-upon boundaries. In order to better understand the area of modern Oxfordshire in Romano-British terms then, it is necessary first to grasp that Oxfordshire as we know it simply did not exist. Having said that however, modern counties are still very useful units for analysis because of the local knowledge of regional experts and also the homogeneity of regional publications; allowing both for efficient data collection and relatively easy comparison. In discussing the usefulness of analyzing a county like Oxfordshire, it is also important to consider the possibility of biases within that area which could affect the outcome of a local/regional study (see 4.2.5 below).

Before the late 20th century and the advent of initiatives like PPG16, archaeological discovery happened either by accident or as a result of research excavations. However in the last fifty years, political and administrative policy has had a large influence on the scope of archaeology in Britain in the area of the Thames valley. In Oxfordshire, this region has been targeted for mineral extraction; and this has had a large effect on the number of excavated sites and the quality of published

material (Henig and Booth 2000: 3-9), just as it has in other areas in Britain (Taylor 2007: 15). Importantly, more recent (post PPG 16 and PPS5) developer-funded investigations, whilst excavated and published to modern standards, often only capture part of a site or feature, making the investigation of landscapes more challenging.

In this chapter I will attempt to lay out the material and social context of Roman Oxfordshire by discussing first the people who lived there, the boundaries that separated them, and the work that has been done to try to understand the area. I will continue on to discuss the Iron Age in general through a discussion of settlement and changes through time. The Romano-British period will then be looked at; again in terms of landscape change and settlement, and the types of settlement themselves will be outlined. From there, particular settlements and rural assemblages will be examined in more detail and I believe this will illuminate how grey literature and unpublished plans/reports can assist in the explanation of both widespread regional trends and more intimate local contexts in this area. More importantly, however, I hope to show through my broad analysis that closer inspection is needed on a site-by-site basis in order to better understand the settlement and material changes that occur through time in this area (this will be attempted in Chapter 7).

4.1.1 Geology, Topography, Patterns of Settlement

Modern Oxfordshire is the only one of my three regions that is not administratively sub-divided in some way. However, in the pre-Roman and Roman periods it of course did not exist, and instead was the area where the boundaries of three local groups converged. Oxfordshire also stands alone in this study because unlike Yorkshire and Sussex it is landlocked, which presumably would in the past have significantly

affected routes of trade across the area. Having said that however, the region which includes Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley is likely to have been one of the most traversed landscapes in the country during the Roman period.

Oxfordshire is geographically varied, though geologically, it can be said to be dominated by limestone, clay and ironstone. The region is characterised in the south by the Chilterns and the Berkshire Downs (clay and flint), moving northwards into the Corallian ridge (limestone) and Gault clay. The north of Oxfordshire is characterised in the west by ironstone. The focal river in Oxfordshire is the Thames, and the surrounding area provides most of the drainage for that river and its tributaries, the most important being the Ock, Thame, Cherwell, Windrush and Evenlode (as will be seen, both in Figure 4.18 and also in the site summaries in Appendix I, note is taken of the proximity to ancient and modern water sources/watercourses where these are known).

In terms of settlement patterns in the L.P.R.I.A. and Roman periods in Oxfordshire, it has been noted that dispersed farmsteads were prominent, sometimes being associated with larger farms or settlements (Taylor 2007: 52). These sites were frequently linked together by trackway systems which had their origins in the Bronze Age, though in the Iron Age farms began to cluster along trackways leaving large swathes of land 'empty' of features (ibid: 66). This description pertains particularly to the immediate area of the Thames Valley, though it has been noted by Baker (2002) that there are also rectilinear domestic enclosures with associated field systems present (and linked by trackways) in the Iron Age and early Roman period around the area of Dorchester (at the confluence of the Thames and Thame rivers). Later, trackways were linked together to form larger networks, and this pattern can be seen stretching along the Thames into Gloucestershire, though the late Iron Age in that area

saw clearer settlement shift (Taylor 2007: 69). A survey by Richard Hingley (1984) asserts that along the floodplain of the Thames unenclosed settlements predominated, becoming more enclosed further northwards, however because his study was conducted using cropmarks it is difficult to determine contemporaneous occupation. More recent studies of cropmarks and aerial photography (Fenner 1994; Baker 2002) have shed further light on settlement patterns (cf. Taylor 2007). However, though studies like those of Hingley, Baker and Taylor indicate that widespread conformity in landscape use was the norm, it is probable that more variations in choice can be discerned if sites are studied on a slightly smaller scale (this is of course dependent on the level and quality of excavation of field systems and areas around farmsteads). This will be attempted below, and in more detail in Chapter 7.

4.2 Oxfordshire through Time

4.2.1. Iron Age

That the last century and a half before the Roman conquest is better known than the earlier Iron Age is primarily due to the appearance of coinage in Britain. The earliest coins that have been found can be sourced to the continent, but from around 100 BC locally-struck coins (without any legends) appear in the south-east (Henig and Booth 2000: 5). After 50 B.C. however, coins begin to appear with dateable information, names and places, and later it seems that some British coin issues are copies of Roman coins (Haselgrove 1987: 201).

Other newly-introduced continental practices help in assessing the pre-Romano-British way of life at this time, especially with respect to new ceramic vessels. These vessels were primarily of two types – those which were used in the importation of goods like wine and oil, and those specifically suited to the cooking or

consumption of new foods. Around this time the native pottery types changed with the introduction of wheel-throwing, and diversification ensued, sometimes copying popular continental imports (Henig and Booth 2000: 6). Metalwork also changed, especially in the case of brooches, which were traditionally worn in the Iron Age and the popularity of which carried over and increased into the Romano-British period (cf. Hill 1989: 19-20).

While many of these processes were ongoing and most likely changed the ways of life for many people in Britain, there is little evidence for much continental material coming into Oxfordshire at this time, which means that the dating of the Iron Age for this area is tied primarily to the pottery sequence (Henig and Booth 2000: 6).

The Iron Age in Oxfordshire is divided into three parts: the early Iron Age (800-400 B.C.), the middle Iron Age (400-1 BC) and the late Iron Age (AD 1-50). The early and middle Iron-Ages are typically characterized by rural farmsteads within either scattered field systems or small hamlets (Henig and Booth 2000:7). The structures within these settlements are circular in shape and contain groupings of one or more concentric rings of posts. There are also square or rectangular arrangements of posts (Figure 4.2), which have been interpreted as raised granaries (evidence of which can be found in the postholes themselves, which are sometimes filled with charred grains (Gent 1983: 376)). In the later Iron-Age pits dug into the ground were also used for storage, and this change has been interpreted by archaeologists as evidence that arable agriculture had become firmly entrenched in Iron Age society (Henig and Booth 2000: 7). Pit-storage during the early days of the Roman occupation has also been postulated as an effective method for hiding surplus produce in an effort to evade Roman taxation.

During the Iron-Age in Britain there were two main types of settlement; enclosed settlements and unenclosed or 'open' settlements. These settlements are so called because of the presence or absence of a ditch system surrounding them. Some sites (such as Rollright (Lambrick 1988)) had both enclosed and unenclosed phases, which illustrate that the distinction between the two types is sometimes unclear. One of the best understood groups of unenclosed settlements in Oxfordshire is Gravelly Guy, west of Stanton Harcourt, which was occupied for more than 700 years. However Gravelly Guy, like many other sites in the area was probably abandoned in the 2nd century (Lambrick and Allen 2004).

The economy of unenclosed settlements has been explored by scholars like Hingley (1989), and is still thought to have been centred on mixed farming and the tending of livestock. The discovery of loom-weights and spindle whorls also indicate cloth making (Henig and Booth 2000: 9), which (along with both the faunal and botanical evidence) make a strong case for these settlements as being self-sufficient entities (see 4.4 below).

Enclosed, or 'ditched' settlements were uncommon in the Early Iron Age until around 400BC, when they seem to become more common. Aerial photography has revealed many ditched settlements in Oxfordshire - some of which are thought to be Iron-Age in date because of their irregular shape (Harding 1972, Mytum 1986, Sauer 1999). Many enclosed settlements are very similar in size (0.5-0.8ha), which could indicate that the range of activities performed within the enclosure and the number of occupants living and working there did not differ greatly from place to place (Henig and Booth 2000: 102). With some enclosed Iron Age settlements, there is evidence of varying degrees of partitioning of living, storage, and open space; which could include such things as common areas or grazing land. There are of course differences

in internal organization and structural elements depending on location - for example, the aforementioned “storage pits” would not have been used by the occupants of a site with a high water-table (ibid: 10). As was mentioned above, both enclosed and unenclosed settlements have been explained and explored in depth by Richard Hingley (1989, 1990: 96-103). However it is important to note that though there must have been some reason for some settlements to be enclosed and others to be open, there is no evidence for any necessary difference between either the buildings or the finds between the two settlement types.

The middle Iron Age was a time of increased diversification and specialization of settlement types (Booth and Henig 2000: 10). In the Upper Thames Valley especially, this went hand-in-hand with a population expansion. It is widely known that the floodplain of the Thames and the first gravel terraces were widely exploited at this time (though to what extent other areas were similarly exploited can not be known until they have been more fully explored (see “Biases” below). Of the known settlements, those on the floodplain seem to have been mostly pastoral in nature, focusing specifically on cattle husbandry (Miles *et al.* 2007: 372).

In the Iron Age, the area of Oxfordshire and the Thames valley were typically characterized by rural farmsteads within either scattered field systems or small hamlets - the structures within them being circular in shape and containing one or more concentric rings of posts. During this period there are two main settlement types - enclosed and open. As with areas of Yorkshire (Taylor 2007: 19, 26, 44) there are also ‘linear system settlements’, however because of the constraints of using developer-funded reports and those dug with architecture as the main focus of excavation/publication, questions about the larger local or regional landscapes in this thesis can only be addressed by utilizing secondary literature.

Most sites in the region were still founded on a primarily pastoral economy, this being evidenced from the layout of the settlements which are largely characterized by a series of enclosures and droveways, possibly utilized in the manipulation of herd animals (Miles *et al.* 2007: 373). This being said, it is more than likely that a number of sites had some cultivated land, and interestingly, in my examination of rural sites in Chapters 4-6, there seems to be some correlation between sites likely to have been agriculturally self-sufficient in the Iron Age and those which did not have continuous settlement into the Romano-British period, hinting at the increased importance of agricultural networks in the maintenance of local cohesion during the post-conquest period (see Section 8.1).

It is widely accepted that the lack of structural remains of any kind on many late Iron Age and Romano-British rural sites has been a stumbling block to the advancement of their understanding and characterization (Booth and Henig 2000: 82). The most commonly accepted explanation for this as noted by Booth and Henig (ibid.) and Miles *et al.* (2007:374-375), is that the techniques employed in their construction must have been of a "mass-wall" type, which survives very poorly in the archaeological record. Conversely, one change that is more archaeologically visible is the gradual disappearance of cylindrical storage pits, which may have marked a significant shift in farming practice. In the middle Iron Age pits would have been used for surplus grain and winter storage, but in the late Iron Age they become distorted, changing in both shape and size. Also, the locations of pits change in the late Iron Age on some sites, from areas close to ditch ends or under pathways, to more dispersed groupings. These changes especially could indicate some difference in storage practices.

These two points, one the changes in architecture and another the possible changes in storage practices, may be viewed together as indicative of a widespread social change, and are nicely summed up by Booth and Henig (2000: 21):

> "Storage pits had been used ubiquitously for 600 years and their abandonment, together with the change in house type, indicates a significant break with the past."

Further to the west in the Cotswolds, a more sweeping form of landscape change was taking place, not merely to small settlements, but to larger sites as well. Miles *et al.* (2007: 375) describe the establishment of large, high status ditched settlements, or *oppida*, at many sites in this region, as well as at sites like Abingdon (the closest town to Barton Court Farm (site summary in Volume II Appendix I, A #2), which itself is closer to the low-lying rural settlements encompassed in my research. Booth and Henig (2000: 29-31) have also discussed *oppida* and assert that they could have been the first stage in the widespread development of extensive systems of ditches/dykes which surrounded many settlements in the Roman period.

As was mentioned above, if the late Iron Age in the area of Oxfordshire represented a time of internal reorganisation and flux, the movement of sites and the creation of *oppida* represented a local reaction to this social disturbance. When looked at as a whole (though the body of knowledge for this area is nothing like conclusive), there is considerable heterogeneity in terms of settlement form, economic regimes and social structure. All of these things are typical for the borders and boundaries of any one area, let alone three. The creation of *oppida* in the late Iron Age could represent a centralization of the political/elite powers, and a reorganization of political hierarchies (Miles *et al.* 2007: 373-389). This political re-shuffling, which could have begun as early as the middle Iron Age, may in turn have affected rural organization on a more

local level; leading to increased agricultural specialization and the establishment of dedicated pastoral settlements on the floodplain of the Thames.

4.2.2 Invasion

The actual event of the Roman conquest and the period immediately following are largely invisible in the archaeological record in Oxfordshire, with little noticeable disruption to settlement patterns (Miles *et al.* 2007: 376-377). Although it has been noted that a number of sites around the Bicester area (within Catuvellauni territory) terminated around the conquest period (Henig and Booth 2000: 106), most of the sites in Oxfordshire did not see such instability until around A.D. 125. A number of military sites were established around this period, though military settlement in this area was not very dense. A *vicus* did grow around the area of Alchester, but those that likely surrounded the other military encampments did not survive or show little understandable record of how the town developed from the *vicus* settlement.

Other settlements in this period include the category of roadside settlements, which are sometimes characterized as semi-urban (e.g. Goodman 2007: 56), but here show few really 'urban' characteristics (such as buildings of a 'public' nature (Timby 1998: 433)), and can be understood more in terms of the category of 'small town' or 'market centre'. Villas also need to be considered in this period, and for the most part, it is thought that very few in this area can be ascribed to a date of before AD 100 (Henig and Booth 2000: 82). This is interesting in terms of my wider study because a number of the rural settlements I have examined in Oxfordshire have been characterized by the excavators as villas, and approximately 73% of the farmsteads were established before or around the time of the Roman invasion.

The early Romano-British period is a particularly crucial time in the region of Oxfordshire. The study of changes in settlement pattern during this period has led archaeologists to believe that the area was in a significant state of flux, with "increased political hierarchy and centralization probably leading to the establishment of a number of elite power centres" (Miles *et al.* 2007: 389). This possible change in political organization, together with factors like environmental conditions and the resulting population shift is widely thought to account for the changes in settlement patterning in the region. These changes include the apparently unwarranted abandonment of many sites, the equally unexpected establishment of others, and (most puzzling of all) the shifting of many to an ever-so-slightly different area or alignment (see Lambrick 1992 for an analysis of the landscape and its effect on patterns of land use).

In the pre-Roman Iron Age, although the roundhouse is the norm, there are occasional rectangular buildings in Oxfordshire, which have been frequently interpreted as granaries. In the later Iron Age and into the Roman period the overwhelming preference for storing grain was in pits dug into the ground, though this changes through time, and could represent a side-effect of Roman taxation. In terms of material culture, during the late Iron Age there seems to be a great trend in Oxfordshire of locally-made or home-made items, though we know that continental items were being imported in fairly large quantities all over the south of Britain, and that regional trade was also in force (Henig and Booth 2000: 32). Some scholars have suggested that there existed in the Iron Age and through the Early Romano-British period in Oxfordshire what can be referred to as an agricultural network (ibid.: 32). This notion is based on the fact that at this time a number of settlements had little evidence for the production of cereals (cf. Roymans 1995: 54). On closer inspection

of the Oxfordshire sites (Figures 4.16, 4.23, 4.32) this seems plausible, as a number of households seemed from the material remains not to have been producing their own grain at certain periods. Also, the variety of natural resources found in Oxfordshire combined with the large numbers of industries at work during the Roman period meant that individuals or groups could easily have exploited and traded raw materials to support themselves without relying on farming as a source of income. However, the lack of evidence for significant farming is not the only link to an agricultural network, as I also found that at least 25% of the rural sites in my database had imported quern stones from Kent and Sussex, which were found in early Roman contexts. These sites generally corresponded to those without much agricultural data for the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period. The potential implications of those findings is interesting if viewed in the context of the idea that in the late Iron Age/Early Romano-British Period the lack of ceramic exchange and possible existence of an agricultural network implies a notion that certain things were widely thought of as being 'acceptable imports' (Henig and Booth 2000: 24), or acceptable trade items within the larger exchange network.

4.2.3 The Roman Period: Continuity and Change

In the 2nd and early 3rd century AD, a significant trend of settlement reorganization (Booth *et al.* 2007: 21) or settlement shift occurs throughout the region and stretching into Gloucestershire, where I have investigated two sites in conjunction with my broad analysis of Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley. Though this trend was widespread, the results were by no means homogenous. In terms of rural settlement (including farmsteads and villas), sites were in many cases displaced or shifted, while in other cases sites were remodelled with ditches and timber framed buildings. A

number of sites were abandoned altogether, only to be re-occupied later in the 3rd century. This is not to say however that the aforementioned 'break with the past' (Henig and Booth 2000: 21) included every facet of material life in the Romano-British period; in fact it seems that some droveways and linear field systems present in the L.P.R.I.A. were kept open at least until the early 3rd century, which would have had the effect of maintaining some form of landscape continuity. In addition to this there is increased evidence in this period for ditched and hedged boundaries defining paddocks and areas of cultivated land (Miles *et al.* 2007: 382-83).

Though roadside settlements are assumed at this time to have functioned as local market centres it has been postulated that an even smaller scale of interaction was likely taking place between local farmhouses, as is evidenced by what have been assumed to be 'village greens' or 'livestock markets'; especially those areas associated with Y-shaped trackways (Henig and Booth 2000: 98, Miles *et al.* 2007, Booth *et al.* 2007, Lambrick 1992: 103; also see Taylor 2007: 66 on the related subject of 'communal pasture', also Figure 4.18). A more intimate form of social interaction present in the archaeological record at this time was concerned with the aforementioned definition of already existing trackways and boundaries, which could have helped to create and maintain relationships between existing settlements (Miles *et al.* 2007: 378).

Further north and into the Cotswolds the evidence for settlement change at this time is much less pronounced, and this is thought to either relate to bias due to the sites' location out of the more thoroughly excavated area of the Thames valley, or that the sites to the north could well represent a more affluent community which was not as greatly affected by the Roman occupation (Miles *et al.* 2007, Henig and Booth 2000: 105). The northern sites in my broad analysis show this trend of stability until

the 3rd and 4th centuries, when significant construction takes place on all the sites north of modern Oxford. This corresponds to changes in both the Oxfordshire ceramic industry (cf. Henig and Booth 2000: 45, and also see discussion in Sections 8.1 and 8.2.4) and also agriculture further north in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (see Sections 6.3.1 and 8.2.4 for more discussion of this). The rise in the number of 'villa-type' buildings also increases at this time in Oxfordshire (and also in Sussex (see Section 5.5.4)). David Rudling (1998: 51) puts forth the suggestion that this trend is indicative of a 'tribal elite' that constructed the initial villas, and that as the area became absorbed into the province and as the number of more modest villas increased this may have represented a rise in the number of landowners who had benefited financially from integration into the Roman state. This proposition can never be fully verified, but it does pose interesting questions about the North/South divide in Oxfordshire and any possible social implications. The changing domestic landscape of Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley will be explored later in this chapter, as well as in Sections 7.3 and 8.1 (with the other regions).

The political landscape of the Thames valley did not remain static over the c.350 years that Britain was part of the empire. Along with widespread changes resulting from imperial policies, there is no doubt that there must have been many smaller-scale political and social occurrences which shaped the fortunes of individual settlements at different periods in time; resulting in the often confusing picture apparent in the archaeological record. This picture is further complicated in the 3rd century following the Severan division of Britain into two provinces, though on a more localised scale the industrial changes mentioned above and discussed in 4.3, 5.3, 6.3, 7.3 and Chapter 8 were more likely to have affected day to day rural life. This later Roman period is seen as being quite different from the earlier Romano-British

period in that there was a great increase in imperial bureaucracy and also social changes which were heavily influenced by the creation of a civil service and the marked separation of military and civilian leaders (Booth *et al.* 2007: 376).

Overall, the evidence from Oxfordshire (especially around the area of the Thames Valley) suggests that there were widespread changes in the landscape both in the Late Iron Age/Early Romano-British period and in the Late Roman period. The intervening period shows some regional differences that when looked at closely could illustrate a pattern of local group activity. Ultimately, these changes were intimately tied in with farming and industry in the area, and any attempt to understand them must be placed in a region-specific context.

a. Industry and Craft

Oxfordshire is particularly known in the Roman period for its large-scale pottery manufacture (cf. Booth *et al.* 2007: 306), but because of the varied landscape around the Thames Valley it was also a focus for other important local and regional industries. Although industrial activity in Oxfordshire was for the most part a small-scale endeavour, it was concerned "principally with the production of the goods and other commodities required by the agricultural community" (Henig and Booth 2000: 159), and implies that agricultural surplus was traded for products, linking the rural industries together in what could be termed a reciprocal agricultural network (introduced in Section 3.3.1). Of course, whilst some very small scale industrial work (such as repairing a broken plough) could be done at home, it was likely that most production took place in or near larger settlements, or along trackways, rivers and roads.

b. Road Networks and Trade

The road network in Oxfordshire was constructed not long after the conquest to serve the military, but later linked towns, city and countryside in a web of communication and exchange. The growth of settlements alongside roads was a common feature of many parts of both pre-and post-conquest Britain, though sometimes roads were diverted to already existing settlements like Dorchester (cf. Henig and Booth 2000; 49). It was not just settlements that affected the placement of roads, in fact Akeman Street (the main east-west artery through Oxfordshire from St. Albans to Cirencester) seemed to have been placed alongside Grim's Ditch (cf. Henig and Booth 2000: 29); the area surrounding which eventually became a centre of high-status rural settlement in the Roman period (as it probably was in the Iron Age). The main north-south route through Oxfordshire was one part of the long road connecting Silchester with Watling Street in Northamptonshire, passing through Dorchester and Alchester. Another road also ran through Oxford heading north-north-east/south-south-west from Wiltshire to the Dorchester-Alchester road or Kings Sutton in Northamptonshire (Henig and Booth 2000: 50).

Whilst a number of smaller roads are known, at least one heading north from Alchester, and one heading into Warwickshire, it is Dorchester which serves as a hub during the Roman period, linking the north of the county to areas like Silchester and Buckinghamshire. Of course, pre-Roman period pathways may also have served as templates for Roman roads. This is also true of popular pre-Roman period watercourses, where settlements had existed since the Iron Age at least. It is thought, for example, that the Thames was navigable to Oxford, if not farther (cf. Henig and Booth 2000: 51), and other towns like Dorchester would also have been important stops on the trade route.

c. Metalworking

In Oxfordshire during the Iron Age and Roman periods smelting was not a widely practiced industry. Most evidence from the area has been in the form of iron smithing debris, which has been found on roadside settlements or farmsteads and is thought to be for personal use and not commercial gain. In terms of the economy though, the ironstone (being a prominent geological feature of the county), could have been exploited as a raw material for export to other areas. However puzzlingly there is evidence in Oxfordshire of iron ore being imported from the Forest of Dean or Northamptonshire (Henig and Booth 2000: 160). These two concepts - the lack of evidence for smithies and the (presumed) importation of ore - could point to travelling smiths. As for other metals, evidence for their manipulation is scarce and comes mostly in the form of crucibles, slag and the occasional mould. Extramural Alchester, Shakenoak Villa and Old Shifford (all of which are included in this study) have evidence for possible non-ferrous metalworking: at Alchester silver, at Shakenoak Villa lead and at Old Shifford with evidence for the working of Copper alloy.

d. Stone

Whilst there is little certain evidence for Roman period quarrying in Oxfordshire (Henig and Booth 2000: 162), the importance of extracting stone for construction cannot be denied. Even on a small scale it would have been needed in a rural setting for the continued maintenance of roofs, walls, houses and yards. Of course, where good local stone was abundant, it was utilized (Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak Villa are two examples: Barton Court using ragstone from the nearby Corallian ridge and Shakenoak utilizing Stonefield slate), though there is evidence (especially for quernstones) that stone also was imported from areas like the Forest of Dean and Kent

(see 4.2 below), as well as the Rhineland (Henig and Booth 2000: 172). More valuable and brightly coloured stones were presumably imported from other areas for use as tesserae and also for sculpture and architectural elements. In fact, Purbeck marble was found on two sites in this study; Shakenoak Villa and Extramural Alchester.

e. Pottery

As was mentioned above, the manufacture of pottery is the most prominent (and visible) industry in Oxfordshire during the Roman period (it is assumed that the Thames facilitated the transportation of ceramic products (Booth *et al.* 2007: 314-5) and other goods). Though the Iron Age tradition of 'Belgic' style pottery was upheld for some time after the Roman conquest, the widespread adoption of kilns used in the manufacturing of pottery meant that over time a more uniform fabric was developed. Also, modifications to (and new varieties of) 'Belgic' forms appeared in the L.P.R.I.A. and became widespread throughout the later 1st century and into the 2nd century (Yarnton (included in this study) is one of the domestic sites with kilns producing these kinds of utilitarian forms).

Fineware production in Oxfordshire began around the time of the conquest and was represented at sites around Dorchester and Abingdon (near Barton Court Farm) by white, grey and orange fabrics and new forms like platters and butt-beakers. It is thought that not long after the Roman invasion the Oxford industry began to emerge, at first maintaining traditional forms and then in the beginning of the 2nd century (with the help of potters from Verulamium (cf. Henig and Booth 2000: 164)) adding new forms like mortaria into their repertoire. The Oxford industry continued successfully until the mid-3rd century when a large expansion occurred, involving the

export of new 'imitation Samian' wares in modified forms (likely trying to fill the void of the failing Roman potteries on the Continent) throughout the country and abroad into the 4th century. Another Oxfordshire industry was supplying the Thames valley and abroad from the mid-1st to the 3rd century, though the production site has not yet been located (cf. Henig and Booth 2000: 171).

Imported pottery is fairly well-represented in Oxfordshire from the 1st century A.D, and includes Samian ware from France and Germany, colour-coated ware beakers and amphorae (mainly of Spanish manufacture). However later (from the mid-3rd century, as was mentioned above), continental importation slows to a trickle. British made vessels are also traded in the form of mortaria, whiteware, and black burnished wares (from the 2nd century). Later (as with other areas of Britain) Alice Holt, Nene Valley and New Forest wares take the stage until the end of the Roman period.

4.2.4 Borders and Boundaries

At this point it is important to note that the boundaries existing in Oxfordshire before the Roman conquest were flexible "living" boundaries - likely enforced by social groups to maintain order, and reinforced by individuals through social relations. Oxfordshire during the Iron Age was made up of what seem to be largely self-sufficient farms or hamlets, though these would likely have been part of a network of larger kinship groups acting together within yet larger groupings, like those presumed of the people of the White Horse on the Berkshire Downs (Henig and Booth 2000: 32). When the Roman administration began to make its presence felt, these groups reacted differently, and their choices can be studied by scrutinizing material changes seen in the archaeological record.

The borders of the three Oxfordshire groups identified by the Romans (Catuvellauni, Atrebates, Dobbuni) are not completely clear, and it is probably the case that they were also fluid in the past also. However, it is believed that generally Oxford was divided roughly from Banbury in the north to Cassington (just north west of Oxford), and that the area of the Thames between Cassington and Wallingford constituted part of the southwestern border of the Catuvellauni. The treatment of the Catuvellauni by the Roman administration has been discussed as being visible in the archaeological record in the different evolution of patterns of settlement there, especially around the area of Bicester. Sites in the Bicester area developed differently from most other sites in the northern region of Oxfordshire, with most of their occupation ending around or very soon after the Roman conquest. This could indicate different treatment of the settlements around the Roman fort at Alchester, and is doubly interesting in that most of these sites lay in Catuvellaunian territory rather than Dobunnic (Henig and Booth 2000: 110, Taylor 2007). Many settlements and farms close by in the territory of the Dobunni, however, grew to become substantial establishments in the later Roman period (Miles *et al.* 2007). Both of these points raise questions about how the differential treatment of regional groups affected rural landscape development. In fact, it is thought that at least some members of the Atrebates (under King Verica and his successor Togidubnus) were entirely supportive of the Roman forces (Henig and Booth 2000: 35), who had settled a long standing dispute between themselves and the Trinovantes of Essex.

Whether or not different regional groups were treated as a unified whole, it is impossible to believe that all the people in a social group were in total agreement about any one issue, let alone the Roman administration. However, when investigating patterns of settlement over time, it cannot be denied that some social or

administrative force was affecting people's material choices in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley. Regional variation is more pronounced at times in Oxfordshire than it is in either Sussex or Yorkshire, and, as will be discussed below and in Chapter 8, this does not seem to be a simple artefact of modern excavation.

4.2.5 Region-Specific Biases

One of the major biases in any study of Roman Oxfordshire is the lack of evidence in some areas and the proliferation of evidence in others. This is most true for the area of the Thames Valley, where a significant amount of work has been done (due in most part to mineral extraction), which consequently overshadows the rest of the region in terms of the sheer volume of data collected there. The study of Roman occupation in many areas of Britain is still heavily biased toward villas, public towns, and other larger sites. Because many of these were excavated many years ago they lack a detailed stratigraphic/chronological sequence now known to exist on many sites dug in more recent years (Miles *et al.* 2007: 373). Even in a thoroughly modern study in which all pertinent chronological and material factors have been addressed (insofar as the limitations of the archaeological record permit), it must be remembered that until an adequate sample of rural settlement can be established any study will be necessarily limited.

A more material challenge to this thesis was in dealing with the widespread abandonment evident on many sites in Oxfordshire during the 2nd and 3rd centuries (see Figure 4.27). When the sites were re-occupied in the 3rd century, most were used in a similar way to the previous period (i.e. the same spaces and buildings were utilised). However at Old Shifford (Standlake Farm), the area of the site was re-used, but the settlement shifted. Therefore in the analysis this site is sometimes sectioned

into ‘two’ sites and considered separately, because of the long period of abandonment and the shift in activity area when the site was re-occupied. This is different to the situation at Barton Court Farm, for example, where after a period of abandonment the same activity areas and structures were used.

As was mentioned above, in the Roman period Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley were thought to be straddled by the territories of (at least) three larger social groups. These were probably distinct groups of people with their own local traditions, and though archaeologically their settlements and material remains are broadly similar, it is important to understanding their local identities that it is more than likely they saw themselves as distinct groups, and presumably they were treated in different ways by the Roman administration. Because of the dangers involved in grouping ancient sites within a modern geographical area, I have included a few sites (like Cotswold Community, see Volume II Appendix I, A #3) in my broad brush research that are in neighbouring areas, and which I felt needed to be included in order to help the overall picture of rural settlement.

4.2.6 Sites in Context

In 4.1 and 4.2 the Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley area were introduced, and the history and particulars of the region were outlined. Also necessary was the fitting of sites into their wider context, both in terms of their place in the Romano-British landscape and also their excavation histories. In Appendix I, each of the 11 sites in the Oxfordshire regional case-study (Figures 4.3-4.13) are introduced, briefly discussed, and ‘graded’ (refer back to Section 3.3.1). The general format is as follows: the name of the site is given, along with the grid reference, followed by information regarding the discovery and excavation of the site, its geographical

location and relation to other sites and features of interest (e.g. rivers and roads). A short summary/description of the site follows, and any points of interest noted by the excavators will be highlighted. The final point in each description categorises the site according to the classification system outlined in the last chapter. The description of the sites is useful in that it puts all of the sites, large or small, on equal footing. It also serves to highlight particular points of interest. However, the summaries only report, they do not present new information.

Below is the wider level of resolution at which I have analysed the sites. 4.3 discusses the trends from sites in Oxfordshire in both thematic and temporal formats, seeking to really stretch the weakest datasets to their fullest potential.

4.3 Discussion of data: Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley

The 11 sites chosen for this study were all located around the area of the Thames Valley, on the first and second gravel terraces of the river Thames. Most were in Oxfordshire, but Somerford Keynes (Neigh Bridge) and Cotswold Community were both just over the modern county border in Gloucestershire (Figure 4.14). All of the sites except Barton Court Farm, Shakenoak Villa and Extramural Alchester were deemed at one time or another to be "lower-status" rural settlements. Though none of the sites were particularly large, it seems probable that many of them held anywhere from 1-4 domestic groups at different times in their occupation, except for the site of Extramural Alchester, which had at least 11 structures; most of which were domestic.

4.3.1 Rural Matters

As is discussed throughout this thesis, arable farming is thought to have been performed at many rural sites and the cultivation of spelt wheat and barley is seen as

an important factor in Iron Age society (Cunliffe 2009: 441). In general, corn-drying ovens are seen (sometimes in the absence of reliable botanical evidence) to be indicators of farming and crop-processing on site. However in the sites in this study both and around Oxfordshire, five sites (45%) were found to have corn dryers present (see Figure 4.15). Of course, if genuine this pattern could be taken as yet more evidence of the aforementioned agricultural network, which would have allowed individuals to acquire (but not necessarily produce) agricultural surplus. As for the plants themselves, eight of the 11 excavations (73%) collected evidence of arable grain seeds (though some sites had better phasing than others). The top three species of arable seed found are shown in figure 4.16, and it is clear that wheat (of varying types) was the most common species present, followed by barley and then oats. The relatively high proportion of 'weed seeds' found could also serve as indicators of farming practices (Fuller and Stevens 2009, Hodgson 2012: 51). The floral remains in Oxfordshire, whilst not uniform in proportion, do come from well-excavated sites for the most part, and are therefore reliable on the whole.

In terms of animal husbandry, all of the excavations except for that of Barton Court Farm provided evidence for animal husbandry (Figure 4.17). Cattle was the dominant species over time, except at Hatford (though Hatford is the earliest abandoned of the sites in this region). Sheep were the second most common species, followed by fairly equal proportions of pig and horse. The uniformity of the first and second most numerous animal species at sites in the Thames Valley (cattle and sheep) is interesting, as it points to diversification in diet, and also the probable use of sheep for spinning and weaving activities (see below). It is also curious to note that there seems to be no real link between occupation dates and proportions of horse/pig; presumably these two species could have been equally associated with military

presence in the region. Though some of the sites were better phased than others, most of the sites that had animal bones were confident about the proportions they provided, and so it seems that the patterns that are discussed below can be relied upon (when used together with the rest of the evidence).

The idea that open and closed settlement types were basically similar in the Late Iron Age changes after the Roman conquest, and is not strictly true of the early Roman period. In terms of the sites I looked at in my broad analysis of rural Oxfordshire, there was only one site, Hatford, which remained an open settlement after the Roman conquest; the rest were either closed settlements previously or changed settlement type somewhere around 50BC to 80AD. In total, five of the sites (Barton Court, Cotswold Community, Hatford, Old Shifford and Yarnton) had continuous settlement from the Iron Age - half of those settlements moving to a slightly different alignment, and the other half moving but respecting previous features.

The idea that these farmsteads may have been interlinked in reciprocal networks of exchange, and may have been broadly affected by the same kinds of processes happening around Oxfordshire at this time, leads us to ask questions about the connectedness of the farmsteads themselves, their access to resources, and their place in the wider landscape. Figure 4.18 shows that 82% of the farmsteads were close to larger settlements and 91% were near to other rural sites. Interestingly, however, only 64% were close to 'roads', and only half of those (27%) of those were Roman, the other half being large trackways or droveways. If these proportions can be believed (extensive commercial excavation in the area of the Thames Valley means that patterns seen in the data are somewhat more likely to be genuine than in other areas), it points to the continued use of local pathways connecting sites to larger

towns and one another. Of course, rivers could also be used for travel and trade, and in Oxfordshire, 82% of sites were situated close to water (though only 55% of those sites were situated near large and presumably navigable rivers). Of the sites that had other nearby places of interest, 36% of sites were near to industrial sites, and there were equal numbers of sites near to cemeteries and areas termed 'communal land' (both 27%). In fact, two of the sites near communal land were also nearby to industries, which together could tie well to aspects of communication and exchange, as well as production.

4.3.2 Ceramic Activity and Household Matters

It is commonly thought that ceramic production in rural areas was a domestic affair with sites producing pottery for their own use. In terms of the sites in the Thames Valley, this seems to be the case; most of the sites in the database were dominated by locally produced reduced coarsewares (when looking over the entire life of the site) (Figure 4.19), which is a strong indication, considering the fact that 32 out of 38 possible incidences of most common coarseware were reported. In terms of finewares, the sites in my database are all very close to the Oxford pottery industry, and this shows most strongly through time in the fineware proportions. Interestingly, the sites themselves do not always seem to correspond to Jeremy Evans' (2001) prediction of a <5% proportion of finewares per rural assemblage. When considering the reliability of the evidence, it is important to note that whilst some of the sites provided very clear ceramic tables, others were less straightforward about their ceramic sampling (see Figure 3.5 for site rankings). However, proportions were usually given both in tables and in the discussions in the reports, and the data appears reliable.

In terms of ceramic forms, the work of Evans (2001: Evans asserted that jars and bowls typify the Iron Age ceramic assemblage, and that this changes after the Roman invasion to dishes and drinking vessels) seems to be very accurate, as most of the sites (82%/9 sites) are dominated by jars through time. This trend is only bucked by Shakenoak and Barton Court; Shakenoak being dominated by dish forms and Barton Court by bowl forms. Though jars do appear as the most numerous form on sites in the Thames Valley (Figure 4.20), in terms of presence and absence bowl forms were present on an equal number of sites (both 9 out of 11 sites).

4.3.3 Industry in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley

As was discussed in Section 4.1, the focal industrial activity in Roman period Oxfordshire centres on ceramic production. However there seemed to be a number of other industries of different scales taking place concurrently: the quarrying of ironstone, the weaving of textiles, and tile making, amongst others. Unfortunately only some of these can be found in the archaeological record, and (when present at the household level) were noted in the regional database (on Appendix CD).

Figure 4.21 shows the incidence of metalworking on sites in Oxfordshire. The evidence points to this kind of smithing activity taking place on the medium to large rural sites. As was mentioned in 4.1, the working of non-ferrous metals was taking place on some sites in the region in a non-commercial context. One site likely to have been making profit from another industry was Somerford Keynes, Neigh Bridge, which may have been a tile depot (cf. Booth *et al.* 2007: 149). Also sites like Cotswold Community and Appleford were placed near to known mineral sources and small-scale extraction (or regulation of access) could have been a possible source of income.

The ceramic industry in Oxfordshire began to rise in importance not long after the Roman invasion. However Samian and amphorae were still imported in large quantities (Figure 4.22). Yarnton, one of the sites in this study, was known to be a site for pottery manufacture during the Roman period, and was largely dominated by local reduced coarsewares. However, 'general finewares' were present in the form of colour-coated, mica-dusted and lead-glazed wares. Extramural Alchester, on the other hand was completely dominated by Oxford products after A.D. 140, both in coarseware and fineware assemblages, indicating that it may have been less expensive to obtain Oxford products than to make (or purchase) local products.

Though a small amount of glassmaking refuse was found from the sites in Oxfordshire, no obvious evidence of glass making exists in the area. Other small-scale industries of import like bone-working can be noted at Shakenoak Villa (more on this in Section 7.3), but one of the most popular household industries in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley seemed to have been textile making, which was present at the larger sites of Yarnton, Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak Villa, though only until around A.D. 250. This change in industry is explored in the microscale studies in Chapter 7, and then discussed further in Chapter 8.

4.3.4 A Note on Ritual Activity: Oxfordshire

Because ritual-type deposits have been the focus of increasing investigation and therefore more prominent in the literature (e.g. Chadwick 2012), I decided to add in any information regarding such activity into my database, in order to eventually compare it with work in Sussex, where much study into ritual deposits is currently underway (see Rudling 2006). In total, six (55%) of the sites (Barton Court, Appleford, Yarnton, Cotswold Community, Somerford Keynes, Extramural

Alchester) had what I considered to be "ritual deposits" (see Section 3.3.3), but I could find no correlation between the number of deposits, the types of deposits, the types of site, or the dates. I also investigated the incidence of ritual deposits together with the burial evidence for the sites, and though some sites did have both burials and ritual deposits, there seemed to be no real significance to this. However, whilst this information may not have been useful on any scale other than the micro (in terms of this thesis), all of the recorded information is available on the Appendix CD in Regional Database.mdb.

4.4 Rural Activity in Oxfordshire through time

A chronological approach was one of the methods undertaken to investigate sites in each region (see 5.4 and 6.4). This method was chosen in order to identify any region-wide trends taking place at the same time which may have been affected by wider social changes, or may have spurred local change themselves. Though the reliance on chronological changes in the study of archaeological sites is insufficient in itself; in this context – using a number of sites along with the investigation of craft/industry and routine activities in a non-temporal manner – I found that looking at the sites in a chronological fashion greatly assisted in the identification of wider material patterning, and later in bringing all the regions together in Chapter 8. However, in Chapter 7 the microscale resolution allows a lifecycle analysis of the sites to be performed, further bolstering the results gleaned from the chronological study.

L.I.A. – 150/200

Of the sites investigated in the Oxfordshire and Thames Valley Region, 9 (82%) were established before or during the late Iron Age, but only four (36%) collected (or

found) botanical information specific to this time bracket (Figure 4.23). Though it is possible that the other sites were farming at this time, there is little other evidence to support this (given the sometimes 'invisible' nature of agricultural activity in the archaeological record), especially when looking at the corn-dryers, hearths and ovens. During this time bracket only one hearth (Yarnton) and one oven (Old Shifford) were present. No corn-dryers dating to this period were found.

The faunal evidence for this time bracket is more promising, with all of the sites giving indications of their top three most common species (Figure 4.24). Though no particularly interesting pattern was found at this time (cattle was noted in the highest numbers on most of the sites, though it was present on the same number of sites as sheep), more than 50% of sites in this period had relatively high numbers of horse bones, especially Extramural Alchester, which boasted horse as its most common animal. The next most common species was pig, which was not present in very great numbers but was present on 45% (5) of sites in the area.

The activities indicated by small finds on the sites in the Thames Valley for this period are varied, and no one activity seems to be the most practiced (Figure 4.25). However in general, Items of Personal Adornment and Fasteners and Fittings are prevalent, as well as Agricultural items, Domestic items and Tools, to a lesser extent. Interesting to note during the mid-to-late 1st century is that some sites in Gloucester (where Somerford Keynes and Cotswold Community lie) have possible evidence of different small finds preferences or different supply links to those in Oxfordshire (cf. Timby 1998: 113-149), though this is evidence from brooch types at Kingscote (not included in this study).

In terms of the ceramic assemblages, jar forms were the most common type of sherd found, followed by bowl forms and then dishes (Figure 4.26). However vessels used

for drinking (beakers, flagons and also tankards at Somerford Grove) were also present in relatively high numbers. Glass vessels were also present on sites in the area at this time, though due to the wide date range of some of the examples, they will be considered with the site totals below (L.I.A. – 450 A.D.).

A.D. 150-300

The 2nd century marked a period of change in the region of the Thames Valley. Five (45%) of the sites were abandoned around the period AD 125-150, and those that were eventually re-used were re-occupied around AD 250-275 (Figure 4.27: Hatford and Appleford are not re-occupied). Also, although not abandoned, Cotswold Community sees a marked decline in activity around this time (A.D.170-250). This backs up the commonly held view that the early 2nd century dislocation of sites was fairly widespread, and their proximity indicates that in the case of the sites in my broader research, communal abandonment could represent collective decisions made by an entire community (cf. Henig and Booth 2000: 13). This shared action is mirrored in my data in the largely collective re-occupation of sites in the mid-to-late 3rd century AD.

In terms of the floral remains only two sites, Yarnton and Somerford Keynes, recorded the species present. Both sites were dominated by weed seeds and wheat, but barley was present in relatively large quantities at Somerford Keynes. The animal remains were better represented, 5 sites having information regarding the top 3 species present (Figure 4.28). In this period the only real change from the previous phase can be noted at Extramural Alchester and Shakenoak Villa, where cattle overtake horse (Alchester) and sheep (Shakenoak) to become the most prevalent animals on site.

The activities represented by small finds in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley during this period do not change very much from those included in the analysis of the previous period (Figure 4.29). Items of personal adornment are present on the largest number of sites. However building work and domestic industries like smithing and textile manufacturing seemed also to be taking place in larger numbers during this period. The change in diet noted above at Shakenoak Villa (from sheep to cattle), combined with the rise in 'spinning and weaving' activity may have meant that sheep were not being killed for food but instead kept alive for their wool and perhaps milk. Also, the 2nd most common activity at Shakenoak is 'Transport'; which is unusual, and is due to the discovery of a large deposit of horse bits inside the building itself. 'Ritual' deposition cannot be ruled out in this case.

The ceramic forms present at this time in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley are fairly similar to those in the period before; though at Yarnton a rise in jug forms is apparent, and at Shakenoak lids overtake jars (Figure 4.30).

A.D. 250-450

In the late 3rd century in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley there was some significant restructuring to both the landscape in the creation of new trackways and enclosures, and also to the personal environment of the everyday, as is evidenced by the appearance in this period of new buildings (of either domestic or agricultural types) on a number of sites. For example, in Figure 4.31 you can see the sites at which significant construction in the form of building, re-ordering communal space and the re-working of interior spaces was taking place. The fact that these sites seem to be grouped in the north could indicate that there could have been a local building fad at work at this time. Alternatively this activity could also have something to do with the

sites being close to the small Roman town of Alchester, the Alchester-Dorchester Roman road, or tributaries of the Thames.

Building changes were not the only kind taking place at this time. More sites during this period had recorded evidence for agriculture (as seen in Figure 4.32), though the only real change in terms of agricultural activity was a marked rise in the number of corn-dryers is seen (from one known in the previous phase to six after c. A.D. 240). The top three animal species (Figure 4.33) changes from the previous periods at Yarnton and Shakenoak Villa, where sheep become more prominent (though you can see that this is a short-lived change at Shakenoak, lasting until around A.D. 350). There is also a rise in the number of pig bones found at this time at Extramural Alchester, ousting horses from the top three species on site.

Use-type activities on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley during this period see a marked rise in the numbers of fasteners and fittings, many of which could be connected with the construction and maintenance of buildings in a farm complex, but others of which could relate to either agricultural or domestic activities (Figure 4.34). Changes from the previous period show rises in agricultural activity and personal adornment, and a fall in textile production (though the short-lived rise in sheep at Shakenoak could represent a continuation of previous activities). At Barton Court Farm, a change around A.D. 375 sees 'Items of Unknown Use' come into the leading category of small find use-types. At another site, Shakenoak Villa, 'Tools' are ousted by 'Items of Personal Adornment' around 350 A.D. The ceramic information (Figure 4.35) from this period shows that jar forms are still very popular, though diversification of forms seems to be taking place over time. Copies of Samian and mortaria forms also rise in number, undoubtedly (in part at least) due to the proximity of the sites to the Oxfordshire ceramic industries.

L.I.A. – 500 A.D.

Not all of the sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley had detailed phasing, and therefore this section attempts to look at the proportion of finds over the entire life of the sites. In Figure 4.36 and 4.37, it is possible to see the most popular activities including small finds which are being performed over the life of all of the sites investigated in this region. Items that fall under the use-type 'Fasteners and Fittings' are present in high proportions at the greatest number of sites, followed by 'Items of Personal Adornment', and 'Items of Unknown Use'.

The agricultural evidence from the overall life of the sites is shown in Figures 4.38 and 4.39. 4.38 shows the most prevalent plant species on sites in the region (the 'Other' category was mostly made up of weed seeds in the earlier periods and flax seeds in the later ones). The strangely 'symmetrical' proportion of cattle and sheep in 4.39 owes to the fact that these totals come from percentages created from counts of the *incidence* of species. Therefore, while cattle dominated overall, because cattle were usually found in conjunction with sheep, their percentages by incidence are the same.

Some types of finds found on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley are broadly dated also, especially objects of stone. Figure 4.40 shows the percentage of different types of querns found in the region (there were also 39 fragments of whetstones). Fragments of glass found on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley are shown in Figure 4.41.

4.4.1 Summary

In this chapter the specific history and nature of settlement and activity in the Oxfordshire region has been discussed, and the sites included in the broader study

have been introduced and compared chronologically. Evidence of the continuity of pre-invasion communities and practices has been identified through the scrutiny of possible site specialisation in the form of agriculture, textile manufacture, metalworking, quarrying, and other small-scale industries. Craft specialisation will be discussed further in Sections 7.3 and 8.1 as a trait particular to the region, pointing to the presence of local traditions which carried on after the Roman invasion, but eventually broke down, leading to the widespread abandonment of sites. When the sites were collectively re-occupied later in the Roman period, new ways of belonging to the community (and new communities themselves) had likely been negotiated. However, before a more thorough discussion of Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley can take place, the other two study regions must first be introduced.

Chapter 5: Regional Data, Sussex

5.1 Introduction to Sussex

The modern counties of west and east Sussex are located on the coast of southern Britain; facing out across the English Channel towards France (Figure 5.1), and are bounded by Hampshire, Kent and Surrey. From the late 19th century, Sussex was divided into two broad administrative zones, but an actual separation of 'east Sussex' and 'west Sussex' only happened in 1974. During the Roman period, the county of Sussex was mostly labelled the territory of the *Regni* by the Romans, but a small part of the east end of the county could have been located in the western edge of the territory of the *Cantiaci*.

Historically, the study of Roman period Sussex has been the study of three of the most popular aspects of Roman archaeology: villas, road networks and the Roman military. The modern preoccupation with villas in Sussex likely began in 1811 when the now famous Bignor Roman villa mosaics were uncovered, and was later spurred on in 1931 during the excavations at Southwick 'Palace' and again in 1960 with the discovery of Fishbourne Roman Palace, which is the largest and grandest villa yet found in Britain. Roman roads came to scholarly attention when Ivan Margary produced a volume called 'Roman Ways in the Weald' (1948), charting the course of every Roman road known (at that time) in Sussex and beyond. The Roman military is a focus for scholars in many areas of Britain, but has become a more prominent feature of archaeological investigation along the south coast in particular (largely due in part to the Saxon shore forts there). Also, the military has been tied to the Wealden ironworking sites in the east of Sussex (see below for more on this). Whilst studies of the Iron Age in Sussex have for the most part moved on from largely 'antiquarian' perspectives (e.g. Hamilton and Gregory 2000), the focus in Roman-period studies of

the area on imported items, elite lifestyles, and military campaigns has left a large hole in our understanding of local communities and social changes throughout the region.

The following section will attempt to provide background information about Sussex. The first section will deal with geographical and topographical information and settlement patterns. Following that, a number of sub-sections outlining the history of Sussex as it relates to material culture will be presented, and thereafter a reminder of challenges and biases particular to the region. 5.3 will present the results of the regional analysis.

5.1.1 Geology, Topography, Patterns of Settlement

Topographically, the landscape of Sussex can be partitioned into three broad zones: The Weald, the South Downs, and the coastal plain (Figure 5.2). The Weald is an area which had in the past been forested, and is still so in the area of the Sandstone Ridge (Russell 2006: 9). Between the ridges of the North Downs (in Kent and Surrey) and the South Downs in Sussex are the alluvial silts and heavy clay of the Lower Weald and the sandy heath of the North Weald and Sandstone Ridge; and the South Downs themselves divide the Weald from the coastal plain. This is an area characterised by a network of valleys leading to the coast, and further east, to seaside cliffs.

Though there are valleys on the South Downs, they are mostly dry, and it is mainly the larger rivers, the Adur, Arun, Cuckmere, Lavant and Ouse which divide the downs and drain into the English Channel. These rivers run through the coastal plain, which was the focus of activity and settlement in the area in the past; being both flat and agriculturally fertile (cf. Russell 2006; Bedwin and Pitts 1978; Bedwin 1983; Bedwin and Place 1995; Davenport 2003). Though the other areas of Sussex were not

as densely populated as the coastal plain, their occupation can be tied in some cases to resource management, and therefore industries such as metalworking (in the Weald). In fact, the large role that linear system settlements played in the settlement landscape of the South Downs (Taylor 2007: 52) may have been related in a meaningful way to the movement of people and goods across the landscape, from the coast to the Downs, from the Weald to the coast, or from both/either to other regions altogether. However, though rural settlement in parts of Sussex was mixed in nature, there was in parts a significant physical (as well as socio-political) difference between west and east both before and after the Roman conquest. The border between west and east Sussex stretches roughly from Shoreham on the coast to East Grinstead near the Kent border. Whilst the landscape is the similar on both sides of the demarcation, the settlement pattern is quite different, being characterised by a 'predominantly dispersed settlement landscape' (Taylor 2007: 31) to the west. To the east, less is known about the pre-Roman settlement pattern because of the past focus in academic circles on the Wealden ironworking sites during the Roman occupation. In fact, the only information on settlement patterns in the east of the region located in the course of this research project was found in the few paragraphs published in each site report.

5.2 Sussex Through Time

5.2.1 Iron Age

The most representative prehistoric feature/site across southern Britain is generally thought to be the hillfort (dating from the later Bronze and early Iron Age 1000 B.C. – 100 B.C.). Hillforts were likely to have been where individuals gathered for ceremonies, trade, or celebrations (Russell 2006; 60), and some, like the one located at Abingdon, were the sites of later important centres, pointing to a continuity of

communal space. Many hillforts had large internal pits which held intentional deposits, perhaps indicating a ritual or sacred (not in a religious sense, but more in the sense that items left there would be safe) nature. This description is of course an oversimplification of an important pre-Roman feature type, but Sussex has several such sites, some of the largest being those at Torberry, Cissbury, Caburn and the Trundle (Figure 5.3) (Russell 2006: 60).

In Sussex, hillforts changed somewhat during the end of the early Iron Age, with marked modifications to their ramparts and entrances. Few of the larger enclosures of the Iron Age continue beyond 100 B.C., and instead, oppida and monumental earthworks begin to take centre stage, most notably the mid-Iron Age network known as the Chichester Entrenchments (Figure 5.4), which branch out northwards and westwards from the modern town of Chichester, dividing the southern area of the coastal plain from the north, and cutting off the north-south river systems from the Arun (Russell 2006: 63). The Entrenchments (though discontinuous) are thought to have been designed to mark a boundary between local groups, and together with oppida they could have served as physical representations of social or political establishments. They also could have been a reaction to a Belgic incursion before the Roman invasion, which itself has been thought to be much more visible to the west of the river Adur than the east (Bedwin 1978: 45).

The physical divide between east and west Sussex is not solely a modern construct, as differences can be seen in the material record from at least as far back as the Iron Age, and more recent studies (e.g. Hamilton 2007) are looking at the links between choice and place. Malcom Lyne, in writing about the pottery supply to Sussex, notes that west of the Adur river pottery was ‘much influenced by importation of Gallo-Belgic and Roman wares…’, whilst traditions east of the river were, ‘rooted

in Iron Age technologies of handmade pottery.' (2003: 141). It is generally thought that though finewares were being imported to all areas of Sussex, it was the lack of a (proto) urban centre in the east that weakened the impact of the new wares on the local population (Lyne 2003: ibid.). In terms of rural settlement in the Iron Age, it has been noted (Bedwin 1978: 41) that many of the sites were located on south facing spurs of land within large field systems. Continuity from the earlier Iron Age until the Roman period is noted on some sites (see Appendix I, A-C for sites with pre-invasion roots).

5.2.2 Invasion

The Claudian invasion of Britain is a relatively well-documented event (if we are to trust Classical sources), but the landing point itself has been the subject of scrutiny (Drewett *et al.* 1988); with some authors such as Hind (1989) and Manley (2002) suggesting that Roman troops may have landed in either Sussex or Hampshire, rather than (or in addition to) the traditionally presumed Kentish coast. The arguments for this theory are threefold: The perceived desire to restore the Roman-friendly ruler Verica to the kingdom of the Atrebates, the safety afforded by the sheltered inlets and harbours along the southwestern coast, and the strategic advantage of beginning a campaign in 'friendly territory' (Manley 2002, cf. Cunliffe 2009: 221). However, authors like Henig (1998, 2002) and Fulford (2008) amongst others have contested the notion of conquest (citing liberation as a more likely occurrence), and this is an important point to consider (along with the lack of physical evidence that Verica came back to rule) because of the different possible reactions of the locals to a 'liberating' force than a 'conquering' one. However there is strong certainly evidence for a large military presence at sites like Fishbourne (Rudling 1998; 42). In fact, the

establishment of major roads (such as Stane Street), and smaller sites along those roads like the settlement at Old Winteringham (discussed below in 6.4), have very strong evidence of material culture that points to a foreign population (probably military in nature).

The coastal plain of Sussex developed very quickly after A.D. 43, suggesting that large centres like Chichester (Noviomagus) were well-established before the Roman occupation (Davenport 2003; 108). This notion is given strength by the continued regional difference between West and East Sussex, especially following the purported incorporation of the Regni area into the province of Britannia (Rudling 1998; 43-46).

Miles Russell (2006: 71) stresses the importance of the establishment of 'Roman' towns and the adoption of 'Imperial systems' and 'Roman' ways to the successful integration of Britain into the Roman Empire, and Creighton (2006: 157 – 161) and others picture a relatively friendly relationship between the local elite and the agents of the Empire (at least at first when power sharing was a necessity). This certainly may have been true in Sussex, where the differences between East and West point to the pre-Roman social organisation as possibly determining the 'success' or 'failure' of an area to attract Roman material culture, markets, and individuals.

Discussions of material culture in east Sussex are rare, but when they occur (e.g. Green's 1980 paper on ceramics), they often stress the lack of pre-Flavian pottery in the area in comparison to the west of the county. However, the early Roman period did see a certain amount of change, with the establishment of early villas and 'semi-urban' settlements (ibid: 84) like Seaford. Also, the continuing use of hillforts in the Weald (as opposed to the adoption of 'villas' (cf. Rudling 1998; 51)) and the lack of large towns (or any large oppida before them (Russell 2006; 82)), along with the fact

that coinage seems not to have been much used, seems to suggest either that the lack of infrastructure made the area less attractive, or that there existed only superficial interaction between the eastern societies and the Roman state. Alternatively, it is possible that as with Oxfordshire there existed in east Sussex a relatively self-sufficient network in place before the Roman invasion (more discussion of this in Sections 7.3, 8.1 and 8.2), and this independence can be seen in the continued maintenance of traditional ways of doing things. That being said, the Wealden ironworks were certainly a useful industry to the Roman establishment, and they flourished throughout most of the Roman period.

5.2.3 The Roman Period: Continuity and Change

It has been suggested by authors like Down (1998: 7-16), Rudling (1998: 50), and Russell (2006: 69, 71) that Claudian-period Roman military (legionary?) involvement is likely the source of the artefacts, buildings, and defensive features found around Chichester (Noviomagus) in the late Iron Age and early Roman period. If the adoption of the area surrounding Noviomagus into the Roman Empire came along with noticeable changes in architecture and material culture, it is likely that the same idea can be applied to slightly later (1st and 2nd century) settlements in East Sussex like Hassocks, Seaford, Pevensey, and Hastings; though these do not, "seem likely to have been even of 'small town' magnitude" (Green 1980; 84). The greater part of the landscape of east Sussex is frequently referred to in the literature as simply being a backwater through which the Wealden iron travelled, along roads purpose-built for its transportation (and the transportation of wheat) to larger settlements, and cities like London (Cleere 1974, Cunliffe 1973, Green 1980: 84). In fact, it has also been suggested that the Weald itself was an imperial estate where natural resources were

managed by agents of the Roman Empire and large settlements were forbidden (Cleere 1974; 1978; 1981: 99-100). However, whilst it seems certain that arable farming and iron resources were an important part of the economy of east Sussex, the management of those resources did not necessarily have to fall to the Roman establishment.

The 2nd century in Sussex saw the beginning of what were perhaps changes within the social infrastructure (cf. Rudling 1998; 51) and/or the result of more than a generation of Roman rule. Early villas contracted, and there was an increase in the construction of new villas (Black 1987; 34, Rudling 1998; 44). Socio-political changes at this time have been discussed by scholars like Russell (2006; 244-245) as possibly being linked to the execution of the governor Lucullus (who was recalled and executed sometime before A.D. 96, but who had previously been managing the administration of Agricola's conquests (Suet. *Dom* X.3)), or the death/retirement of the client king Togidubnus; both of which could have led to political instability and/or control of the land passing to the Roman establishment. Scrutinised without the aid of Classical sources, the changes evident at this time are not unlike those happening in Oxfordshire (see the last chapter)– a focus on the rural domestic structure is evident, whether it is through the abandonment or founding of sites- and this could be evidence of social change on a more local scale.

In the 3rd century, a rise in the incidence of coinage in east Sussex points to change there, concurrent with (but not necessarily related to) the decline of urban growth in Noviomagus (Russell 2006; 79). By the 280's, Britain had broken with the Roman empire, and at this time much defensive work was undertaken (such as the town fortifications at Noviomagus and the building of the fort at Pevensey) to protect the rogue state from Saxon pirates and the re-invading Roman forces (ibid.: 81). The

fort at Pevensey, in fact, grew to be the largest known Roman-period 'settlement' in east Sussex, and likely spurred the growth of local ceramic industries (like Thundersbarrow and Ranscombe Hill) which began to take shape there.

a. Villas and Rural Settlement

Villas, as was mentioned above have been a focus of study in the south of England in general, but in Sussex in particular, likely because of the presence there of Fishbourne Palace and other large villas like Southwick. Also, the possibility of the Sussex coast being the site of the Claudian landing along with the relatively large number of early villas there has frequently tied their study to now somewhat outmoded notions of 'tribal' and elite negotiation of status in the immediate post-conquest period (cf. Rudling 1998; 44). Of course, a number of different 'types' of villas were built in the early Roman period, some being more 'Mediterranean' in style than others (ibid. 50). Though villa-type buildings are widely distributed over the county, their siting is quite varied, and it is difficult to tell whether communication/trade routes or prime farmland were the most important factor in their placement in the landscape.

Whilst there is some uncertainty in the literature about the development of Iron Age and Romano-British farmhouses into 'villas', it is certain that the prosperity of farms in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries was concurrent with the decline of the 1st century villas (Russell 2006; 193). Of course, what exactly constitutes a 'villa' is also of paramount importance, though from most of the literature in Sussex it seems that any building without a bathhouse (no matter how grand) is not considered a villa there (e.g. Rudling 1998; 47-48).

As with the other regions studied in this thesis, it is clear that 'villa' and 'non-villa' settlements sometimes had more elements in common (such as ditched

enclosures and corn-dryers) than not. Certainly in Sussex the placement of 'villa' sites and 'non-villa' farms is roughly similar, both being located primarily along the coastal plain and chalk downs (see Drewett *et al.* 1988: 181 for a map).

Social change during the 2nd and 3rd centuries certainly affected the construction of villas and farms. Whereas the period immediately following the conquest may have been a prosperous time for those with military supply contracts (Black 1987: 17), later population growth along with strong trade links (bolstered by the road network) and the development of new markets could have created economic possibilities for the rural population (Rudling 1998; 51) of the east as well as the west.

The social and political instability of the 3rd and 4th centuries in Sussex was probably brought about in part by the threat of Saxon raiding along the coast. A marked decline in villa building can be seen, and a number of coastal villas were also abandoned in this period. In east Sussex, this period sees the end of a number of iron working sites (Cleere and Crossley 1985; 84-85). If trade and movement of iron was (as has been asserted by scholars like Rudling (1999: 24- 25), Cleere (1976: 12-13) and Drewett *et al.* (1988: 195)) regulated by the Roman establishment, the closure of sites could likely point to a decline in demand or a breakdown between the industry and their patrons or clients.

b. Industry and Craft

Unlike Oxfordshire and Yorkshire, the study of industry (other than the Wealden ironworks and to some extent the coastal salt production) has not been a central focus in Sussex. Though it is known that industries in the south were producing ceramic and stone tiles, mosaic tesserae, salt, quernstones, pottery, iron, and other goods, these have never been the priority in academic studies of the area. This makes a

comprehensive overview of craft and industry in Roman period Sussex a difficult task (see Biases section below for more on this). However three subjects which have been fairly well-studied are the ironworking sites in the Weald, road networks (and consequently 'trade'), and pottery (both imported wares and to some extent, local industries). Therefore they are discussed below.

c. Metalworking

Iron had been a major commodity in trade well before the Roman invasion. In fact, in places where iron ore was scarce the distribution of iron 'currency bars' may itself be an indicator of non coin-based economic activity (see Hingley 1990 and Ehrenreich 1994: 16–17). In Sussex however, the area of the Weald was an ideal location for smelting; having both ore in abundance and also dense forests to provide fuel. In the late 1st century B.C. iron was shipped in great quantities both northwards within the country and south across the channel to the Continent (Russell 2006; 242). Near the end of the 1st century A.D., however, the scale of production increased dramatically (though this assertion should be taken in context and is largely based upon the much more visible Roman military presence around these sites). This acceleration of production is frequently related in the literature to changes mentioned in the Classical literature, namely the retirement/death of Togidubnus and the execution of Governor Lucullus (e.g. Russell 2006: 244). It has been proposed that the increase in production is directly related to State control; so-called 'tribal' land at this time falling under the jurisdiction of the Roman establishment (ibid.). This theory would have the Wealden ironworks providing the necessary equipment and weapons to aid the northern regiments' campaigns in the Highlands, as well as trading overseas and within Britain.

Henry Cleere noted that the ironworking sites in the Weald seemed to separate themselves into two distinct groupings. The western group were located near or on north-south roads and trackways, and the eastern group seemed to associate themselves more with outlets to the sea 1975; 61). Cleere suggested that the western group were controlled by civilians, using the road network to move products inland; whilst the eastern sites may have fallen under the control of the Roman establishment (Cleere 1978; 62). Cleere's assertion is based upon the proximity of the site to the fleet of the *Classis Britannica* and also the discovery of numerous stamped tiles at sites like Beauport Park, which is the third largest ironworking site known in the Empire (Brodribb and Cleere 1988: 217-274).

Production of iron in the Weald continued through the 2nd and early 3rd century A.D., but by the mid-3rd century the eastern ironworking sites were in the midst of closing down. Whilst it has been suggested that perhaps ironworking moved elsewhere because it was no longer cost-effective in the Weald (Cleere and Crossley 1985; 84-5), it seems just as likely that if the eastern sites were controlled by the *Classis Britannica* out of Dover, coastal raiding at the time took the ships away from port and consequently, trade.

d. Road Networks and Trade

The construction of roads in Sussex began almost immediately after the conquest, and the network of roads plotted by Margary (1947) is still utilised as a guideline. 'Key' routes linked Chichester (Noviomagus) with Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*), Iping, Winchester, and London (Russell 2006; 154). The road linking Noviomagus to London was Stane Street (the main artery through Sussex); which first connected Noviomagus to Hardham, Pulborough and the river Arun, and later extended to

London (Rudling 2000: 112). There were also routes through Sussex linking London to Lewes and London to Brighton. Other roads led from the Wealden Ironworks through east Sussex to Chichester and London. These routes were likely built to facilitate the movement of troops and goods. However the movement of items within Britain itself was obviously taking place well before the conquest; evidence has been found for coastal salt production in Chichester harbour both well before and during the Roman period (Bradley 1975, 1992).

It is known that trade routes linked the Continent with the southern coast (McGrail 1987, Davenport 2003: 102) during the Iron Age, and possibly before. Long distance trade (and presumably other types of cultural exchange) was clearly taking place before the Roman invasion. This is evidenced not only by the importation of raw materials and goods, but also by the iconography of some Iron Age coins, which have been said to "follow the visual imagery…from Rome itself" (Davenport 2003: 102, cf. Creighton 2000). Also, well before the conquest other items like wine amphorae were being imported from Italy (from the 2nd century B.C. (Williams 1995, Sealey 2009: 1-3)), and by A.D. 43 supplies of Spanish olive oil were 'arriving in Southern Britain as though it were already part of the Empire' (Davenport 2000; 103). Needless to say, trade before the time of Caesar's expedition was not regulated in the same way as it was during the Roman period, nor were the items traded the same (cf. Sealey 2009: 1-40). However, the importance of pre-Roman trade links lies both in the things they may be able to tell us about pre-invasion societies, and also in the effect they may have had in paving the way for future imports.

e. Pottery

Imported Ceramics

Of course, the most well studied import into Roman-period Britain is Samian ware. In Sussex, small quantities (mostly of Arretine manufacture) have been found in pre-conquest contexts (see Waugh and Goodburn 1972, Rodwell 1976), though since most of the information comes from Chichester and Fishbourne palace, it is possible that they were brought over with/by the army. From the middle of the 1st century until its end, the South Gaulish types were the most commonly imported, but during the 2nd century Central and East Gaulish wares became more popular, the East Gaulish types extending to the second half of the 3rd century (Millett 1980: 61-62), when the aforementioned instability in the area likely affected trade routes, and the rise of local fineware potteries may have made imports less desirable.

The above description of pre-conquest Samian importation holds true for west Sussex, but in east Sussex the picture is different. In fact, not many sites there (of any type) have produced more than small amounts of pre-Flavian artefacts. However, it has been proposed by authors like Frere (1974; 333) and Cleere (1974) that the presence of pre-Flavian ceramic imports at some Wealden ironworking sites points to early military activity there. Other wheelthrown imports like Gallo-Belgic flagons are known to be arriving into East Sussex in small quantities (Green 1980; 76). Also, 1st century Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra are found on some Downland sites (Rigby 1973) like Newhaven, Bishopstone, Ranscombe Hill, Seaford (all mentioned above in 5.1 and discussed below in 5.3 and 5.4), and Castle Hill.

Coarse and Local Pottery

In terms of the local pottery industries, West Sussex has much the same pattern as many Lowland areas of Britain, with imports and local potteries thriving in the immediate post-conquest period (Millett 1980; 58-59). Later, however, the growth of large towns facilitated the emergence of larger-scale industries around population centres. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries in west Sussex, the best known local product is Rowlands Castle ware. However, there were also products from Chichester (Down 1978) and Pulborough (Evans 1974: 105-106) which are less well known in terms of distribution. Rowlands Castle ware was studied in the 1970's by Hodder (1974), who determined that the pottery itself was being produced for the local needs of the surrounding countryside, but also seemed to have been marketed to those further afield from the *civitas* capital of Chichester. This notion fits well with the conclusions of Millett's 1980 study (1980; 65), pointing to the major role towns played in the redistribution of pottery in west Sussex.

Later in the Roman period (as is true for other areas as well as Sussex), regional industries with wide trade networks became the most prominent suppliers. Items from the New Forest potteries and Farnham (Alice Holt) industries took a larger role in supplying Sussex. However, the decentralised local potteries did still control a significant share of the market (Millett 1980; 58-59).

Conversely, the pottery industries of east Sussex were a world away from those further west. In fact until at least the beginning of the 4th century, pottery was made mostly by individuals for personal domestic use; in exactly the same way as it had been produced in the late Iron Age (Green 1980; 69). There may have been some very small local industries centred around settlements (evidence for this may come in the form of some kilns found at Wickham Barn, Chiltington (Butler and Lyne 2001)),

but the general lack of kilns in east Sussex make pottery a difficult product to trace to any source. This problem is compounded by the fact that most of the ceramics in east Sussex used Wealden clays, except for those near Newhaven, which had their own source (Green 1980; 76). Whilst this lack of ceramic information should be questioned as an artefact of the past focus on the villa landscape in the west of the region, a recent attempt at re-categorising excavated ceramic assemblages in east Sussex has not made the picture any clearer (see Mason 2012).

Though a small amount of wheelthrown pottery was circulating around east Sussex during the Roman period, the presumably decentralised nature of settlement there did not seem to encourage the growth of formal pottery industries. In fact, it is the lack of larger towns which may have added to the insular nature of the region and retarded social changes (observable through material culture) in east Sussex. If larger towns had developed a need for currency, outside influence may have been harder to ignore; as the exchange of currency is a factor in the emergence of ceramic industries (Green 1980; 84-85).

In the early Roman period in east Sussex and into at least the 3rd century, coarseware jars are the most prominent form of pottery. Later, in the 4th century bowls become more popular. Around this time is when the first large pottery industries begin to take shape in the east at places like Thundersbarrow, Pevensey and Ranscombe Hill.

5.2.4 Region-Specific Biases

Modern excavation biases are a factor in studies of Britain. In the county of Sussex these can most strongly be seen in the area of the coastal plain, where tourism and urban development have hampered larger-scale archaeological investigations (Russell

2006; 10). However, the legal requirements of PPG16 and PPS 5 mean that even though long-term excavation of sites is usually impossible, whatever is unearthed in the process of excavation is recorded. In the past, archaeological investigations were not so regulated, and consequently much information (especially about features 'of no interest' to the excavators) was lost, particularly in regards to non-villa architecture of the Roman period, and this can lead to problems in interpreting the settlement pattern of the region. For example, whilst Jeremy Taylor (2007: 31) asserts in his study of Roman period rural settlement that roundhouses are relatively scarce in the southeast, Rudling (pers. comm. June 2009) insists that this pattern is likely due to poor excavation and inadequate publication. The biases inherent in using published material are addressed in Sections 3.4.1, and just as thoroughly by Sue Hamilton and Kate Gregory in their article, 'Updating the Sussex Iron Age' (2000) – and therefore need not be expanded upon here.

As was mentioned in the first sub-section, the study of Roman-period Sussex is hampered by the continued academic focus on elite items and Romanocentric narratives. The study of Roman period Sussex is also made considerably more complex by the aforementioned separation of east and west. Also, it seems that not many in depth examinations of local industries have been performed. In fact, ceramic material is the only product given anything like significant attention in the literature, and even that has been seriously neglected since the late 1970's and early 1980's (whilst reading the BAR on the kilns at Wickham Barn in East Sussex (Butler and Lyne 2001) it was shocking to learn that the two most recent pottery studies cited in that volume were Green 1980 and Malcom Lyne's unpublished PhD thesis from 1994). Frustratingly, the re-evaluation of coarsewares in Sussex that was funded by

English Heritage (Mason 2012) has not been published, and there seems little evidence that it will be.

Iron working which, as mentioned above, seemed to have been a very important industry in Roman period east Sussex is not nearly as well-represented in the literature as pottery (and is only related in the Roman period to the military establishment). Other smaller scale industries have only a few references from site publications. Two notable exceptions are a study of tile making (Rudling *et al.* 1986) and another performed by Peacock (1980) of millstone production and trade in Kent and Sussex.

5.2.5 Sites in Context

Eighteen sites were chosen for a broader understanding of rural Sussex during the Roman period. Six of those sites were located in East Sussex, and eleven in West Sussex (Figures 5.6-5.22). An attempt was made to try to locate and include both 'high status' and 'low status' farmhouses for a more well-rounded view of domestic rural life. Figure 5.5. shows the names and locations of the sites as well as the numbers of buildings found there and the dates of occupation. As with Oxfordshire, each of the broad-brush sites are described in brief in Volume II, Appendix I.

Conspicuously missing from this broad-brush study are some of the most well known sites in the county (e.g. Fishbourne, Barcombe, Goring, Beddingham). They have not been included in this analysis for two reasons: primarily, because their excavation histories and stratigraphy were determined to be too complex (with reports, interim reports, lengthy excavation histories and assorted compendia to navigate) to be fully understood within the time frame of this thesis, and secondly because they are already some of the most studied Roman period structures in Britain.

Simply put, the need to bring other more neglected sites to attention in this region is acute. The ongoing focus in Sussex on grand villas and coastal towns, and the over-reliance on past interpretations was the reason I decided to focus on previously published rural farmsteads and not more recent developer-funded sites.

5.3 Discussion of Data from Sussex

In 5.1 and 5.2 a summary discussion of Sussex both before and during the Roman period was presented, and an outline of basic background information about its history. Below is a more in-depth analysis of some of the activities likely to have been performed by people living there in the past, using information from the published site reports to illuminate material patterning in space and through time.

5.3.1 Rural Matters

In many respects reports from excavations in Sussex have sometimes been overly concerned with evidence of perceived 'Romanness' in the material remains. However because of this, many reports (even those written long before modern conventions were established) took careful note of agriculturally-related finds like animal bone, floral evidence and features like corn-dryers (presumably to tie them to aspects of the Roman-period rural economy). These types of evidence can be linked to changes in agricultural activities on site through time, and used to build up a picture of broader social change in the region both before and during the Roman period.

As was mentioned above, the presence of corn-dryers on rural sites is often taken as an indication of agricultural activity. In Sussex (Figure 5.23), 9 of the 18 sites in this study (50%) had corn-dryers, though two of those (at Chilgrove II and

Upmarden) are questionable. It was also noted in the report that the corn-dryer at Burgess Hill lacked evidence of use. All of the sites except for Bishopstone (E. Sussex) and West Blatchington (E. Sussex) had only one corn-dryer apiece. had at least 3, and West Blatchington boasted more than 11 (though not all of these were in use at the same time).

The evidence for cultivated and other edible grains can link hand in hand with corn dryers. 9 of the reports (50%) collected floral evidence, and 7 of those (39%) (Figure 5.24) focused on cultivated grains. Notable in Figure 5.24 is the fact that some of the sites (listing 'n/a' next to their names) reported evidence of proportions without giving total counts, and this means that any conclusions drawn from the evidence in this region requires other evidence to bolster them. However, this works into the methodology because 'reading between the lines' can be a profitable way of gaining understandings about less well-published sites. For example, the report on Elsted mentions much evidence for scrub and trees, and the site at West Blatchington, though notable for its high number of corn-dryers mentions only the types of fuel wood associated therewith and not the grains. Bodiam also mentions fuel wood as well as cultivated cereals. Figure 5.25 shows the proportions of different types of grain on the sites. As for direct evidence for agriculture, it is interesting to note that 'ploughmarks' dated to the 1st century were recorded at Newhaven in east Sussex.

Of the sites in the larger-scale database, all of those except for Upmarden, Burgess Hill and Lambs Lea (all west Sussex) and Bodiam (east Sussex), had faunal evidence in their reports (Figure 5.26). Figure 5.27 shows the total percentage of 'Top 3' species present from all of the sites. Though some sites had smaller numbers of fragments, the proportions of top 3 per site are still worth investigation, and the sites with better preservation (e.g. 'A' sites) can strengthen the weaker data. Unrelated to

domestic agriculture but altogether very interesting is the presence of whale bone recorded at Bishopstone, which ties into the longer-distance contact hinted at by the presence of Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra (see Section 7.2, B).

Though most of the reports do not give much dating evidence for the faunal remains, changes in diet are sometimes noted in the text. In fact, at both Park Brow and Bodiam, the finding of marine shells (at both sites) and edible snails (Park Brow only) point to a dietary shift after the Roman conquest; though this change was only mentioned in passing and therefore cannot be discussed at length. Presumably their collection, cooking and consumption may also have affected the daily routines of the inhabitants of the farmsteads as well, though this is purely conjecture.

Quernstones, though undatable, are also an important agricultural tool. At least 50 quernstones (or fragments thereof) were found on 11 sites in Sussex (61%) (see Figure 5.28 for percentages from the sites). Interestingly, they were all of 'rotary' type (Figure 5.29), though a saddle quern was found during fieldwalking a few kilometres from Elsted (Redknap and Millett 1980: 219). The great majority were fashioned from Sussex Greensand stone (Figure 5.30). Their uniformity probably relates to the fact that the south did not have much need for outside sources; Kent in particular was the location of much stone used for querns (some of the querns from the Oxfordshire sites were Kentish examples).

As with the other regions (and indeed this is true of any archaeological investigation), importance lies not only with the finds themselves, but also in the spaces through which people moved and in which they interacted. Though the limited scope of some of the excavations meant that very few trackways, field systems, or whole enclosures could be excavated, some knowledge can be gleaned from the limited information gathered. Of the 18 sites in the study, 8 (Bodiam, Ranscombe

Hill, Upmarden, Fishbourne Creek, Burgess Hill, Lambs Lea, Moraunt Drive, Middleton on Sea) do not have enough information to be sure of the enclosure type or surrounding field system (this was largely due to excavation parameters). 4 sites (Slonk Hill, Elsted, Bishopstone and Boxgrove) had fairly 'traditional' rectangular enclosures. Another 3 sites (Chilgrove I, II and Newhaven) had stone walls surrounding parts of the farmstead, and a further 2 sites (Park Brow and West Blatchington) had ditches or trackways very near the buildings but not enough evidence to suggest that they may have surrounded the buildings. The last site at Carne's Seat was a complex of concentric enclosures that were most likely used (perhaps as a stock enclosure?) in conjunction with a nearby, but as yet unexcavated, Romano-British farmstead. Incidentally, this type of enclosure is rarely encountered in Sussex, but is much more common in Hampshire, Wiltshire and Dorset (cf. Perry 1970; 39). The site itself may have housed immigrants from other areas of those areas, or perhaps the people who constructed the ditches followed another building tradition.

This leads us to the last point concerned with 'Rural Matters', namely the access to resources, communication between sites, and the general 'connectedness' of Sussex in the Roman period. Figure 5.31 shows the proximity of each of the Sussex sites to larger settlements, other rural sites, roads, water sources, and other nearby places of interest. They are all between 50m and 10km away, though most are less than 5km from the sites in this study. Out of the 35% of sites that were sited nearby to large centres, 29% were near to Chichester, the other one being not far from Rochester. In terms of access to water, 47% of the sites were close to water, 18% of those being freshwater sources. Roman roads (or proposed Roman roads), are nearby to 59% of the sites in Sussex. Most interesting in terms of the Sussex environment, however, is the proximity of a number of the sites to previous earthworks and

settlements (41%). The siting of the farmsteads near to locally important areas could have served as a link to the past, even in the midst of changing architectural styles and pottery.

5.3.2 Ceramic Patterns and Household Activities

As was mentioned above in section 6.1, the ceramic industries of west and east Sussex were quite different both before and after the Roman invasion. However surprisingly, the forms present on the sites in this regional survey did not show much variation from east to west (Figure 5.32). As is typical of rural sites during the Roman period, jar forms were the most common in Sussex (35.5%), followed by bowl and dish forms (26.6%, 11.1%, See Figure 5.33). However 'tablewares' (in the form of platters and other various 'serving' forms) were seemingly much more common on sites in Sussex than in Oxfordshire or Yorkshire (see chapter 7.3), which could be indicative of either better access or more desire for such goods (though items that travelled with the military are nearly as likely to be found north as south). This does not seem to be an artefact of the publication, though some sites like Upmarden (which was published with Chilgrove I and II) had unexpectedly sparse (or in its case, no) ceramic information. This means that the conclusions are indications of trends, and require more strengthening evidence.

Glassware was also studied as a possible 'other' tableware (Figure 5.34), considering that a total of 116 vessels were attributed to nine of the ten sites in the region during the Roman period. Of the sites with evidence, only 30% (3 sites) had window glass present (Figure 5.35). It is interesting to note that the only bottles found were exclusively from east Sussex (indicating that perhaps trade was more popular than had previously been thought). Also, the extremely high number of glass vessels

from Fishbourne Creek is probably related to its likely association with Fishbourne Roman Palace, or its enviable location along Chichester Harbour.

5.3.3 Industry in Sussex

As was mentioned in Section 5.1, the 'industries' of Sussex are a difficult subject to investigate holistically. The focus in the past has largely been on metalworking sites in the Weald, and the past interest in Roman roads has led to an understanding of local/regional trade that is more export-based than inward-looking. Consequently, given that many of the sites in my database seemed to have been largely self-sufficient, it is the local or household industries which will be the focus of this section - as they are the ones that have been taken into account in the regional database.

Figure 5.36 shows the incidence of metalworking evidence from the Sussex sites. Lambs Lea and Middleton-on-Sea are listed as 'unknown' due to a lack of evidence. Approximately 63% (10) of the sites with evidence had possible or certain metalworking on site. As is obvious from the table however, Newhaven is the only site in east Sussex with firm evidence for smelting (though not smithing). However, Bishopstone and West Blatchington (both in East Sussex) could possibly have had some level of activity. Also present in Figure 5.36 is the indication of on site continuity with the Iron Age, which shows no patterning in relation to metalworking activity - clearly metalworking was fairly widely practiced as a household industry both before and during the Roman period, irrespective of location or cultural change.

In the household section above glass vessels are considered. However no glass-making evidence was found on any of the sites in Sussex, which implies (from this sample at least) that glass was being imported or traded rather than being created or re-used locally. Pottery, also, has a bias towards local distribution or household

production, at least in terms of the coarseware assemblages. Figure 5.37 shows the most common coarsewares found on the sites in Sussex. Of the 18 sites, 14 (78%) had information about coarsewares present. From that sample, the great majority were grey sandy wares of local origin. The 'grog-tempered' wares were the most common coarsewares from Chilgrove I, II, and Upmarden; and could well represent the products of one local pottery. The 'other' local wares represented were 'cooking jar' fabric (found at Newhaven), Farnham products (found at Elsted), Rowlands Castle products (found at Elsted and Middleton on Sea) and Hardham ware (found at Middleton on Sea and Moraunt Drive).

In terms of the finewares present on the sites in Sussex, 56% (10) of sites had information about their most common fineware (though only a disappointing 17% (3) gave information on total fineware percentages). Figure 5.38 shows the proportion of finewares from the 11 sites in Sussex that gave information. Clearly Samian is found in high proportions (relative to the other regions in this study) across Sussex in earlier periods, but later the Oxford and New Forest industries become more popular. The 'Continental' finewares represented were predominantly 'Rhenish' wares (from Chilgrove I). The 'Other' finewares were 'Fishbourne products' (found at Fishbourne Creek), Sussex Red Slip (found at Elsted), and 'silty fineware' of unknown origin (from Moraunt Drive). Also, the presence of Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra, amphorae and mortaria were noted in the early phases of some sites (see Appendix I, A-C).

Other household industries were not as present in the archaeological record in Sussex. For example, though some loomweights were found, their numbers were collectively quite small in comparison with the other regions. Also, most of the 'tools' found were agricultural in nature and not those used for finer work such as bone working.

5.3.4 A Note on Ritual Activity: Sussex

The heading above is labelled 'Activity' instead of 'Deposits' (as the other two regions' ritual sections are), because in terms of my rural site assemblage, surprisingly, depositional indications of ritual activity are few (Fig. 5.39). However, both in the Iron Age and during the Roman period, ritual or religious activity was certainly taking place all over Sussex, and has been investigated recently by Rudling (2008: 95-137). It is notable that in his study of rural ritual activity, Rudling mentions five of the sites investigated in this study, all of which I also included. However I believe there is evidence for a further 4 sites from the Sussex study (see below).

The sites with probable ritual activity (28% of the total sites) all had deposits in the form of animal burials. These were Chilgrove I and II, Fishbourne Creek, Bishopstone and Slonk Hill. From Chilgrove I there were 'special deposits' like dog burials as well as an unstratified statue and a possible 'termination' child burial, and at Chilgrove II there was the burial of 12 dogs and two cats. From Bishopstone a horse burial associated with dog, sheep, cattle and pig bones and also a pit with a chalk lamp or spoon, from Slonk Hill a deposit of the leg bones of at least 11 lambs and 14 piglets, and from Fishbourne Creek two sheep burials. Also at Slonk Hill, the presence of a Bronze Age barrow was reinforced throughout the Iron Age and Roman periods; in fact during the Roman period a square post-built fence was erected around the barrow.

Indications of 'possible' ritual activity come from a further 4 sites (22%). These are: Park Brow due to the find of a human jaw bone together with bones of 'domestic animals', a brooch and an arrowhead), Lambs Lea (due to the presence of a presumed 'terminal deposit' of pottery at the bottom of the corn dryer), Newhaven

due to a handmade jar filled and placed upright in a ditch), and Bodiam (due to the presence of a 'face vase', a 'triple vase' and two figures of Mercury found there).

5.4 Rural activity in Sussex through time

L.I.A- 150/200

In Sussex, in terms of the earliest periods investigated in this study, 7 (39%) sites produced sufficient information to have distinct phases dated between the Late pre-Roman Iron Age and 150/200 A.D. (Figure 5.40). Only three sites (17%, Bishopstone, Boxgrove and Newhaven) gave archaeobotanical evidence in this phase (Fig. 5.41), Other than West Blatchington, the only other site with a corn-dryer at this time is Bishopstone, which has a single example. As for the faunal evidence, 5 sites in this region had information enough to measure the top 3 species present (Figure 5.42) during this time. Sheep were present on more sites than cattle, due in this sample to the large numbers of marine mollusc and edible snail shells found at Park Brow, which ousted cattle remains from the top 3 species present. The large amounts of marine mollusc shells indicate a diet reliant on marine resources, which is a change from the Iron Age diet there.

Out of the 7 sites with phasing information dating to the L.P.R.I.A. through 150/200 A.D., 5 sites had small finds use-type information indicative of on-site activities (Figure 5.43). The top 3 find categories indicated for sites in this period in Sussex were Items of Personal Adornment, Metalworking and Agricultural Items. Interestingly, at Newhaven (the only site with more-detailed phasing), a change occurs in the period between A.D. 60 and A.D. 100 - perhaps indicating a shift from animal husbandry (which likely produced the necessary materials for spinning and weaving) to agriculture. This fits well with the fact that Newhaven is not occupied

before the Roman period. Therefore the tending of animals may have become less crucial to survival after the site became more established.

In the domestic sphere, whilst jar forms were the most prevalent on the Sussex sites at this time, both Bodiam and Fishbourne Creek were dominated by bowl forms (Fig. 5.44). Of the sites with more detailed phasing (Boxgrove, West Blatchington and Newhaven), subtle changes occur around the period A.D. 50-100. At Boxgrove, imported amphorae are succeeded by platters, whilst at West Blatchington the only mention of pottery before A.D. 100 is that of 'South Eastern B' coarseware forms, but in the 2nd century a range of more specialised forms (cups, mortaria and platters) can be found. At Newhaven Flagon forms are succeeded by beakers after A.D. 80/100.

At least 5 hearths and 1 possible 'oven' were attributed to this period (Figure 5.45). The 4+ hearths found at West Blatchington are mostly associated with the corn-dryers there, though one is situated just south of the aisled building. The possible 'oven' at Bishopstone was in use between A.D. 75 and 125.

Of the 7 sites, all had glass present in this period (whether vessel or window) except for Bishopstone and Fishbourne Creek (Figure 5.46). Newhaven had the most window glass and Bodiam the most vessel glass (though Newhaven boasted nearly as much). Bottles seemed to be the most popular form, which serves as a reminder that not all glass vessels were necessarily purchased to be displayed; their presence in the home may have been tied more to what they contained than their intrinsic usefulness or beauty.

A.D. 150 - 350/400

Three sites in Sussex (Boxgrove, Fishbourne Creek, Slonk Hill) had phasing between the middle of the 2nd century into the 4th, however none of those specified any

information regarding floral remains at that time. In terms of the faunal remains, only Slonk Hill gave any indication of species present at that time, the assemblage being dominated by sheep, pig and cattle. Only one corn-dryer was present during this period, at Fishbourne Creek. However, though West Blatchington had too wide a dating bracket to fit into this group, a further 4 corn dryers were in use there between A.D. 200 and 275.

Unfortunately, the use-type indicators of activity are also sparsely published in this period. Slonk Hill was the only site with information, showing Items of Unknown Use as the most prominent, then Tools, and thirdly Agricultural Items. The pottery record is more descriptive- three sites having information about the form types most common on site (Figure 5.47). Both Fishbourne Creek and Slonk Hill are dominated by sandy greywares, and if the possibly misleading amount of amphorae are removed, all sites have a large proportion of jars. Interestingly, at Boxgrove during this period, the third most numerous form-type is split evenly between bowls, flagon/jugs and lids, all of which (along with beakers) could relate to a change in dining habits at this time (compare Figures 5.44 and 5.47).

Of the three sites with adequate phasing for this period, only Fishbourne Creek shows evidence of hearths, with 5 in existence at this time. Also, Fishbourne Creek has one 'oven'. In terms of industrial activity, all three sites show evidence of possible metalworking during this period.

A.D. 200 – 450

This period was slightly better represented in Sussex, with 4 sites (Bishopstone, Burgess Hill, Lambs Lea and West Blatchington) having adequate reporting of finds and activities. Floral species present were noted at two of the sites (Lambs Lea and

Bishopstone (Figure 5.48)), and animal species were also only present at two sites (Figure 5.49), Bishopstone and West Blatchington. Corn-dryers are present at all of the sites in this period (Figure 5.50), though the feature at Burgess Hill is termed a 'possible' corn-drying oven.

In terms of the activities (Figure 5.51), the finds from this period point to 'Items of Agricultural Use' being the most common, though at Bishopstone a large number of tools were found. The second most common activity pointed out in the literature was Personal Adornment, followed by Metalworking. Again, it is notable that Tools continue to be the most common artefact found at Bishopstone, but at this time Items of Personal Adornment are also very common. At West Blatchington, items associated with Building are much less common, possibly indicating a period of relative architectural 'stability' during the life of the villa and roundhouse there.

L.P.R.I.A. – 450 A.D.

As with the other regions, some reports from Sussex lacked the strict phasing which would have facilitated more useful chronological comparison. Therefore this section seeks to get a picture of the most prominent activities and finds categories over the whole life of the sites. Of the 18 sites investigated in Sussex, 44% (8) had less-specific phasing, dating roughly between the L.P.R.I.A. and 1st century through to the 4th or early 5th century (Figure 5.52).

From the overview in figure 5.53, it is possible to see that over time, Items of Personal Adornment, whilst not the 'top' identifier of activity (this was Items of Agricultural use), were present in higher quantities at a greater number of sites than any other use-type indicator. The next most prominent finds category was that of Agricultural items, followed by items indicating metalworking activity. Figures 5.54

and 5.55 show the proportions of plant and animal species through time in Sussex. The east-west divide in Sussex, as mentioned in the sections above, was likely an important factor in trade and industry during the Roman period. Therefore, some effort has been made to attempt to pinpoint any differences in the material culture based on region (5.56). This can also be attempted with the pottery supply, as seen in Figures 5.57. It is possible to see in the table that whilst jar forms were ubiquitous, more bowl forms seemed to have been used in east Sussex, whilst in the west a larger range of forms was present. Also interesting is the preponderance of Samian ware in east Sussex (the Pevensey and Oxford Colour-Coated wares at Bishopstone would not have been imported until at least 250+ A.D.).

5.4.1 Summary

In this chapter Sussex was introduced both geographically and historically, and the sites in the regional study were compared both temporally and through investigation into the different activities taking place on them. In terms of looking at activities on the sites as a group, the sites with wider date brackets and those which had smaller assemblages show that the presence and absence of different types of object can be used together with more accurate evidence to highlight possible regional and inter-regional patterning. This line of investigation can be taken further in chapters 7 and 8, when sites from different regions are compared together, using more detailed data.

However, from this small sample it is clear that in the pre-Roman and early Romano-British period in Sussex, the fairly widespread use of imports (even at smaller sites) suggests a society in place which was already comfortable negotiating their own local or group identities with foreign material culture. However, this

changes later in the Roman period, and will be discussed further in Sections 7.3, 8.1 and 8.2. The chapter which follows is the final regional study, of Yorkshire.

Chapter 6: Regional Data, Yorkshire Region

6.1 Introduction to Yorkshire

As with the two other study regions, Yorkshire is essentially a modern construct encompassing the areas of North, East, West, and South Yorkshire (Figure 6.1). In the Roman period however, it was thought to be split by the boundary between the *Brigantes* to the west and the *Parisii* to the East (Figure 6.2). Some difficulty exists, however, in the modern division and its effect on the cohesive study of the area in the past (this will be discussed more fully in the biases section below). The study of Yorkshire is further complicated by the geological and topographic differences across the region, though the variety in terrain and ecosystems was surely a factor in past settlement pattern; and therefore of interest. Like Oxfordshire, Yorkshire is an area of modern mineral extraction, which has both initiated and affected archaeological investigations there. However, projects like 'Archaeological Cropmark Landscapes of the Magnesian Limestone' (funded by the Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund), have attempted to redress this balance by investigating the pre-Roman and Romano-British landscapes of South, West and (parts of) North Yorkshire (Roberts 2010).

In the past, archaeological work in Yorkshire has focused upon two main subjects: Iron-Age burials of the Arras culture, and the Roman military. Though fieldwalking and survey projects have mapped out a number of the ubiquitous 'ladder settlements' in the countryside (e.g. Hayfield 1987), very few detailed analyses of settlement sites have been published (cf. Halkon and Millett 1999: 3). However, in the early 20th century Mary Kitson Clark (1935) plotted the distribution of Romano-British findspots in Yorkshire in a map which formed the basis for later studies (e.g. Ramm 1978, Riley 1980). Even so, the Roman-period in Yorkshire has been

somewhat more neglected than have other areas of England and the pre-Hadrianic period even more so (Willis 1996: 180), compounding the already troublesome obstacle of even recognising the "Roman Period" at all (Wilson 2002: 13). This is especially true of the North Yorkshire Moors because of the persistence of a stubbornly aceramic period almost until the turn of the 2nd century.

Though past work may have focused on issues outside of settlement, more recent scholarship has sought to understand wider material patterns across vast geographical areas, especially in the North. Jeremy Evans' work on pottery distribution has exemplified the interpretive value of macro-scale analysis on broadly contemporary pottery assemblages (Evans 1995). A similar type of ceramic analysis was also attempted by Willis (1996), with a significant portion of the data coming from sites in Yorkshire. On a regional scale, Jeremy Taylor's study of Roman-period settlement both illuminates variation in the nature of evidence coming from Yorkshire and highlights the troublesome aspects of using SMR (now HER) data (2007: 43-44). These and other works have begun to move the study of rural settlement in a new direction; towards an understanding of regional variability (Millett 1990) as not only visible in the material record but also integral to the understanding of the nature of cultural change in the Roman period.

The following section will provide a background of Yorkshire. The first sub-section will discuss geological and topographic information, as well as wider regional and settlement patterns before and during the Roman period. Following on will be a succession of sections describing activity over time in Yorkshire, which will lead into a discussion of regional biases. The final section of this chapter will discuss the results of the analysis. As with chapters 4 and 5, the section including the description of the sites in my regional case study appears in Appendix I, Volume II.

6.1.1 Geology, Topography, Patterns of Settlement

Modern Yorkshire, as was mentioned above, is split into 4 geographic areas. North and East Yorkshire are both situated along the coast, while West and South Yorkshire are bounded by the Peaks and Pennines. In between is a complex arrangement of landscapes which no doubt affected settlement in the past as much as they do today. Of course geography was not the only factor in settlement- the varied responses to cultural change during this period would also have affected the landscape in a multitude of ways (cf. Hunter 2001: 289).

The settlement pattern in Yorkshire during the L.P.R.I.A. and Roman periods then, was highly varied and complex (Willis 1999: 83). In some areas like the Yorkshire Wolds, the pattern appears distinct; being formed of complex networks of enclosed landscapes (see Stoertz 1997). However, the varied topography of the region seemingly led to a partitioning of sub-areas by use, and presumably this affected social, economic, and cultural activities across the region (Fenton-Thomas 2003). For example, though the north of England is most commonly associated with the Roman military, there are relatively few known sites of that kind on the North York Moors (Wilson 2002: 13). This may be due in part to a lack of targeted excavation, but there *is* evidence for domestic settlement during the Roman period on the Moors, some of it using pre-existing field boundaries (Taylor 2004: 59).

The Yorkshire Dales are another upland area little understood and sparsely excavated (cf. Taylor 2007: 59). In fact, the areas to the Northeast and Northwest of the city of York have significant gaps in the history of their excavation. Conversely, the areas generally to the Southeast and Southwest of York have been as thoroughly excavated as many parts of the South of England (cf. Taylor 2007: 45). The modern county of Yorkshire then, which in the L.P.R.I.A and Roman period could feasibly

also have extended ever so slightly into the territory of the *Coritani* (part of modern Lincolnshire), has in the past been tagged as the northern limit to Dark and Dark's (1997) 'Villa Landscape' (cf. Hingley 2004: 333).

This area is also dominated by cropmarks and soilmarks, which could link the pre-Roman agricultural system and the Roman-period settlement system (e.g. Powlesland 2003, cf. Taylor 2007: 44). Though in this area enclosed settlements only emerged during the Iron Age, Halkon and Millett (1999: 221) assert that aerial photography of the region shows evolution suggesting sustained development over time. Previously, the large scatters and intersecting field systems were thought to be larger nucleated settlements, but when inspected more closely they also point to continued occupation and the 'shuffling' of smaller agricultural sites over time (Taylor 2007: 104). Nevertheless, though some parts of Yorkshire held similar types of settlement, the pattern emerging from works like those of Halkon and Millett (1999), Hingley (2004: 338) and Taylor (2007) do not suggest large scale landscape organisation in Yorkshire during the Roman period. In fact, Taylor (ibid: 60) suggests that the differences in land-use could reflect broader nation-wide changes in rural landscapes.

As was mentioned above, a thorough study of settlement patterns in Yorkshire has been performed quite recently (Taylor 2007), and therefore it is not necessary to duplicate here. However it should be said that the most salient patterns emerging from wide-scale work on settlement during the Roman period are the prevalence of small dispersed sites throughout the region and, more intriguingly, the divide in settlement types between the North and West and the East and South. The varied natural landscape was complimented by the varied man-made landscape, though this was also likely a product of local traditions (ibid; 59-61). If this anomaly could be proven to

relate more specifically to social boundaries, the corresponding material culture might be enlightening.

6.2 The Yorkshire Region through Time

6.2.1 Iron Age

As was mentioned above, during the Iron Age in Yorkshire and the north a change in settlement occurred and enclosed sites became more prevalent, especially along roads. Originally, the enclosures were thought by authors like Ramm (1978: 73-80) to be a telltale sign of Roman influence, but we have since learned that they are firmly a part of the pre-Roman tradition. The spread of enclosed settlements, however, does not mean that unenclosed settlements were absent- in fact they were also widespread at this time (Taylor 2007: 44). Actually, since enclosures are frequently more visible in the air and on the ground than open enclosures, is entirely possible that the current archaeological evidence is somewhat skewed in favour of enclosed settlements. However, what seems more likely is that the 'enclosed' and 'open' settlements we prefer to discuss in distinct terms were in fact not distinct types in the past (Hingley 2004: 341).

The changes in the century before the Roman conquest point to a general trend of growth in animal husbandry, which may explain to some degree the increase in construction of enclosures and linear ditchworks near roads (Dent 1983; 37-38). There is also, in the territory of the *Parisii* (east Yorkshire) at least, influence from the Continent in the form of brooch manufacture (ibid: 38-39). The change at this time was not solely material, however. The Arras burial tradition, four centuries strong, was largely abandoned during the 1st century B.C. Social and material changes at this time have been suggested to relate (in the territory of the Brigantes) to inter-group

conflict, and (in the territory of the Parisii) to overcrowding and possible border disputes (Dent 1983: 38). In terms of what we know from literary evidence, much of the information about so-called 'tribal' boundaries comes from Ptolemy via Marinus of Tyre; and is presumably based on data from the mid-to-late 1st century A.D. (Maxwell 2004: 77). Therefore the disputes which may have arisen in the Iron Age could have continued on to the Roman period and affected relations between the local population and the Roman military. This in turn would have had an effect on the area's receptiveness to trade.

However, the claims of conflict are not at all a certainty, especially as it has been noted that in the Iron Age settlement sites seem to become less defensive in nature over time (Maxwell 2004: 79). Instead, the difficulty could relate to a regional identity crisis springing from the population growth. Two previously overarching practices (large-scale earthwork construction and Arras burial mound culture) had recently been abandoned, presumably for the sake of space, and time. The social tension which may have arisen from these changes could conceivably have affected building practices; making it more desirable to have parcelled property near a road rather than communal property elsewhere. Sites like Stanwick became versions of the poly-focal compounds found on the continent (Woolf 1993), and animal husbandry, being more widespread, presumably affected issues of trade.

In the south and east, contact with Rome is indicated by widespread signs of a money-based economy in the form of industrial centres, mints, and public building works. In fact, the Foulness Valley holds one of the largest iron production centres in Iron-Age Britain (Halkon 2008: 25).Trade with the continent and beyond, though perhaps more regular, had already been fairly continuous for hundreds of years. Conversely in the North, large-scale trade with the continent was not manifested in

the distribution of pottery or other goods. However this evidence links fairly well with the model purported by Haselgrove (1987), which places Yorkshire at the edge of the contact zone (Willis, 1996: 214).

Ceramic industry, trade and usage is little understood in Yorkshire, both during the Iron Age and well into the Roman period. This is largely due to a general lack of ceramic material. Authors like Wilson (2002) and Evans (1995) have studied pottery distribution, and others like Willis (1996: 185) have postulated that though pottery was produced and used at this time, it is possible that it was not acquired as a measure of status. Instead, other ways of displaying status may have been in place.

Settlement during the Roman period in Yorkshire was made up of small, dispersed sites. These sites were mostly agricultural in nature, though the ladder settlements strewn throughout the region formed what could be deemed as small villages. The lone sites, however, were mostly enclosed, many associated with long linear ditches and near roads, indicating a rise in independent animal husbandry. Changes extrapolated from the material record during the L.P.R.I.A. point to the problems of overpopulation in the east and dispute in the west, along with the changes in economy. The historical accounts cite the crossing of the Humber and the rescue of Queen Cartimandua at around A.D. 71 (Bishop *et al.* 1999), and, if other accounts of so-called 'tribal' contact can be relied upon, this should be accompanied in the archaeological record with material changes, at least in terms of pottery. However, material changes, *especially* in pottery do not occur until at least the 2nd century, which raises significant questions about the nature of cultural contact at this time.

6.2.2 Invasion

If historical accounts can be trusted, it can be assumed that during the contact/conquest period there was a certain amount of unrest in the territory of the Brigantes and Parisii. This has been described by authors like Maxwell (2004: 75-76) and Dent (1983: 38) as having significant social repercussions, but these are difficult to see in the archaeological record. However, the ceramic 'invisibility' of the conquest in Yorkshire may be more telling than has previously been thought. Authors like Richard Hingley (2004) are quick to point out the disruptive nature of Roman-Native contact, but the fact that the material record shows little change until the middle of the 2nd century belies a fairly remarkable material (and therefore social?) continuity.

The written histories say that in the decades following A.D. 43, the Romans maintained an uneasy relationship with the Brigantian people. Slightly later, the archaeological record begins to show both permanent and temporary military works covering previously existing native structures at sites like Brough, Hayton and Malton (c.f. Dent 1983: 40-41). This is also true of the area north of York (c.f. Maxwell 2004: 80). Eventually, an entire generation after A.D. 43 in fact, civilian sites begin to acquire imported Roman ceramics in greater numbers (Willis 1996: 218), and this trend gains momentum particularly around the end of the 1st century.

It has been suggested in the past that perhaps distance from the Continent was a determining factor in the patterns of importation we see in Roman period Britain (see Hedeager 1992 for evidence of even longer-range trade). While it may have affected imports in some measure, it is more likely that access to goods was more of an issue than geography. In fact, the limited number of pre-Claudian imports in Yorkshire seems to imply that though Roman goods were not shunned outright, they

may have been difficult to come by in the pre-conquest period (cf. Willis 1996: 191-2).

However the material continuity evidenced after the conquest, though not necessarily due to a 'lack of imports' could be seen as the product of an insular social system. In such a highly structured community, where economic and cultural norms had already been established and where the infrastructure had already been made strong by long-lived systems, conquest may not have greatly affected everyday life for many years. Also, as was mentioned above, the aceramic nature of the region in the Iron Age means that traditional pottery-based analyses cannot successfully track broader cultural changes. Because of this, the holistic approach taken in this thesis is much more successful in identifying social and material changes, through the scrutiny of many forms of evidence.

6.2.3 The Roman Period: Continuity and Change

Studies of importation to Britain during the Roman period have traditionally been focused on the supply of the Roman army and the distribution of Roman items to civilian and native population (Willis 1996: 179). However in Yorkshire the lag in material change during the early post-conquest period makes local trade a more profitable avenue for investigation. While there are no large-scale studies of trade in Yorkshire, some information can be gleaned from an understanding of rural settlement and landscape (see above) and also craft and industry (see below).

As was discussed above, rural settlement in Yorkshire does not conform to a single type. Both before and after the conquest there was significant diversity in the types and arrangements of settlements, and this pattern of non-conformity stayed for the most part unchanged throughout the Roman period. Different geographical

regions produced different types of natural resources; and these in turn fostered area-specific industries. Though it is probable (as in the south) that the Roman administration 'manipulated local society in various ways' (Hingley 2004: 328), it is likely that the in the north it was the military presence that eventually came to affect local industry. It has been suggested, for example, that the military could have enforced taxes, which effectively prevented the development of surplus wealth by the local elites (ibid 2004: 343). This is notable because it has been suggested that in the Roman period pits may have been dug to hide agricultural surplus (Henig and Booth 2000: 32-33). However, north of Yorkshire, the relatively sudden disappearance of the long-standing tradition of *souterrains* paints a different picture and could represent a different method of evading Roman taxation.

That little changed materially or architecturally until fairly late into the occupation is generally an accepted idea of Yorkshire during the Roman period. However, until recently it has been thought that this was a consequence of a lack of exchange in the Iron Age and of the initial resistance by indigenous societies. Consequently, little work has been done to try to determine if different ways of expressing status may have been in practice both before and during this period, or if the presence of the military affected ways of life in the countryside.

Because of past archaeological neglect of Roman period rural dwellings in Yorkshire (cf. Hingley 2004: 343), there has been little headway made into understanding everyday life in this area during the L.P.R.I.A. and Roman period. Of course, while traditional ways of building were the most prominent, there are also quite a large number of Roman-style buildings in the region, and not all of them associated with the military. However, though the military may not have direct or personal links with villas in the area, it must have provided the infrastructure through

which those desiring to build substantial homes could acquire materials and craftsmen.

Darling's (1985: 328-38) model purports that the location of military sites and availability of ceramic material of a certain quality determined the nature of pottery supply. This model of course presupposes that the consumers themselves had certain requirements and expectations (Willis 1996: 211). This was likely also true of settlement sites; though it has been suggested that their placement could be tied to the Roman road system (see Halkon and Millett 1999: 226 for a good example) as well as military sites and civitas capitals (see Burnham and Wacher 1990; 43-51). Of course a relatively sturdy infrastructure must have already been in place for any new large-scale industry to be fostered, and this is evidenced by the lack of Roman finds at some military sites of the Claudio-Neronian period. In the post-conquest period then, the construction of permanent military sites fostered a conglomeration of settlement in certain areas, both encouraging and demanding supply. Later, if villas and larger settlements were constructed with the assistance of military exchange links they could (once established) provide a network of independent settlements capable of "…absorbing and resisting adverse conditions without losing their functional effectiveness" (Maxwell 2004: 80).

In the section on settlement above it was stated that a change occurred in the L.P.R.I.A. burial tradition (see Ramm 1978 and Millett 1990). This shift went along with a change in settlement patterns, to what presumably was a lifestyle more focused on animal husbandry. However no such change seems apparent in the early conquest period, and this, as was hinted above, may be more a factor of archaeological bias than a real pattern. It has been suggested that perhaps in the north status and identity were expressed through the construction of large settlements, feasting (there are

examples of feasting evidence below), or through other means as yet undetected by archaeologists. Later in the Roman period, when importation was more regular and local industries larger, the expression of status and identity may have been more materially-based and in-keeping with areas further south. Pottery industries moved away from forts (Dore and Greene 1977) and potteries in Yorkshire began to produce ceramic material not just for the military, but also for the general population as well. More importantly than the production, however, is that the creation of large-scale industries finally indicates a widespread **desire** for these items. However, in the 2nd century it is thought that administration of the area was handed over to local authorities, and therefore this proposed desire for Roman-style items is puzzling when considering the widely accepted idea of ongoing 'resistance' to 'Roman' material culture (some ideas about this will be discussed further in Sections 8.1 and 8.2).

The 4th century in Yorkshire has been said to see the effects of the 'Barbarian Conspiracy' (Collins 2012: 16), which is itself a loaded term. However, instability and change are visible during this period (as will be seen below), and could be just as related to the abandonment of outpost forts (Breeze and Dobson 1985: 16) as to the 'fearful' and 'weary' provincials (*Amm.* XX: 1). Another possible factor may have been the conscription of men into the Roman army (though this is only assumed and not mentioned in Classical sources), which would have affected both the population of the area and also modes of rural household production. This possibility will be further explored in Sections 7.3 and 8.1. Of course, conscription was taking place throughout the Roman period, but from the mid-3rd century in Yorkshire, changing materialities point to the possibility that the physical makeup of the population in the countryside is possible (see 8.1, 8.2.3, 8.2.4).

The north during the Roman period is frequently discussed in terms of military and industry. Yorkshire, being part of the north, is not free from this academic focus. However the geological and ecological characteristics of the region most definitely affected the pattern of settlement in the area (see above), and could therefore have further split the region socio-culturally. Not only that, but it surely affected the types of revenue-generating activities which could be performed there. Discussed below are the industries which shaped the rural Yorkshire landscape and likely employed the people living there.

a. Forestry

The clearance of forested areas has in the past been a focus of research and interest in the north, especially in Scotland (Dickson *et al.* 1985, Dumayne 1993a, 1993b, Dumayne and Barber 1994, Hanson 1996). To the south (in northern England), scholars attest that the forest had been cleared before the Roman invasion and that the landscape would have been interspersed with managed woodland (c.f. Hingley 2004: 329, Halkon and Millett 1999). In fact, it is generally thought that land in the region was very carefully maintained; with tended woodland surrounded by either heathland or enclosures for arable farming or livestock (ibid: 221). This pattern is hinted at archaeologically by pollen diagrams like the one from Hasholme (in Turner 1987), and the 'invisibility' of fields around enclosures during the L.P.R.I.A. and into the Roman period (see the excavations at Bursea Grange for a good example).

The study of woodland management during the Roman period is not solely concerned with understanding settlement patterns, however. The continued focus on Roman-period industry in the north has created questions about the provision of fuel for crafts, which ties into the rural economy. It has been demonstrated that there is a

link between coal distribution in parts of Yorkshire and the known Roman road system (Dearne and Branigan 1995; 81, cf. Wilson 2002; 19), and this points to an infrastructure concerned with the distribution of fuel in larger quantities; perhaps for the military or for larger-scale industrial use. Away from the larger towns it is probable that fuel was procured fairly easily for personal use, but in settlements like York and Malton most of the population may not have had ready access to or control of those resources. This would have made the provision of fuel for domestic and industrial use a craft in its own right, and one of substantial importance (Wilson 2002: 18-19). On a smaller scale, forest management could have provided more than just fuel, craft wood and building material; depending on the species the parts of the tree not needed for other purposes could have been used for feeding animals, making medicines or creating dyes (Hall and Tomlinson 1990: 19-21).

However, de-forestation cannot necessarily be seen to be a permanent fixture of the Roman period. Like any other type of activity it may have increased or decreased depending on social or economic factors. In the northeast of Scotland for example, aggressive Roman military activity may have led to a regeneration of forested areas (see Whittington and Edwards 1993), and this could also be the case in post-conquest Yorkshire. Also, in some areas woodland management was a less of a concern; as in the case of marshland around rivers (e.g. Sheppard 1996, Halkon and Millett 1999, Van de Noort 2004) and marine inlets (e.g. Jordan 1987), where land was managed for grazing or used for access to water-based trade (c.f. Halkon and Millett 1999; 221).

b. Pottery

As was discussed above in the section regarding Iron Age Yorkshire, the region is unusual in its widespread lack of pottery during the L.P.R.I.A. and into the Roman period. In all cases and in most areas the pottery tradition is highly conservative-certainly the sites in the case study below were dominated by (likely homemade or very local) rough calcite-gritted wares throughout their occupation. This widespread issue has affected not only the recognition of sites in Yorkshire as being Roman in date, but also has had implications for the understanding of cultural transmission in the territory.

Typically, Samian and amphorae are usually taken to be indicators of site identity and status (Willis 1996; 203). However, because they are conspicuously absent on most rural sites in Yorkshire until the 2nd century (if not later), the scrutiny of assemblage deposition and composition must instead be metrics of cultural transmission. After the middle of the 2nd century however, the use of ceramics begins to rise steeply and the distribution of Yorkshire wares like Crambeck ware, Dales ware, and others (along with the rising popularity of imports), points to a change in the way personal or domestic identity was manifested.

c. Stone

Though the dating of stone is a troublesome issue in general, the study of querns in Yorkshire and the north has been discussed by a number of scholars (Hayes 1974; 1976; Hayes *et al.* 1980, 304-6; Briggs 1988, 298-300, Heslop 2008). Like the ceramic evidence, the study of querns during the transition from the Iron Age into the Roman period points to little, if any change (Wilson 2002; 15). However, the querns themselves, whether beehive, saddle or rotary can provide some evidence about

formative modes of production in Yorkshire. Their distribution is also telling, as in most cases it points to local quarrying and home production of saddle querns. The stone used for beehive querns however, was sometimes sourced from much further afield, though sources in Yorkshire do exist (c.f. Wilson 2002: 15). There is much less evidence as to the location of rotary quern production though likely quarry sites have been identified (Hayes *et al.* 1980).

The quarrying of building stone is another issue which tells of the region's conservatism. Most of the local population shunned masonry construction until later in the Roman period, though there are a few notable stone roundhouses in Yorkshire (Winterton building J is a good example (see Chapter 7, also Figure 7.66). However, perhaps the choice not to build masonry structures was more economic than social. A structure requires significant amounts of stone to build, and it is possible that the use of quarries was regulated or that the stone resources themselves were controlled by individuals or groups. Access to quarries for the creation of quernstones may have been largely acceptable, while the procurement of large quantities of stone may have proved much more difficult. Also the distribution system already in place for woodland resources most likely meant that access to timber for building was a more convenient option.

Another stone used during the Iron Age and Roman period in Yorkshire (though not for querns or masonry) was jet. While the origin for jet in Yorkshire is uncertain, what is known is that it was in high demand, especially during the later Roman period (Allason-Jones 1996: 9). Jet is most commonly associated with the Northeast of Yorkshire, where it could have been found along the beach or on coastal cliffs (Wilson 2002; 18). In Roman York, a sophisticated industry developed, making items like bangles (Allason-Jones 1996, Cool 2002), but small-scale jet working also

seemed to exist on the moors where it could have been utilized for extra income (Wilson 2002: 19).

d. Metalwork

Metalwork in Yorkshire, it seems, was produced to meet personal or local demand, and was not a large-scale industry even in the Roman period. Many rural farms in the region have evidence of minor smithing on site, and the archaeological incidence of ore is low, pointing to secondary smithing as the main metalworking activity during the Roman period (Wilson 2002: 19). However where ironworking was considered there is evidence on some sites that an individual or small group was smithing for an entire community (Roxby is a good example).

Of course, secondary metalworking cannot be considered a true craft activity because it does not need very much specialist knowledge. However the smelting of metal, which has been found on a small number of sites in Yorkshire, could be considered a specialist activity (Wilson 2002: 17). In fact, the production of metal in Yorkshire was another activity determined by the landscape; as the wetlands were likely sources of bog ore for smelting (Halkon and Millett 1999: 222).

e. Glass

There is no positive evidence for a large-scale glass working industry in Yorkshire during the Roman period. However, home production would be difficult to see in the archaeological record (c.f. Wilson 2002: 18). Also, as with other crafts in Yorkshire there are hints that small-scale production was the norm (see the excavations at Roxby for a possible example). However, though glass may not have been produced in Yorkshire during the Roman period, it was certainly being imported, as is evidenced

in the high counts of vessels on some later sites. Window glass was also present during the later Roman period, but not in such quantity as is seen further south.

6.2.4 Region-Specific Biases

As with Oxfordshire and Sussex, Yorkshire faces a regional bias in excavation density due to development-funded projects in the South and East of the region - leaving the North and West somewhat less well-understood (c.f. Taylor 2007). For the sites that have been excavated more recently, however, modern characterisation of the archaeological evidence is lacking (the last comprehensive characterisation of Yorkshire was published in 2003 from a conference in 1998 (Manby *et al.* 2003)).

Rural settlement in Yorkshire is often investigated through evidence from earthwork and aerial photography (c.f. Taylor 2007: 44). The varied landscape however, sometimes confounds attempts to trace wider patterns of settlement (*ibid.*, Halkon and Millett 1999: 17-18), making it difficult to determine whether the frequency of enclosed settlements is an actual pattern or simply a bias due to the fact that enclosed settlements are easier to locate both from the air and on the ground (cf. Hingley 2004: 339-340). This overrepresentation in the archaeological record is also the case with substantial houses in the north, as elucidated by Maxwell (2004: 77).

In the regional analysis below I have used a small number of fieldwalking surveys together with excavations (more information about the sites can be found in Volume II, Appendix I, C). However I am aware that the lack of knowledge about the material traditions of the L.P.R.I.A. and early Roman period in Yorkshire can make fieldwalking data less useful in mapping phases of settlement on a site, or in an area (c.f. Halkon and Millett 1999: 221). However, the 'ranking' of sites should relate the degree of confidence that can be placed in the various patterns.

It is important to mention, as I have in the past chapters, that I am dealing with mostly published reports. These reports are of widely varying quality, date, and methodology. Therefore, the point made by Willis (1999: 100) that Roman finds could have been more numerous than previously thought because they 'have not always been reported in full excavation reports in the past', has been considered carefully with each individual site. In scrutinising the publications, it is often the case that objects, features or trends are mentioned in the text and not in the catalogue, and in this case it is always attempted to locate as much information about the above as possible. Where reports allude to large quantities of material which are not in the catalogue, these are always taken into account. However, it is not always the case that a balance can be struck, and in these cases I have removed certain sites from particular sets of analyses.

Biases in ceramic assemblages stem from their categorisation, which can under-represent Roman influence in form because items were frequently made in local fabrics. The past focus on fabric type has led many pots undoubtedly influenced by imported forms to be allotted to 'transitional' or traditional groups (c.f. Willis 1996: 210). This however, is not a huge problem with the analysis below because form types were grouped together for categorisation, and only the most common fabric types were noted.

The dating of querns is also prone to bias, not least because of the difficulty in dating stone objects. However their dating is not the only obstacle to their understanding; their manufacture in the region is also in question. To date, though a number of probable quarries of acceptable stone have been found in Yorkshire, no saddle querns have been found in them. This points to home manufacture of querns (as mentioned above), using stone from any number of sources (Challis and Harding

1975). However beehive and rotary querns were also sometimes made at home, and may have required more specialist knowledge. For those that were shipped to their destinations, questions arise about modes of transport, length of use, and choice of style.

Lastly, it is important to reiterate a point mentioned several times above; namely that the different regional societies inhabiting England before and during the Roman period surely had many different ways of exhibiting status and identity. The lack of Roman imports so evident during this period in Yorkshire then could simply be due to the fact that other ways of communicating societal position were more attractive (or ingrained) than obtaining imports (c.f. Taylor 2001: 56, c.f. Hingley 2004: 328).

6.2.5 Sites in Context

The sites identified for the regional study of Yorkshire were, geographically, a fairly wide ranging group. Of the 20 sites inputted into the regional database, nine were located in the area of North Yorkshire, nine around East Yorkshire, and two in South Yorkshire (Figures 6.4-6.23). Two of the sites categorised as being around east Yorkshire are actually just south of the Humber in Lincolnshire, but as with the sites in the Thames Valley region, their placement on a modern map has little to do with their Roman period occupation.

The fact that none of the sites were situated in West Yorkshire likely reflects a construction-related bias; certainly not any real pattern of settlement. The size of the sites in this area varied, and was sometimes hard to determine (as most excavations do not uncover entire agricultural systems, or even entire building plans), but it seems probable that a number of the sites held more than single family groups. The clearest

examples of this are Winterton Villa, where the sheer size of the linked structures indicates a larger occupation, and High Wold, where the clustering of roundhouses and indications of feasting also point to communal living (Figure 6.3).

Of course, when looking at Figure 6.3 it is easy to see that some of the sites had continuous activity over hundreds of years. This makes understanding the nature of occupation at any given time more difficult, but when sites can be separated into occupation episodes, or phases, patterns become clearer.

As with the last two regions, the sites are listed in Appendix I in Volume II. There the sites themselves are discussed briefly, and particular points of note are highlighted. These points, as well as the data from the sites will be discussed in the following section.

6.3 Discussion of Data from the Yorkshire Region

The previous sections were written to inform the reader of the general background of settlement in Yorkshire and also to outline the sites used in the study. The types of settlements isolated for this investigation range from ladder-type settlements to roadside strips, from 'villas' to unenclosed settlements. The one key point linking all of the types of site, however, was that they all had evidence for domestic occupation, no matter their other attributes. Therefore, as with all of the sites investigated in this volume, it is the juxtaposition of similarity and difference in material culture that will inevitably inform our perceptions of social and cultural change in the wider region. If (as has been maintained throughout this thesis) the identification of routine activities in the past can be linked to social norms and cultural maintenance, then a discussion of these activities must be essential to our understanding of cultural change in Yorkshire during the Roman Period.

6.3.1 Rural Matters

Evidence for agricultural activity in the past can be found in the investigation of material remains from the growing, harvesting and processing of crops (see 6.1 for a discussion of plant species). The database used for the regional studies has data fields for changes in land use/structures, finds categories, counts of the top three most numerous species of plant and animal, and counts of features like hearths, furnaces and corn-dryers (among others). This data, along with the more general site information (and with full disclosure of the probable strength of the patterns) can give reliable indications of agricultural activities over time.

In Britain in particular, 'corn-dryers' have been studied as indicators of agricultural activity or crop processing, and have been linked to the storage of surplus. In terms of the sites in Yorkshire, nine of the twenty sites had corn dryers, most having only one in evidence (Figure 6.24). The sites with more than one corn-dryer (Sandtoft (7+?), Winterton (1+?), High Wold (3+?)), were located in the south and east respectively, though Santoft was very close to the east Yorkshire border. Winterton and High Wold, as mentioned above, also have seemingly larger numbers of individuals in occupancy, and so the high numbers of corn-dryers on those sites could possibly indicate either family or group/unit-based ownership. In terms of the finds assemblages and their indication of dominant use-type activity, the finds catalogues pointed to agriculture as the dominant activity over time (Figure 6.25). The types of finds pointing to agricultural activity varied from multi-purpose tools like knives, hooks and hones to items of a more straightforward character like quernstones.

Of course, it is not only features and finds which serve as measures of agricultural activity. More difficult to discern is the dynamic nature of activity areas,

not least because, as was mentioned above, field systems are not often wholly excavated. However, it has been shown to be the case in parts of Yorkshire (particularly the south) that the field systems during the Roman period had their origin in the Iron Age and were not necessarily the product of Roman influence (Millett 1990: 120, Riley 1980). Not only that, but some indication of activities can also be gleaned from the 'crispness' of site plans themselves, no matter how limited (David Rudling, Pers. Comm. Jun 2007); recutting, removal, or movement of ditches or other features can be metrics of continuity or change. In terms of the sites in Yorkshire, since a fair number of them had evidence for possible/probable continuity from the Iron Age into the Roman period (60%, see figure 6.26), changes in their plans over time are not surprising. However, sites like the one in Thurnscoe (Billingly Drive), in South Yorkshire, show little evidence for continuity with the Iron Age, and yet change significantly over relatively short periods of time, indicating an intensity of activity probably related as much to agricultural demands as social or domestic ones.

The changing plans of sites are not the only indicators of rural activity; the dynamic arrangement of trackways and droveways can also hint at changes in the movement of people, animals or objects to or from activity areas. Droveways are probably most commonly associated with the movement of livestock, and their adjustment could indicate changes in site economy, among other things. In terms of the trackways/droveways in this analysis of Yorkshire, it is of note that they were oriented either roughly N-S or E-W ('roughly' meaning 1-15 degrees off true N-S or E-W), without any variation in-between except at Winterton Villa where the road leading out from the entrance of the villa (and a parallel road through the courtyard) headed stubbornly northeast. Of the 20 sites in the regional investigation, nine showed evidence for trackways, droveways, or surfaced roads (Figure 6.27). Of those nine,

56% were oriented roughly north-south, 31% roughly east-west, and 12.5% roughly northeast. Many of the sites with trackways/droveways seemed to show continued use and maintenance over time, without much incidence of change.

Another indicator of agricultural activity on sites, both before and during the Roman period, are quernstones. Though querns can often be severely under-represented in site reports (cf. Cruse 2004: 19) and are notoriously difficult to date (along with all other finds of stone), they still represent an agricultural tool associated with specific routine actions and specific material remains. A total of 41 quernstones were found on the sites in the medium-scale sample, on nine of the twenty sites (45%). It is possible however that the other sites may have also had quernstones, but the limited excavation parameters of some of the sites meant that their presence was not confirmed, even when intensive agricultural practices were hinted at by the other material remains. Figure 6.28 shows the number of quernstones found by type, and Figure 6.29 shows the proportion per site. From the figures it is easy to see that Old Winteringham had the most quernstones (18 in total). This is particularly interesting because its nearest neighbour, Winterton Roman Villa had only 4. Figure 6.30 shows the proportion of different quern types by Yorkshire region (both with the data from Old Winteringham and without); though it is not possible to assume anything about the South, it is interesting to see the larger numbers of different types of quernstone across East Yorkshire as opposed to North Yorkshire. It is also notable that North Yorkshire seemed to have a higher number of beehive querns. In terms of the materials used for making querns, it is noteworthy that 10 of the 18 querns found at Old Winteringham were crafted from Niedermendig basalt, while only one small fragment of Niedermendig basalt (presumably from a quern) was found at its closest neighbour Winterton Villa. In terms of the other sites, a variety of materials were

present: sandstone, Millstone grit, Mayen Lava (found at Thurnscoe), micaceous stone, and coarse grit.

Perhaps more interesting than the quern proportions are the different ways the stones may have been re-used. While this information was not given on all of the sites, a few had notations on the state of the stones themselves. For example, at Blansby Park all of the quernstone fragments had evidence of burning, perhaps from having been used in a hearth bottom. At Thurnscoe, the fragment of Mayen Lava had been reused as a rubbing stone, indicating its value as an abrasive agent. Also, Figure 6.30 shows the bias towards upper rotary quernstones; could this mean that the lower parts found uses elsewhere and the upper were kept intact?

Using the site layout together with the quern evidence it is possible to note a very basic association; namely that querns were more likely to be found at sites with more enclosures. This is perhaps not surprising, as enclosures could have been used for the partitioning of arable land away from roaming cattle. The subject of arable land is another topic which is central to the understanding of agriculture in the L.P.R.I.A. and Roman periods, but sadly is outside the scope of this section, due to the limited nature of excavation (of the adjoining field systems) on most of the sites. However the crops grown on the land and those imported and consumed by the occupants of rural households are discussed in 6.4.

More accessible than the field systems, however, are aspects of the environment around the sites, their access to resources, and their capabilities for communication (These things (especially "*Communication*") will be discussed further in 7.3.4). Figures 6.31 and 6.32 show all of the sites in the region, and their closest Roman towns, rural sites, water sources, roadways and other nearby miscellany. These amenities were located between 50 metres and 10 km from the sites

themselves, though frequently less than 5km. Of the 20 sites included in this study, 45% were sited near to a larger settlement, town or 'city', 55% nearby to a known Romano-British rural site, 70% had nearby sources of water (though one site was near to the North Sea coast, and therefore not fresh water), and 55% were close to known (or presumed) Roman roads or trackways. The location of sites in relation to Roman roads as well as to water sources would presumably affected their access to trade and local industries, and their proximity to other sites. However, the proximity to other settlement and rural sites is also an artefact of modern excavation, and can only stand alone as a measure of probable 'communication' when the sites are very close.

Interestingly, 25% of the sites were also sited close to local sources of pottery. In the case of Yorkshire I have also included a "notes" column, because it was clear that there was a pattern emerging; namely, that some sites without direct access to pottery did not roof their houses with tile, but with organic or lithic material. Most of these sites were located on or near the River Tees. This could reflect a genuine building tradition, but because the sites with this information were not particularly well explored, this cannot be taken as fact. It is interesting to note, however, that no matter the proximity to local markets or pottery centres, individuals were still making choices about their supply. A good example of this can be found at Wheldrake, near York, where from the ceramic assemblage it can be seen that (for whatever reason) the inhabitants of the site preferred the Holme-on-Spalding-Moor pottery to the York products. Other aspects of ceramic choices, however, can be more clearly seen below.

6.3.2 Ceramic Patterns and Household Activity

Evidence for domestic activity, while sometimes easier to discern in the archaeological record than agricultural activity, is still troublesome. As with the other

two regions, jar forms are very prominent in Yorkshire; 34% of all forms over time (Figure 6.33), also, jars are consistently the most common form in every phase. In fact, the only sites which do not favour jar forms (favouring bowls ahead of jars) are Wheldrake (S. Yorkshire) and Thurnscoe (N. Yorkshire). These two sites also share similar date ranges and small find use-type activities (Metalworking, Fasteners and Fittings, Tools). Though the sites in Yorkshire are of varying sizes, and were excavated to varied standards, in general the ceramic patterns found in this study correlate well with existing studies, and seem reliable.

The pottery industry in Yorkshire has generally been well-investigated, and it is the study of chronology on production sites like Dragonby (May 1996) which help to refine the phasing of rural farmsteads. In terms of coarse fabric types, in comparison with sites further south the Yorkshire sample is rather unvaried with calcite-gritted wares and greywares being the most prominent fabrics (Figure 6.34). The range of imports, however, was somewhat more varied than expected, and included amphora and Samian (present on the sites in this study from about the conquest period [Crab Lane and Winterton Villa] onwards, though they are known to have been imported in small quantities earlier). Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra were imported slightly later (in very large quantities to Old Winteringham), and a variety of colour coated products were imported from less far-flung regions.

Of course, it is important to remember that these containers were made to be used, no matter their provenance or composition. This is why glass vessels, while certainly not used for cooking, can be considered alongside other food containers as possible serving dishes (this is of course dependant on form). Glass fragments were found on 40% of the sites in Yorkshire (see Figure 6.35), but only two sites, Stamford Bridge and Stonygate, produced vessel glass (bottles [which could be associated with

the bathing complexes there] not being counted). Therefore, it is probably not the case (in the sample studied) in Yorkshire that glass vessels were widely used for displaying food. Instead, 'display vessels' (if they were used at all) may have been made of wood or other perishable materials. Of course, display of status need not have been through food containers; in fact large deposits of sheep and pig bones at High Wold are indicative of feasting, and the sheer numbers of animals slaughtered may have been sufficient to inform the guests of the status of the inhabitants.

6.3.3 Industry in Yorkshire

Above, in section 6.1, industry in Yorkshire was discussed in terms of the materials exploited by the rural population both for personal use and profit. It seems, as has been mentioned before that most rural sites were largely self-sufficient in the Iron Age, and continued to be so during the Roman period, though the changes in activities (being in some cases indicative of different types of revenue-generating practices) at different stages in the life of the farmsteads should not be ignored, nor should the rise in imported items at some sites. In the case of this study the latter point also serves as a reminder of the interpretive potential of imports as indicative of wider regional industries rather than just indicators of personal choice on an inter-site basis.

The evidence for metalworking on the sites in Yorkshire is fairly strong, with 13 of the 20 sites (65%) having information about smithing/smelting activity. Of the sites with this information, 7 (54%) had positive or likely indications of metalworking, 3 (23%) had 'possible' indications of metalworking, and 3 (23%) had no indication at all. The 3 sites without any smithing or smelting evidence were Wharram Grange Villa, Winterton Villa, and the settlement at Old Winteringham. The general 'status' of these sites could be said to be somewhat higher than other sites in

the study, which could have been a factor, meaning they could have had the option of focusing on other activities on site or procuring metal goods along with other imports. An alternative explanation is that Winterton Villa and Old Winteringham were located close together and may have had a nearby source for whatever metal goods they required. Also, Wharram Grange was located nearby Wharram Le Street, which had strong indications of metalworking on site (many 'furnaces/kilns' and a very large dump of ferrous material was recorded in the survey) and could have been a source for metal products.

Of the 7 sites that have positive or likely evidence for smithing or smelting, High Wold has the earliest evidence (from the L.P.R.I.A. onwards). However, Thurnscoe also has evidence of Iron Age metalworking, in the form of 'Iron Age grey' slag, which is unusual considering there is little else to suggest an Iron Age presence on the site. This could suggest that Iron Age metalworking techniques were being used on site during the Roman period. From the late 1st century it seems that metalworking becomes more prevalent, until the late 3rd century, by which time most of the sites with evidence for metalworking had shifted their focus to other types of activities.

Metalworking, though having a strong focus in this sample, was not the only type of industrial activity taking place. At High Wold in East Yorkshire, a large deposit of finished and unfinished worked bone objects was found in a late 1st-2nd century context, indicating that alongside the metalworking taking place on site there was also significant bone working, presumably for profit and not necessarily personal uses.

One industry which was absent in Yorkshire was glassmaking. Though glass was found on a number of the sites in the form of bottles, window glass, and, in two

cases bangles, no evidence for glassmaking was present. Considering the relatively small quantities of glass present on all of the sites except for Winterton Villa (87 window glass fragments and 64 bottle fragments), it seems apparent that glass was either not in high demand or was not easily accessible. The other industries taking place on site, namely spinning and weaving, seemed to rise in importance in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, but without any indication of being large-scale or profit-based.

6.3.4 A Note on Ritual Deposits: Yorkshire

Of the 20 sites investigated, 16 possible 'ritual deposits' were uncovered on 9 different sites (Figure 6.36). These deposits ranged from birds buried in pots under floors to articulated cow legs buried near or in graves. The highest number of possible ritual deposits was found at Winterton (at least 5), but the most interesting was located at Hawling Road, where 'offerings' seem to have been given to an Iron Age child burial for at least 200 (if not 400) years. Also of note is the burial of a snaffle bit in one ditch terminal at Thurnscoe (see above), which if taken together with the heavy bias towards horses at this site could be significant. Thurnscoe also has a number of empty 'grave' features which surround the D-shaped enclosure ditch, and which may have ritual significance.

6.4 Rural Activity in Yorkshire through time

Late Iron Age- A.D. 150/200

In Yorkshire, in terms of the earliest periods investigated in this study, only six of the 20 reports included significant botanical information between the L.P.R.I.A. and 150 A.D., though 13 sites (65%) showed probable continuous activity from the Iron Age.

Of the six sites then, only two (High Wold and Hawling Road) gave firm evidence for agriculture between the L.P.R.I.A. and 75 A.D, with wheat being the main crop. This is of course not to say that crop production was not taking place on the other sites, only that floral evidence was either not found during excavation or not noted in the reports (and therefore no firm conclusions can be drawn). No corn-dryers were found on any of the sites during this time, though an 'oven' was mentioned but not described in the report on High Wold (the oven was in use between the L.P.R.I.A. and 75 A.D.).

In terms of faunal evidence, of these six sites two did not publish animal bones. Three of the other four sites were dominated by cattle, and one by sheep. However, during the period A.D. 50-69 at Melton and A.D 50-101 at Hawling Road, this changed slightly, with sheep temporarily becoming more dominant at Melton and cattle becoming equal in numbers to sheep at Hawling Road. Along with the temporary influx of sheep at Melton was a seemingly greater influx of pigs, which in the pre-Conquest period at the site had been the third most numerous species along with sheep (Figure 6.37).

In terms of use-type indicators of activity, between the L.P.R.I.A. and 200 AD there were six sites in total which included good assemblage information (Figure 6.38). Of these sites, as with the others, agriculture was prominent, but clearly the range of activities being performed on the sites was vast (of note were a large 'feasting' deposit at High Wold and a very large collection of glass bottles at Winterton Villa). Focusing on the inside of the home, the ceramics at this time were dominated by jars and bowl forms, but a fairly wide range of forms were present (Figure 6.39). Only one oven and one hearth were located for this date range, but this could be due to demolition or re-use in later periods. The only glass recovered from this date range are the 12 bottles from Winterton.

A.D. 150 – 300

The late 2nd century in Yorkshire showed subtle but distinct differences from the earlier period. Only 2 of the sites (Thurnscoe and High Wold) included more detailed botanical information, showing wheat as the most numerous species, then barley and oats. The high numbers of grains at both sites may indicate cultivation of plants for fodder. In terms of faunal remains, three of the Yorkshire sites in this period had strong evidence for animal husbandry (Figure 6.40). The relatively high number of grains on site along with the indication of the more time-intensive species present could make the growing of crops like barley and oats a multi-purpose activity, both diversifying the human diet and also feeding the livestock. However, the cultivation of barley in particular could also have been a means to a different end: alcohol. It has been proposed that corn-dryers may have been used for sprouting barley before malting (cf. Booth *et al.* 2007: 422). Both Thurnscoe and High Wold had corn dryers at this time, High Wold having three (or more) and Thurnscoe having one.

In terms of the small finds indicating particular activities on site, this date range showed nearly the same range of activity types as the earlier period (Figure 6.41), but marked fall in evidence for spinning and weaving, a sharp rise in the industrial/metalworking activity being performed on the sites. The range of ceramic forms dropped significantly at this time, to just jars, bowls and dishes (this actually fits rather well with Leary's assertion about a change in eating at this time (Leary 2008: 43)); but there is a marked rise in the importation of Roman-style greywares (and, for Winterton only - glass bottles). There was also an increase in agricultural items and tools, which could be related to the fact that during this time all of the sites experienced change in the form of new buildings, maintenance or movement of trackways and ditches, reorganisation of entire sites, and general expansion over time.

A.D. 200-450 A.D.

The changes which begin in the 2nd century continued into the 3rd, but a decline in building is notable at this time (though maintenance of field boundaries and other features continues). In most cases, the sites are abandoned by 350-400 A.D., except for Dalton-on-Tees, which seems to continue on until around 500 A.D. In terms of agricultural activity at this time, only Winterton villa had evidence. Corn-dryers also decline slightly during this period to 2+, one being the aforementioned at Winterton Villa and the other at Wharram Le Street Villa. The number of hearths/ovens however jumps considerably during this time, especially at Winterton where 20 'ovens' were counted (there was little indication if these were in fact corn-dryers or not, though they were specifically referred to as 'ovens' and not 'corn-dryers'), indicating a significant change from the last century. The faunal remains, unlike the botanical ones, are somewhat more telling, and point to a decline in the relative presence of horses (Figure 6.42), perhaps relating to the changing dynamic of the Roman military after the supposed handover of administrative duties to local powers (though the faunal remains only come from 4 sites at this time, and therefore suggest rather than conclusively prove this assertion). This may have come along with a removal of military units from the area, taking horses (and possibly conscripted men) with them.

The decline in building activity mentioned above was accompanied in the archaeological record by a rise in mortaria (at Old Winteringham, Stonygate, and Hawling Road in particular), building materials, window glass and tools, some of which could have entered the archaeological record after the building work was finished. A decline in metalworking could also be explained in this way (Figure 6.43). This is also the period that seems to see the highest incidence of items of personal adornment; 31.6% as opposed to 11% and 15.4% in the last two centuries (see Figure

6.44 for agglomerated percentages of Use Types 1, 2, and 3 for all sites through time). A renewed investment in spinning and weaving is also an important change, and is perhaps related to the replacement of horses on site with sheep, and the decline in building work.

L.P.R.I.A. - 450 A.D.

This section was created to address the problem of the lack of detailed phasing in some of the Yorkshire site reports, but includes the site totals generated from all of the other reports also (as they also fall into the general date range). Out of the 20 sites, eight (40%) had a rough date of the Late Iron Age until the late 4th century (see Figure 6.45). Though those sites may not have been as extensively investigated as some of the others, they did have enough information to make them useful in a general sense. From looking at 6.45 it is possible to see that Agricultural items are the most numerous type of find on sites in Yorkshire during the Roman period, followed by Items of Personal Adornment and Items indicating Metalworking Activity. In terms of agricultural activities, figures 6.46 and 6.47 show the most numerous species of plant and animal present on sites in Yorkshire, and figure 6.48 shows the proportions of ceramic form types present on the sites. Of course, this information comes from my database and therefore the tables specifically represent the *incidence* of the top 3 species present by count. Therefore, looking more closely at the same data (which can also be seen in raw form (with more detail) in the Microsoft Excel spreadsheets on the Appendix CD) allows for more comparative analysis, but the addition of the data from the other sites supports the trends shown in the sections above, and will ultimately inform the wider cross-regional comparisons.

6.4.1 Summary

This chapter began by introducing the Yorkshire region and discussing its geographic and historical characteristics (6.1 and 6.2). Section 6.3 compared the evidence for different activities taking place on those sites. Section 6.4 used a chronological approach to look at change in the Roman period of the area. From these different approaches it is possible to see that the agricultural nature of many sites in Yorkshire was in flux, and later in the Roman period other small-scale industries became more popular. This may have been a response to a decline in demand for grain, or perhaps the result of the conscription of soldiers which will be investigated in Chapter 8. The next chapter, however, seeks to move away from the regional scale to a more local or domestic sphere by examining a number of the sites already introduced in much more detail.

Chapter 7: Microscale Analysis

7.1 Introduction: resolution on the site level

The three chapters preceding this one have been regionally focused, and were intended to give the reader a general background on both geographical and social information in the chosen study regions by using a broad-brush approach to the excavation data. This chapter, on the other hand, aims to address the problem of identifying routine activities and practices on sites by examining a number of sites in detail. Seven sites from each of the three regions (see Figures 7.1, 7.2, also Volume II Appendix I for site descriptions) have been investigated more thoroughly, and phase maps have been created in order to see changes in finds and space over time (see Appendix CD - When using the maps, see Figures 3.7 and 3.8). Below, sections A-G describe each of the sites in detail through the periods assigned to them during excavation. Along with the descriptions of building activity on site and changes through time are more detailed discussions of the finds present in the features assigned to those phases. Where finds are residual, I have attempted to discuss this in the text (see 3.4.5 for a discussion of residual material and site formation). Intrusive finds are usually separated into later periods, depending on how they were discussed by the authors of the report (see 3.3.1 for ranking of the sites below).

The goal of this chapter is to begin to bring the regions together, firstly by looking at changes in the micro-scale sites over time (7.2), then comparing activities on those sites (7.3), and finally looking at scales of similarity and difference in the macro and micro assemblages by juxtaposing activities and practices in order to investigate social change and possible regionality (7.4).

7.2 Micro-Scale Sites

A: Barton Court Farm, Oxfordshire

Site Setting

Barton Court Farm was introduced and discussed in the Oxfordshire Site Descriptions in Appendix I (#2). The site itself lies very near to the Iron Age fort and Roman period market town of Abingdon (Henig and Booth 2000: 23). Abingdon itself lies at the confluence of the rivers Ock and Thames, on the second gravel terrace of the Thames.

A discussion of environment, communication and access to resources in Oxfordshire was performed in Sections 4.1 and 4.2., with particular reference to Barton Court Farm in terms of security (Section 3.2.1), proximity to Abingdon (4.2.1), use of local stone, and its place in the purview of the wider Oxfordshire pottery industry (both 4.2.3, under relevant industries). Mention was also made of its temporary abandonment, which was the case for a number of sites in the region (see Figure 4.27).

A more direct view into the specific kinds of access at each of the sites is shown in Figure 4.18. There, it can be seen that the closest (known) Roman road went through Frilford, which was some 5.6 km distant. This points to the fact that riverine trade may have been the primary method for larger/heavier cargo. Apart from its proximity to Abingdon and Frilford, Barton Court is also around 5km from Appleford Farm, and roughly 3km from Didcot. Presumably, the fact that no (known) Roman road transects this area meant that local through-ways were used alongside the riverways; and the trackways, fields, and 'communal spaces' (see Appleford, Old Shifford and Yarnton 'points of note' in Appendix I A #11, Oxfordshire Site Descriptions) around sites like Barton Court and Appleford Farm would link the sites

to their neighbours, not only physically, but also in social routines revolving around the movement of livestock.

75 B.C. – 50 A.D.

The Iron Age enclosure at Barton Court Farm was only partially excavated because the greater part of it lies beyond the excavation boundaries. The excavated Iron Age features, however, are shown in Figure 7.3. The arc of pits between the internal ditch and the outer enclosure ditch mostly contain Late Iron Age pottery, and could have had a variety of functions including storage, hearths, parching ovens, or simple rubbish tips. Also present near the pits were the bases of two large ceramic vessels, which could have been used for storage (Miles 1986: 6). The only Iron Age structures present in the excavation area were Structure I and Structure II, which both produced pottery of a mid-1st century A.D. date (Miles 1986:5).

The finds of Iron Age date are sparse- the pottery ranging from local coarsewares to imported and locally copied butt-beakers, and Miles (1986:6) notes that the small finds lacked evidence of any economic items like 'weaving combs', loom-weights, or quernstones- though the Early Romano-British phase did include several residual bronze brooches and a coin of Cunobelinus (AD 10-40). It was proposed by the excavators that the site began shifting southwards in the L.P.R.I.A., so mapping meaningful use of space through artefact analysis is not possible until the early Roman period.

50 A.D. – 150 A.D.

Early in this period a ditched enclosure of trapezoidal shape was laid over the Iron-Age farmstead on a more north-south axis (Figure 7.4). The enclosure ditch had an

entrance placed on its southern side, as did the internal rectangular ditch. Farther east were two parallel ditches with a line of postholes at their southern terminus, and a probable cesspit between them (labelled 366). The enclosure itself was divided by two staggered east-west ditches, overlapping to provide an entrance between the north and south yards (Miles 1986:9). In the southern yard was a large rectangular structure (Structure III) 8.5m wide and 28-30m long, which was posited by the excavators to be a timber building with plastered walls (as indicated by the slots and plaster found within them). No tiles were found, so it is probable that the roof was thatched (Miles 1986: 9). Several periods of building were alluded to, though none were actually datable (ibid.: 9). Associated with the timber building, and between it and the enclosure ditch's southern entrance were 12 postholes which may have made up one or possibly two structures for storage (as indicated by coins of AD 96 and Late Iron Age/Early Romano-British potsherds). The northern part of the enclosure was excavated, and no finds found, which could indicate its use as a "…stacking yard or animal pen" (Miles 1986: 9).

Associated with the first Romano-British period of occupation was a total of 41.6kg of pottery, much of it local native types wholly characteristic of the immediately pre- or early post-conquest period. In this period we can see from Figure 7.5 that the amount of residual Iron Age pottery is very high - Iron-Age jars form 22.8% of the assemblage, followed closely by local coarseware jars of early Romano-British date (22%), bowls of Iron Age date (19.5%) and local coarseware bowls of early Romano-British date (16%). Also present, but in smaller numbers are beakers of Iron Age date (5.9%) and vessels of indeterminate type (of Iron Age date) (4.2%). There are fairly equal numbers of dishes of Iron Age date (2.5%) and mortaria (2.5%), and only a smattering of Samian ware (1.7%) and amphorae (1.7%). This assemblage

strongly indicates what we already know archaeologically - namely that there was an Iron-Age presence on the site - but it also seems to indicate a continued presence of the use of Iron-Age pottery after the Roman conquest, which points towards a possible continuity in occupation. When looking at the map, it can be seen that there is a mixture of Iron Age and early Roman pottery strewn throughout the enclosure (and in the features), which suggests these items were being used at the same time. In fact, in figure 4.8 it can be seen that the Iron Age forms and their Roman-period counterparts were fairly evenly matched in terms of proportions.

Though the pottery is dominated by coarsewares, the small finds are more unusual in makeup. The enclosure ditch held a bronze netting needle and a pottery gaming counter. In a pit inside Structure III two iron keys were found; the only other ironwork being a few nails, some indeterminate metal fragments, a rod and a brooch in the aforementioned cesspit (366), and a chisel found beneath the late Romano-British farmhouse, which had not yet been built. There were also three bronze brooches found in other early Romano-British features, and the excavators suggested that some of the unstratified brooches could have belonged to this period (Miles 1986:10).

In terms of the proportion of use-type indicators during this period (Figure 7.6), 33 finds dated to the earliest Romano-British period. The finds are dominated at this time by items of "Personal Adornment", which made up 36% of the total number of finds. The next most prominent category of use-type is split between "Textile Working" and "Locks and Keys" (both 18%). Other probable activity types were indicated by items of "Recreation", "Tools", and "Items of Unknown Use" (all 9%). It is interesting to note that though the excavators mention several periods of building (Miles 1986: 9), the finds pertaining to this work are not very visible in the record;

perhaps suggesting an area outside the limits of excavation for the disposal of building refuse?

The deposition of artefacts during this period at Barton Court farm is basically confined to the ditches and a few small pits. This is set in opposition to the later periods, when some floor and yard surfaces yield finds; and could itself relate to the building work taking place at this time (i.e. surfaces may have been thoroughly cleaned whilst building work was taking place). Burnt stones, which have been postulated as being possibly deposited in significant ways (Adrian Chadwick, Pers. Comm. December 2012), are present in pits outside the entrance to the Iron/Age Early Romano-British internal ditch (Miles 1986:6). Also, more 'specialized' deposits (like those attributed to ditch-ends, pits, waterholes, and other features (Chadwick 2012: 283-315)) were found in contexts 6 (small finds of indeterminate date), 12 (Iron-Age and Early Romano-British jars), 328 (Only Romano-British pottery), 360 (only Iron-Age pottery), and the cesspit 366 (containing an iron rod, a brooch, and an early Romano-British coin). One final point to mention in terms of distribution in this period is that the southward movement of the site from the L.P.R.I.A. to Roman period is clearly shown in the colouration of the pots in Figure 7.4. Also, the fact that L.P.R.I.A. (coloured in yellow on the map) dishes are found in this period in contexts dating to the same phase as those yielding Samian vessels (and mortaria and amphorae) is interesting, and could point to a switch in vessel, though perhaps not in vessel use. For this reason, notable also is the fact that only L.P.R.I.A. beakers were represented in this sample, but no drinking vessels (or flagons or jugs) of Romano-British or Continental manufacture.

In terms of the east-to-west distribution of finds, there seems to be a very slight bias of bowls versus jars. To the west, more bowls appear in the ditches, whilst to the east,

more jars are deposited. This could relate to the orientation of the house and 'granary'; the eastern ditch (which is closer to the house, and may have provided more direct access) may have been used for pantry (as opposed to dining) rubbish.

150 A.D. - 275 A.D. (Abandonment/Settlement Shift)

The dating of the early Romano-British phase at Barton Court Farm indicates that the Romano-British occupation began in the latter half of the 1st century and finished by the mid-2nd century. The only hints of any occupation whatever between the later 2nd and later 3rd centuries were a few late 2nd century sherds found in a stone packed gully (302) outside the farmhouse (Miles 1986: 14). However, no concrete material could be found linking the construction of the farmhouse to a 2nd or early 3rd date. This is why the dating of Barton Court Farm jumps from the mid-2nd century phase to the last quarter of the 3rd century, when the water hole (609/2-4) and the corn drying oven (732) were constructed (Miles 1986: fiche 7, page E3) - after which, presumably, the Late Romano-British paddock ditch and farmhouse were built. Of course, the physical limits of the excavation mean that it is possible that the settlement could have temporarily shifted (to the Iron Age area, for example), and then moved back to the southern enclosure at the end of the 3rd century.

275 A.D. - 375 A.D,

Between the dates of 275-350 (Figure 7.7) the only new features stratigraphically present were the corn-drying oven (732) and the waterhole (609). When the waterhole had silted up, it was cut by the paddock ditch that surrounded the Later Romano-British farmhouse, which seems to have been built in the later 3rd century (Miles 1986; 12). The pottery in this phase (at least 73 vessels, Figure 7.8) is

dominated by Samian forms. Bowl forms, however, are certainly popular, more so than jars, which correlates well with the idea of tablewares being a popular item. In terms of the use-type activities (7.9), there are quite a large number present on site, many of them having to do with household modes of production and agriculture (as can be seen with the combination of 'Tools' and 'Agriculture'). However, items of personal adornment do factor very highly in this period. Also, the rise in 'fasteners and fittings' could relate to the building of the 'cottage'.

After 350 A.D. the farmhouse building formed a rectangle aligned north-south with 8 rooms, the eastern room being a long corridor (Figure 7.7). At the northern end of the building was a cellar with both internal and external access. Near the southern end of the corridor the outer east wall had two expanded pits within it, probably representing the bases for a doorway structure (Miles 1986: 13). There was also a probable timber annexe attached to the south-eastern corner. A further line of postholes continued the line of the eastern wall and suggests that another annexe was attached to the southern end of the villa (ibid). Because of the destruction of the building many of the construction details have been lost, but it seems probable that some of the floors had tessellated pavements (none remaining *in situ* except for the cellar pavement). There was red and white wall plaster, moulding, and some window glass present, and the roof seems to have been covered with both limestone and ceramic tiles (Miles 1986:13). If one is to inspect the map of the farmhouse, one can see that the symmetry of the building itself is thrown off by the addition of the cellar, which was an indication to the excavators that it must have been a later addition (ibid). Because of the lack of finds and the relatively good preservation of the cellar's tessellated floor, it seems that sometime after the site had been deserted, the cellar was

quickly and deliberately backfilled, perhaps in order to make the land ready for use, or to protect nearby animals from a fall.

Thirty-five meters east of the villa building a second stone building was found (Figure 7.10), the architecture of which was heavily disturbed by ploughing. Building 2 was most likely a two-roomed cottage (as indicated by mortar block in the centre of the building). The western room had a mortar floor while the eastern only had a few limestone slabs and a small oven. Because of the plough damage the east and west ends of the building are difficult to see, but it is possible that the eastern end of the cottage was open to the air. Building 2 was rich in finds, including objects of jet, shale, and glass, personalia such as bracelets, a bronze lion's head furniture mount, a spearhead, and a quernstone fragment (Miles 1986: 14). Especially interesting is a hoard of 81 coins of mainly 4th century issue which were scattered in the central part of the building, indicating hoarding as late as 430AD.

During this period there were also two wells in contemporary use. Well 832 (to the southwest of Building 2) contained a seemingly deliberate fill of stone, animal bone and well-preserved vegetable matter. Finds accumulating during the use of the well included leather shoes, a wooden bucket, an iron hook, several cooking pots, and some well-preserved ironwork. Several millstones were used in the construction of the well shaft. The other well (950), was south-west of the villa just beyond the enclosure ditch, and held such finds as bracelets, rings, sandals, glass, and spindle whorls.

The pottery in use at this time was again very different from that of the early Romano-British period (Figure 7.8). Interestingly, Imported Samian continued to dominate the assemblage, making up almost 54%, followed by bowls (17.9%) and jars (14.9%). Also present, though to a much lesser extent are local Samian copies (4.5%) and mortaria (2.9%), as well as similar numbers of curated (1st century)

Samian ware, beakers and colanders (1.5% each). It is interesting to note that there is also present in the assemblage (though in very small numbers (1.5%)) some sooted and burnt Samian ware, perhaps indicating the "improper" use of fineware for cooking (for a discussion of possible different understandings of the use of Samian see Robbins' 1997 paper on the site at Scrooby Top). The Samian ware is of interest in this period, and could be an example of Wallace's (2006: 259-260) 'Long Lived Samian'. As can be seen by looking at the map, in this period there was a proliferation of residual pottery in the ditches surrounding the earlier building. More interesting than that, however, is the bias in deposition; the eastern side of the ditch had much more pottery than the western side, and from the map it is clear that jar forms and mortaria were preferentially deposited, as opposed to bowl forms, which were scattered throughout the ditch. This could again (as with the earlier period) indicate preferential domestic deposition, from both of the structures. Also of interest are the ditch-end and/or enclosure mouth deposits from the western side of the farmhouse enclosure ditch. These included spindle whorls, metal fragments, brooches, a coin, a ring and a bracelet. As the date range for these finds is quite close, it is possible that this deposit was deliberately placed there in a meaningful way (cf. Chadwick 2012: 302 for examples of similar deposits as "material metaphors").

One other clear depositional anomaly can be seen when looking at the map; namely the differential character of the finds deposited in the cottage and in the farmhouse ditch. Included with the finds in the cottage are weaponry, shoes, quernstones, gaming counters, keys, metal fragments, bucket fittings and building refuse. In this period, little or no domestic refuse was found in this area, which implies that the farmhouse in its later life was the centre of domestic activity, whilst the cottage in its early life seemed to have been a place for other types of activities.

During this period the use-type assemblage (Figure 7.9) is again dominated by items of "Personal Adornment", constituting roughly 28%. "Fasteners and Fittings" was the next most prominent item (19.7%). This use-type category was made up (in this period) of numerous bronze strips, decorative fittings (e.g. a metal hook and a bronze mount), nails, and bands for binding wood (amongst other finds). The use-type next featured was the category of "Finds of Unknown Use" (16.4%), which included metal fragments and metal rods/bars/plates, one chain, a wooden block, and two metal plaques (some of these items could have been domestic in nature). Barton Court's assemblage of "Tool" find-types (14%) is an interesting mix of domestic-type hand tools, a single awl, several knives, and numerous quernstones and whetstones. These (especially the quernstones (10 at most)), could possibly indicate the existence of significant agricultural activity (probably over a prolonged period of time). The other use types present were "Domestic Items", "Agricultural Items", "Toilet Items", "Bone Working", "Textile Working", "Locks and Keys", "Recreation", "Weights and Measures", "Military Items" and "Metal Working" all being represented by less than 5% each, indicating a probable 'all-around' use of the site for many day-to-day routines and practices. However, as was discussed in the previous paragraph, the difference in deposition for these kinds of finds implies fairly clear zoning of activities at this time.

As was mentioned above, it seems that the enclosure ditch was a main focus in the deposition of pottery and finds. It is worth mentioning however, that though the main enclosure ditch is filled with rubbish, the paddock ditches have been deposited into only sparsely. Also like before, specific features such as the corndryers (732 and 864), waterholes (609 and 879) and wells (832 and 950) have also been sites of

dumping. Notice in particular that both the corndryer (732) and waterhole (879) both have finds in them which pre-date the construction of the paddock ditches.

In the case of the deliberate deposition of finds into the wells, it is interesting to note the high numbers of shoes which have been deposited in this period. This particular type of depositional pattern has been studied by Carol van Driel-Murray (1999), who believes that the dumping of shoes into fixed features like wells and ditches could indicate rites of "commencement and termination" (cf. Chadwick 2004: 111).

Other find agglomerations of note attributed to the date-range AD275-350 (coloured in orange) are aggregated in both the waterhole 609 and the corn-dryer 732. This could indicate a period of intensive use of these features, and a preference for their use during this period over the utilization of the other corn-dryer (854) and waterhole (879).

375 A.D. - 425 A.D.

When the main southern boundary ditch of the paddock system was almost completely silted up (375-425) a new set of ditched enclosures was added on the south side (Figure 7.10). This ditch was irregular in size and shape, and ran off the gravel terrace onto the terrace slope - possibly acting as drainage for an animal pen (indicated by the two waterholes constructed within the ditches (Miles 1986:17) and the finds in the main Eastern enclosure included two pairs of shears (presumably for shearing sheep or other livestock)). The large amount of pottery attributed to this phase, and changes to the existing ditches could reflect the notion suggested by (Chadwick 1997, 1999, 2012) – namely that the creation, maintenance and reworking of field systems and enclosure ditches can be expressly implicated in the reproduction

(and to my mind, solidification) of personal and community identity. The ditch of the enclosure was evidently still open during the Saxon period, as it produced Saxon pottery from the lowest levels, and a Saxon well was dug at its base.

The latest phase of Romano-British occupation at Barton Court Farm is characterised by a shift in settlement, visible in the agglomeration of finds in and around Building 2. For the first time there also seems to be some amount of deposition in the southern paddock ditch (though these finds are not well dated). The number of finds apparently thrown into the eastern well (832) in this date is also staggering. It seems likely that though previously finds and broken pottery had tended to be discarded in the farmhouse enclosure ditch, now the new location for their disposal was the well (832), and this (and the large amounts of finds in and around Building 2 in this period) indicates a shift in on-site activity from the farmhouse to the cottage and southern enclosure ditch. It is probable that the pottery of this period which is associated with the cellar was incidental refuse mixed in with the soil during the later backfilling.

In this period the pottery assemblage is very interesting. It is not so much the variation in form types present, but the fact that the assemblage itself is extremely large (with an EVE of 513) and that the dates represented by the pottery are so varied. Two figures have been created to represent this assemblage (7.11 and 7.12) - one with simple form-type proportions, and another with a more detailed analysis of the pottery dates and types. The simple explanation is (on the surface) relatively straightforward - the assemblage is, to all intents and purposes, strongly Romano-British in type, with bowls making up 47% of the assemblage, followed by jars (32%), mortaria (6.4%), local Samian copies (5.7%), beakers (3.3%), flagons (2.9%), and local mortarium copies (2.7%). However, if we look more closely at the dates of the pottery

themselves, a clearer picture of activities emerges - namely the curation of different forms over time. In Figure 7.12 we can see that the pottery dated exactly to the Latest Romano-British phase (375-425) includes bowls, flagons, and Samian copies, though in small numbers. The curated pottery includes bowls and jars (which dominate the assemblage) of the last phase (250-375). Also present from the last phase are beakers and mortaria. Pottery of a possible older date (AD 300-400) consists of bowls and jars. It is of some importance that also present here in this assemblage are 9 (2.9%) Iron Age jars, and also 5 (1%) bowls dated to the first Romano-British phase of the site (AD 50-150) – which could imply a very long period of curation not at all hinted at by the apparent abandonment of the site in the 3rd century. Of course, however, the idea that this pottery may also be residual must not be ruled out.

During the final phase of occupation, the use-type proportions seem to be fairly well established (Figure 7.13), the top three categories being "Finds of Unknown Use" (35.6%), "Personal Adornment" (19.2%) and "Fastenings and Fittings" (19.2%). At Barton Court, as in the last period (AD 275-375), the use-type category of "Tools" (12.3%) figures relatively highly, quernstones again making a significant contribution as well as whetstones, knives, and two pairs of what the excavators called "sheep shears" (Miles 1986: 32). The rest of the finds lay under the use-type categories of "Toilet Items", "Textile Working", "Metal Working", "Recreation", "Military Items", "Locks and Keys", "Agriculture", and "Domestic Items" (all less than 5%).

From the paragraphs above it is possible to see that though there is a significant shift in settlement location in this period, the general makeup of the assemblage suggests continuity of activities and possibly, people. The area of activity moves further East and South, focused on the paddock ditches and the cottage, but no

rise in agricultural activities is visible. This could point to two factors, either an agricultural locus outside the area of excavation, or a focus upon animal husbandry for household use, not monetary gain. The differential in-situ preservation of the earlier structure and the later one, as well as the fact that the earlier ditch around the first structure is left open in this period (with very little contemporary refuse added), points to its possible use for animals and not for domestic purposes. However, for all the change evident, the second structure is not very long-lived, and the demolition/deconstruction of the building is indicated by a coin dating to 364-78.

That being said, there is still much of interest in the way the finds were deposited (see Figure 7.10). For example, in this period is the first strong evidence of domestic activity at the cottage, with large numbers of jars and mortaria there. Also, this is the first phase in which preferential deposition of certain material into certain areas has largely stopped, indicating that domestic and social/dining activities were taking place in the same small area. Small-scale industrial activity, however, is indicated by the many scraps of metal, bone and horn. These were found in deposits just northwest of the cottage, indicating a yard may have existed there. It is also possible that the largest deposit could have been deliberately placed there as scrap to be used at a later date, because it also included a chain, bracelets, a bronze mount, a cleat, a staple, a rod, and antler bone.

B: Bishopstone, Sussex

Site Setting

Bishopstone is discussed in the Sussex Description of Sites in Appendix I (#1). The site itself lies only 1km from the English Channel, and is also not far from the Roman-period sites at Seaford and Newhaven. The shore nearest Bishopstone is a bay-like inlet where the river Ouse enters the channel. The Ouse travels through Lewes, which itself was linked in the Roman period to London by the London-Lewes Roman road, and the location of Bishopstone likely gave it very easy access to goods travelling up or down river.

Bishopstone's place in the wider regional landscape was not systematically addressed in the site report. However, a discussion of environment, communication, and access to resources in Sussex was performed in Sections 5.1 and 5.2, with particular reference to Bishopstone in terms of the strong continuity with the Iron Age, the significant increase in marine mollusc shells in the Roman period (cf. Hill and Willis 2010: 15), and the importation and use of Terra Rubra and Terra Nigra ceramics (Section 5.2.3, under Pottery). These three factors point to the fact that different ways of dining were likely being taken up after the Neronian and early Flavian period. The dietary and ceramic changes also point to strong trade links in the area, as both Seaford and Newhaven (as well as other downland sites like Ranscombe Hill and Castle Hill) also used Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra forms. Bishopstone also shows evidence of longer-distance trade in that a whale bone was found there. Further evidence of Bishopstone's wider trade links (and economy) are hinted at by the corn-dryers found there, as well as the evidence for metalworking.

c. 50 A.D. - 125 A.D.

The first Romano-British phase at Bishopstone began after the middle of the 1st century, sometime in the Flavian period (A.D. 69-96). The earliest activity at this time involved the creation of a rectangular ditched enclosure divided by a cross-ditch (Figure 7.14). It was postulated that a bank was likely associated with the ditch, though no evidence for this could be found (Bell 1977:141). In the ditch were many shells, bones, stones (described as 'foreign stones' (ibid.)) and pottery. Also associated with this period are an oven (718), a possible oven (729), a linear gulley (885) and a number of postholes and pits. Interestingly, the excavators note that there is a definite concentration in deposition to the western side of the enclosure (Bell 1977:143), though the bias seen on the map is more likely also due to the excavation boundaries.

During the early Iron Age phase of activity on the site, evidence was found for salt production, pottery manufacture and textile making (Bell 1977: 190). However no clear evidence of the same level of industry or self-sufficiency was present during the Romano-British phase, except for cheese-making (which can be attested to by at least two cheese presses) and small-scale metalworking, hinted at by bloomery and forging slag.

Contemporary with the ditched enclosure in this first period were a number of stratified groups of pottery (From oven 718, and fills of the enclosure ditch – see 7.14 and 7.15). East Sussex Ware sherds make up over 50% of the early pottery by weight (Bell 1977: 159). Jars are most prominent in this period (51%), as would be expected. Bowls are also quite common (15%), as well as drinking vessels like beakers (11%) and flagons (6%). Lids (5%) are also present in greater numbers than would be expected, and single sherds of mortaria, a colander and a cheese press were found.

Amphorae made up 3% of the total (non-tableware) assemblage, which at this time is represented by a MNV of 91.

The tableware/serving vessels in this period were mostly Samian, though one sherd of imitation Samian ware was found. Of the Samian forms present, bowls and bowl/dishes were the most common (34% and 16% of the total Samian assemblage). Cups (28%) were also popular. The other Samian vessels in use at this time were jars and jar/bowls (3% and 3%), plates (6%), and unidentified Samian vessels (9%). The tableware forms from this period indicate a focus on drinking vessels.

Notable finds from the early Romano-British ditch include a spindle whorl, a game counter, a stone rubber, a whetstone, a decorated bone object, the shaft of a bone pin, number of iron objects (2 unidentified tools, a clamp, two binding strips and some nails) the probable remains of a shoe and bloomery slag. The low number of small finds dating specifically to this period prohibits any meaningful quantification, however, the finds noted above together with the relatively high proportion of conspicuous ceramic material point to more industrial activity at this time.

During the 1st century the main crops were spelt wheat, bread wheat and barley, and were found in pits 718 and 917. The animal species present on site and dating to this period were separated from bones of other periods in quantified tables in the report, but found to be of roughly the same character as the later assemblage (see Figure 7.19): dominated by sheep, then cattle, and horse (from a total of 768). Pig, dog, cat and deer were also found in smaller numbers.

When examining the map (Figure 7.14), it is possible to see that the western side of the enclosure ditch held mostly very early Roman period material - this could have to do with the L.P.R.I.A. occupation immediately to the north of the enclosure. The mixing of the later and earlier material in this phase, whilst problematic for the

defining of activity areas, does point to regular traffic through the western side of the enclosure, and little purposeful deposition, beside the ditch entrance deposit in the northwest corner. Of note in this period is that drinking vessels, flagons and jars are all well-represented, whilst bowls are much less so. This connects well with the next period, where bowls are fairly well-represented, but are imported rather than local products.

125 A.D. - 299 A.D.

During the 2nd century the enclosure ditch was left to silt, and was completely filled by c. 150. Only one pit (729) contained late 2nd century material (Samian and coins of 161 and 180), and one feature (1) 3rd century material (Figure 7.16). This lack of activity did not necessarily represent an abandonment of the site, however, as the excavators have pointed out that there could have been a temporary shift in activity areas during this period (Bell 1977: 188). Whilst the entire group associated with this feature has a MNV 72 jars and 11 bowls (Bell 1977: 165), the group of securely stratified pottery from Feature 1 held 7 jars, 3 bowls, one 2nd/3rd century mortarium and one dish. Interestingly, the jars are almost all local products, whilst proportionally many more of the bowls had their origins further afield, like Dorset. The Samian ware from this feature includes central Gaulish bowls of the 2nd century. The ceramic makeup in this period, though not large enough for quantification or spatial analysis, can still tell us something about the inhabitants of the site. Firstly, it must be remembered that jars on average are heavier (making their transportation more costly) and used for storage (which would make them less visible in use). However, the fact that tablewares and serving vessels seemed to have come from

further afield means that they may have been chosen for their novelty; their use at the table would have been notable from the use of locally or home-made bowls or dishes.

Botanical samples from pit 1 also contained high numbers of weed seeds mixed with wheat and barley (Bell 1977: 145). The general makeup of the flora indicates agricultural activity (cf. Bell 1977: 189).

300 A.D. - 400 A.D.

The later Romano-British occupation at Bishopstone was still focused within the area of the enclosure, though the ditch had long since silted (Only one posthole dated to the Romano-British period lay outside the enclosure). Associated with this period are 8 pits and 32 postholes, a number of which represented the three possible structures, LXII, LXIII and XXVI (all 4th century in date, with the possible exception of XXVI) which were assigned to this phase of occupation (Figure 7.17). A corn-dryer was also assigned to this phase, dating to the second half of the 4th century. Many finds were found in the corn-dryer (it may well have become a dump after it fell out of use), as well as a piece of a human adult jawbone and two ulnae of a human baby.

Botanical evidence from the corn-dryer produced grains of spelt and barley. Also at this time there are large quantities of ash in a number of pits (728, 729, 897 and the corn dryer (though 729 and 827 may be ovens of some sort)). Four rotary querns were also found in features dating to this phase. These three lines of evidence in themselves cannot tell us much, but when combined they point to the preparation and drying of cereals.

The small finds and ceramics at this time present an interesting problem. The groups of pottery associated with this period that are presented in the report were deposited sometime between 350 and 400 A.D (see 7.17). However, some of the pottery (especially the Samian ware) is considerably earlier. Therefore, in this phase it

is noted by the authors that all of the Samian is likely residual. However, it is possible that Samian and other tablewares could have been curated over time, and therefore these vessels are mentioned here, though they have also been counted in the totals of the previous periods. The features of this period yielded central and south Gaulish wares, including 5 cups, 1 dish/bowl, one bowl, one jar and one vessel. They range in date from the pre-Flavian to Antonine periods. Almost all of the imported Samian ware was central Gaulish in make except for a few sherds of east or south Gaulish vessels. Of course, the proximity of the site to both Seaford and Newhaven meant that the procurement of imported wares may not have been very difficult.

In terms of the coarse pottery (Figure 7.18), at this time percentages of jars (30%) and bowls (31%) were quite similar (total MNV of 57). Imitation Samian jars (9%) were also relatively high in number, as well as mortaria (5%). The other vessels present were unidentified vessels (4.3%), Imitation Samian vessels (3.4%), Flagons (3.4%), jar/bowls (3.4%), beakers (2.6%), cup/bowls (2.6%) and colanders (1.8%).

During the 4th century it is thought that Structure LXIII was agricultural in nature, and may have been an animal pen (Bell 1977: 189). The animal bone (as was mentioned above) was grouped by period, but later amalgamated (Figure 7.19). The totals (from the whole Romano-British period, a MNI of 768 individuals (Gebbels 1977: 277-284)) are as follows: sheep (48.9%), cattle (22.9%), horse (15.9%), pig (5.6%), dog (1.8%), other (4.9%).

The finds from this period included 2 bone pins, a knife, a possible fishing weight, a piece of lead sheeting, a glass bead, a bronze pin and a blob of bronze, a iron bar, two iron spikes, a clamp. Also, 9 coins were found: one 2nd century, one 3rd century, and 7 4th century coins. Though Bishopstone seems not to be rich in small finds, the objects present do paint a picture of varied activities.

In terms of the spread of finds over the site, the fact that much later material was mixed with the earliest deposits is problematic. Though clear dating was given for each phase and intrusive and residual material discussed in the text, when looking at the presence of various types of find in Figure 7.14 and looking at the deposition in the features in 7.17, it seems probable that the excavated area can tell us little about the specific activity areas. It is also very likely that at certain times in the life of the site the areas themselves were regularly cleaned, giving little indication of what the various structures' were utilised for. In the case of Bishopstone, then, the finds must serve as our primary guide to understanding on-site activities.

C: Old Winteringham, Yorkshire Region

Site Setting

Old Winteringham is located on the south bank of the river Humber (Figure 7.20), around 630 metres southwest of Read's island, and less than 2 miles west of the River Ancholme. A discussion of environment, communication, and access to resources in Yorkshire was performed in Sections 6.1 and 6.2, but there was particular reference to Old Winteringham in Section 5.2.2 in terms of its proximity to the Humber and probable military associations.

The investigations at Old Winteringham found two metalled roads, one of which was likely to have led to Ermine Street heading Southwest. A more targeted look at Old Winteringham is shown in Figure 6.31. Obviously, the proximity of Old Winteringham to Winterton villa has been discussed throughout this thesis, but their connections in terms of trade are less well-understood. Both are very near to a number of pottery kilns, with fairly easy access to Roxby and Thealby in particular, though a

strong connection with East Yorkshire and Lincoln is suggested by the relatively large amount of Parisian ware found. Connections with areas further afield are suggested by the Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra (platters especially), and also the 10 Niedermendig basalt quernstones found on site.

The small finds from Old Winteringham, together with the metalled road and the relatively plentiful fine ceramic imports, point to the site as being well-linked in terms of longer-distance trade. Brough on Humber (across the river from Winterton) was a main settlement on the road to and from York, and the combination of road and river trade likely fuelled the possible small market at Old Winteringham, and provided first the army and then the roadside market with products.

c. 50 A.D. - c.138/150 A.D.

The earliest evidence for activity on site is in the Flavian period, and comes in the form of a number of ditches and gullies, as well as two metalled roads and their associated ditches (Figure 7.22). Two of the ditches not associated with the roads seemed to be "…foundation trenches of Roman military construction." (Stead 1976: 17), and others may have served as trackway boundaries or drainage gullies (all the gullies respected the later roads and roadside ditches, and were presumably of similar date to each other). The roads themselves (south road and west road) were forks off of a single road heading from/to the nearby Ermine street. Claudian Samian was found below the south road, but the earliest construction layer was probably Flavian.

Interestingly, on either side of the roads, the old ground surface (predating the road itself) was interspersed with much oyster shell. The west road forked with the south road south of (the later) building II and ran roughly north, past (and partly under) Building I. As for the roadside ditches, Ditch B was certainly pre-Flavian, and

A and C were at least Flavian in date (A, B, and C are thought by the excavators to be Flavian or pre-Flavian defensive works (Stead 1976: 16). The likely military trenches and gullies lay under the later Building 2, and their construction dates to the period c. 50-75/80 A.D (7.23).

Also associated with this period are three ditches in the northwest corner of the excavated area (see 7.21). No relationship between the ditches and the other features could be determined. Sometime during/after the last quarter of the 1st century, a cremation burial was placed in the ditches. Finds in the burial itself date between 75-199 A.D., though nearly all the rest of the finds from this area are Claudio-Neronian in date (Figure 7.24).

The pottery at this time is high in imported Gallo-Belgic wares and Terra Nigra/Rubra. Though these wares were also found in later contexts, it has been suggested by the author (Stead 1976: 133) that the entire collection (In total over 50+ platters (all in Terra Nigra except 2), 8+ cups (All in Terra Nigra except 2), 25+ whiteware flagons, 5+ jars, 21+ Terra Rubra beakers and 12+ whiteware beakers, a total of at least 149 vessels), apart from some of the flagons, can be dated between A.D. 50 and 75. The proportions of imported and Samian wares are shown on figure 7.25 As can be seen, Terra Nigra platters feature very highly in the assemblage. The high percentage of serving vessels or tablewares contrasts somewhat with the coarseware evidence from this period (Figure 7.26), which is much less varied and extremely jar-heavy (at least 40 vessels were represented). Also found in contexts dating to this period were two sherds of imported pottery which had graffiti on them: an amphora sherd (reading "ΔM[") in a Neronian context, and a Samian platter (reading "]CIONIS") in an early 2nd century context.

The small finds from this period, like the imported and finewares, are rather varied for an early rural assemblage (Figure 7.27, 83 finds represented). The largest use-type category was 'Items of Personal Adornment", which made up 48% of the assemblage at this time (finds of note were ten brooches, a hairpin, a finger ring, a strap fitting, and two beads). 'Items Associated with Spinning and Weaving' were also high in number (24% of the assemblage and represented by loomweights and spindle whorls). The next most numerous category (9%) was 'Items of Unknown Use', which included binding strips and a pin. 'Tools' were also present (6%), and included a handle and a chisel or wedge. A further 6% of the assemblage was represented by 'Toilet Items' like spatulae, and a single staple and a game counter represented 'Building' and 'Games' activities respectively. There were also 9 coins associated with this period, dated to the 1st and early 2nd centuries. Also Flavian in date was a finger ring found associated with the later Building A, underneath what is described as 'gravel', though 'gravel 'surfaces are found in the building itself, under the approach road and also in the western road which Building A eventually overlies (all of which have different dates). Therefore, because it was not found in a firmly understood context it was not counted in the above totals. Found 'below the approach road' to Building A was a 1st century brooch, though again, the dating of this context is unclear.

The finds and imported pottery, as well as the large and well-surfaced roads point to a military presence on site, though some of those associated with personal adornment (like hairpins) and items having to do with textile manufacture could also indicate a female presence in the area. When looking at the spread of artefacts in Figure 7.23, no clear depositional pattern emerges; and this is probably due to the fact that the ditches represent only a part of the Flavian/pre-Flavian site. As for the

northwestern ditches in use at this time, their character is somewhat different, and the finds in them slightly earlier in date. Whilst the more northern of the two holds mostly ceramic refuse (including three loomweights), the southernmost is notable in that it held brooches, rings, toilet items, an knife and cups. The fact that the ditches were only roughly 4-5 metres apart makes this depositional pattern of interest, though since no excavation was performed around the area, this cannot be explored fully.

138 A.D. – c. 199 A.D.

In the Antonine period at least 4 postholes (holding 30cm posts) were dug parallel to the west road, and a gravel surface was laid. At this time the roads may have been remetalled in places (repair of the south road involved the laying of kerb stones defining a stone-capped drain, and also major repairs of the west road (under which was found a coin of Nero)), and sometime later, the final cutting of ditch CDE took place, which cut into the gravel surface. By the end of the 2nd century all the ditches had been levelled and filled, and whatever structure or feature was represented by the postholes had burnt down (Figure 7.28 shows the finds on the roads; some of which are likely from the earlier occupation). The contexts associated with this phase are all under Building 2, but a number of finds dating to this period were found in other contexts like the top fills of the roadside ditches or in trial trenches; and though small in number, they have been counted with the totals below, and can be seen on the maps.

The imported pottery associated with features of this period is shown on Figure 7.29. Much of the pottery in this phase (27 vessels) is residual in date, especially the Terra Rubra beakers, which were all found in the area of the postholes and gravel, and therefore could have been associated with the earlier (probably

military) occupation. The coarseware (7.30) is again dominated by jars, and shows the same general forms as the last period, though no jugs were present in the 2nd century assemblage (At least 18 vessels were present in this phase).

During this period the only small finds found were one nail cleaner and one spatula, also in the area of the postholes. A single coin of the late 1st century was also found there. At this time, dish forms may have replaced the platters used in the previous period for dining, though from the amphorae found (as well as the placement of the site itself (see Site Setting above)) it seems more than likely that long distance trade was indeed possible. Because of the small number of finds, it is difficult to show areas of activity; however it seems from the ceramic finds in this period that the nature of activity on the site may have been changing.

201 A.D. - 399 A.D.

Sometime around the beginning of the 3rd century, the south road was still in use and Building 1 was constructed. It measured 9.1 m. wide and more than 20 m. long, and was built of stone but without foundations (Figure 7.31). Possible partitions existed, splitting the building both roughly north-south and east-west, and separating the possible entranceway (later than the furnaces because one cut through) and 'work area' from the rest of the house. No floors were found in Building 1, but some paving stones were present in the northern end of the building. Two 'furnaces' and a hearth were also associated with the building. A complete Dalesware pot had been placed into the floor among the paving stones, as had a quernstone fragment. Under the building itself (though in a 3rd century context) were found a sherd of a Terra Nigra platter (1st century), a whiteware flagon of unknown date, a Parisian ware vessel (dating from the late 1st through to the end of the 2nd century), a brooch, a staple, a

stamped tile ('LEG IX HISP'), a pair of tweezers, a bracelet, south Spanish amphora (all of the 3rd century), and 3 coins dating from the late 1st to mid-2nd century. A Severan coin was also found within the north wall of the building. Four infant burials were also found in the western part of the building. Looking at Figure 7.31, one can see the spread of artefacts within the building. In the report, only the rough location of finds in the buildings were given - so the group must be taken as a whole. Of note are the large number of coins of varying date which were found inside the building, and the relatively large number of finds of personal adornment. Though little domestic material was found, two very early fineware platters are also associated with the structure, and may have been curated from the earlier period. Tools and quernstones point to small-scale industry, as do the oven/furnaces.

During the second half of the 3rd century, Building 2 was constructed (Figure 7.32). Building 2 was about 12 metres to the south of Building 1 and built at a right angle to it. The building was 11.9 m. wide and more than 24 m. long, with footings. A clay floor survived inside, covering the earlier gravel surface, which extended out beyond the building to the west. Under the gravel surface but beyond the building were found a Neronian coin, 4 sherds of Terra Nigra platters (1st century), 2 brooches and a hairpin, a bronze plaque (all of the 3rd century), as well as an undated quernstone and whiteware beaker sherd. Some postholes in the northwest corner indicate the only visible partitioning of the building. Inside Building 2 was a single 'furnace' and 3 infant burials in the northwest corner. Found under the floor were 2 beads, 1 Tiberian coin, 1 scrap of metal, a pin, a ligula, one brooch a sherd of a Terra Nigra platter (Claudio-Neronian in date) and two sherds of Parisian ware (A.D. 75-199). Also found in Building 2 were the remains of a dog, which had been buried in the rubble of the east wall subsequent to the building's destruction.

Significant amounts of ash, burnt stone and burning around the edges of the clay flooring indicate that the building had been destroyed by fire before the turn of the 4th century, and it seems it was then dismantled completely except for the northwest corner, which, it was proposed by the excavators, was used as a kind of shelter (Stead 1976: 11), and then cut through by a large east-west ditch. Around A.D. 350, building 1 goes out of use, as does the west road, over which were found 3 sherds of whiteware flagons and 1 sherd of a whiteware jar, a bracelet, a key, a mirror, a chisel/wedge, 2 metal fragments, a staple/clamp, a loomweight, a whetstone, and 4 quern fragments. The spread of artefacts in Figure 7.32, whilst sparse, seem to have a similar makeup to those in the other building, though because the building was dismantled after burning, the exact makeup of the domestic assemblage is uncertain. The south road was in use until the end of the 4th century, and a quern fragment was found in its latest level. Other contexts dating after 350 include one trial trench near the west road, which held a mortarium fragment and a coin of 268- 270 A.D.

To determine the percentages of finds in such a way as to indicate actual activity (and not simply pre-construction deposition), the finds mentioned above (in contexts under floors) have not been counted in the totals below. The pottery present during this period (Figure 7.33) shows a change from the previous two periods in that the number of pots present on site are severely reduced (down to an MNV of 26). Not only that, but Continental products are effectively absent (the Terra Nigra pottery could have been curated, but is probably residual), as are the (coarser) coarsewares (this does not seem to be a selection of the excavators, as the coarsewares from other periods were well documented). In this period then, Parisian ware vessels were the most common form (23%), followed by mortaria (19 %) and whiteware flagons (15%). Dalesware dishes are also fairly common (12%). Only 1 sherd (4%) of a

Samian cup was found (dating between 50 – 230 and with graffiti reading "]OVIRI["), over Building 2. Because of the interesting variation in fabrics and the lack of coarsewares, the forms have also been amalgamated in Figure 7.34. In terms of forms present at this time, 'vessels' are the most popular (23%), though this whole category is populated by Parisian Ware, which is apparently difficult to identify on a sherd-by-sherd basis, but which as a fabric is usually heavy in jars and beakers (Stead 1976: 181). This likely accounts for the uncharacteristically small number of coarseware jars in this assemblage. Mortaria also figure highly (19%) in this assemblage (possibly relating to the preparation of cereals, which was a likely activity on any rural site). The rest of the forms (Flagons (15%), dishes (12%), platters (12%, though probably residual), Jars (12%) Beakers (4%) and Cups (4%) collectively indicate the possible continuity in dining and drinking practices on site.

The small finds associated with this period, unlike the pottery, seem to continue to be popular on site, with 57 small finds attributed to this phase. Finds (Figure 7.35) continue to show a strong leaning towards Items of Personal Adornment (22%/28%), however the construction and occupation of Buildings 1 and 2 indicate that for the first time objects likely associated with the decoration of the home (16%/20%) are included (these are represented by bronze pins, nails and a boss, as well as other miscellaneous fixtures). Safety of people or possessions may also have been a concern, as a key was found along the west road. Continued maintenance of the roads and buildings would have necessitated the presence of Fasteners and Fittings (7%/9%) like staples, clamps and wedges. Tools (14%/17%) too figured heavily: a chisel, knives and also the whetstones used to sharpen them. Knives could also have been used as Weapons (5%/7%), though they were not counted with the sling pellets and spearhead found at this time. The other use-type indicators found were Indicators

of Textile Working (2%), Recreational Objects (2%), a number of mirrors, which make up the Toilet (5%/7%) category, Items of Unknown use ((5%/7%) which include an iron rod and a spike, and also Agricultural Items (19%), which are only represented by quernstones. Also associated with this period at Old Winteringham are 11 coins, and the only piece of window glass (which was found over Building 1).

Old Winteringham: Unidentified and Unstratified Material : 50 A.D. - 399 A.D.

There were a number of contexts at Old Winteringham which were of dubious date, and the imported/finewares (MNV of 66) and finds have been outlined in Figures 7.36, 7.37 and 7.38. Seven coins were also found in unstratified or undatable contexts. However, the fact that these items cannot be reliably assigned to a particular phase does not preclude their usefulness as indicators of on-site activities. The whiteware forms, which were of uncertain date, are likely later in date, and could be from the New Forest potteries.

D: Shakenoak Villa, Oxfordshire

Site Setting

Shakenoak Villa is located in the Wilcote Valley, Oxfordshire, near a tributary of the river Evenlode. A discussion of environment, communication, and access to resources in Oxfordshire was performed in Sections 4.1 and 4.2, with particular reference to Shakenoak in Section 4.2.3 in terms of its access to stone, both local and longer distance.

A more direct view into the specific kinds of access at each of the sites is in Oxfordshire shown in Figure 4.18, and though this does not give much information

about Shakenoak in terms of roads or other sites, it is known that the proposed line of Akeman street did abut the settlement at Wilcote. The link between Shakenoak and Wilcote may have involved more than just trade, as both sites have strong evidence for bone working (cf. Hambleton 2004: 326), a craft which elsewhere has not been as strongly represented (in this study, at least). Another road of unknown destination crossed Akeman Street west of Wilcote, and may have provided access to sites to the South-East and North-West (cf. Fulford 2010: 16), but it was likely the local trackways and droveways which facilitated travel and interaction (ibid: 16-17). Local interaction near Shakenoak may also have been required because of its proximity to a large spring (more on this below, and in 8.1). Shakenoak also has evidence for lead working or silver extraction in the form of a large piece of fused lead, which could link the site to mines further afield.

100 A.D. - 200 A.D.

Site A, which becomes waterlogged in winter, was the site for Building A. The builders of the period 1 building underpinned the southern end of the structure with rubble to create a solid foundation and adequate drainage (Brodribb *et al.* 2005:4). Also created for drainage was a ditch to the west of the building. The structure in this period was situated roughly north-south (Figure 7.39), and was apparently an aisled barn with masonry walls and timber internal partitions. The authors suggest that the main purpose of the building at this time was agricultural or industrial, as indicated by traces of iron smelting and the general lack of domestic items (ibid).

There was no Iron-Age presence whatsoever at Site A, and this fact is supported by the pottery assemblage (Figure 7.40), which is (in Evans' view (Evans 2001)) a strongly Romano-British assemblage with dishes making up 44% of the total

assemblage (MNV of 36), followed by bowls (22%), and jars (13%), and to a lesser extent mugs (8.3%) and flagons (5.5%). Present here as well is Samian ware, but interestingly there an equal number of imported Samian (2.8%) and local Samian copies (2.8%). Of course, it must be remembered that the individuals purchasing the pottery may not have noticed any great difference between the two; but interestingly this is a pattern that continues into later periods, and will be discussed in more detail below.

Building A seems to have been a host to fewer types of activities in its earliest phase (AD 100-200) – only "Items of Personal Adornment" (62.5%) and "Items of Unknown Use" (37.5%) were present (8 finds in total). One of those items however, is a bar of iron that presumably could have been used in metalworking, an activity which seemed to be taking place at that time, and is certainly taking place later in the history of the building.

The implications of the finds deposition in this period are not at all straightforward. It does seem likely that the southeast corner of the enclosure was an area set aside for the explicit dumping of rubbish and waste, but other than that, the only finds confidently assigned to places on the map were either in the drainage ditch, in the building itself, or very close to the building.

180 A.D. - 250 A.D.

Between AD 180-200 the aisled barn was demolished and replaced by another building (Figure 7.41). The authors posit that the older building may have become unsafe, or was found unsuitable (Brodribb *et al.* 2005:4). The new building was larger and was constructed with better building materials. It had eight rooms and a corridor on the east side. One of the larger central rooms seemed to be a working area with a

hearth in the northeast corner, in which was found around 10 kilograms of fused lead. The other large central room had a raised floor and sleeper walls, which the excavators believed was of 'military type' construction and could have served as a granary (ibid). There was also considerable wall plaster of early 3rd century date, which could indicate domestic use.

Though a complete spatial analysis of the finds is not possible (due to the fact that the excavators left this information out of the report), some conclusions can be drawn. For example, the evidence for lead working can probably be fairly confidently tied to the pot-repairs in Figure 7.41. No evidence for the working of metals other than lead has been found, but the large amount of scrap metal and tools attributed to this period suggests that as a strong possibility.

250 A.D. - 350 A.D.

Between AD 240-270 the Period 2 building was torn down (not pictured due to lack of spatial information, see "Shakenoak.ai" on the Appendix CD) in order to build yet a more elaborate structure, nearly twice the size of the earliest building on the site. This building had 10 rooms, and on the western side a set of bathing rooms was installed. The use of the building in this phase was much more domestic, with little evidence of any industrial work at all (Brodribb et al 2005: 4). The bath rooms included a hot room, a latrine, and other rooms of indeterminate function.

The main entrance to the villa was on the east side, and the roof was made of stone slates (ibid). Initially there seems to have been much multi-coloured wall-plaster and cement flooring. Outside the building there was a stone wall which enclosed a partially cobbled (on the northwest and southeast sides of the villa) area of

around 13,000 square feet (Brodribb et al 2005:4). This enclosure was used for the disposal of bath house waste, household refuse, and builder's debris.

The pottery amalgamated from the assemblages of Period 3 (AD 250-430) and Period 3a (AD 250-350)) is not so very different from that of Period 1, though a number of new forms are present (Figure 7.43). Dishes again dominate, forming 51% of the assemblage (MNV of 41), followed to a much lesser extent by local Samian copies (14.6%) and beakers (9.8%) (again indicating serving and eating over cooking). Also present is the first appearance of appliqué Samian ware (7.3%), and bowls (4.9%), and in relatively equal numbers mugs (2.4%), flagons (2.4%), and unidentified vessels (2.4%). There are also a small number of stamped mortaria (2.4%). It is interesting to note that in this period only one jar fragment was found, strongly indicating curation - especially as the period immediately following has a very high relative proportion of jars.

During this period "Tools" (21.3%) seemed to be the most prominent item (Figure 7.44), from a total of 71 finds. Upon closer inspection, the tools represented in this category were mostly domestic-type hand tools (10 knives, 1 'scraper', and 1 unidentified tool), as well as 4 chisels, which could indeed have been related to the construction of the building. "Fasteners and Fittings" was the next most prominent item (20%), and this use-type category was made up (in this period) of numerous bronze strips, decorative fittings, nails, and bands for binding wood (amongst other finds). Items of "Personal Adornment" (16%) featured next, and included brooches, beads and pins. Also in this period there were a relatively high proportion of keys and locks (5.3%), which coincides with both a raised proportion of "Transport" (8%) items and the unusual appearance of a shackle (listed under "Military Items" (2.6%)). Of course, the exact reason for the raised number of locks and keys during this period

can never be positively known, but some possible explanations could be for the locking of a gate on the recently-constructed wall around the villa, the protection of horses or oxen used in transport (though not discussed in this case study, Shakenoak Villa had significant numbers of horse [195 fragments] and cattle bones ([1828 fragments]). "Domestic Items", "Agricultural Items", "Toilet Items", "Bone Working" and "Textile Working" all indicate a possible 'all-round' use of the site for many day-to-day routines and practices.

At Shakenoak, the period dated 250-430 is more poorly recorded (in terms of finds location) than the previous period, however, it is possible that another 'placed deposit' could exist in the southeast corner in the form of a group of beads (roughly dated 250-400) which could have made up a necklace. Also of note are a group of harness/fittings dated 275-350 which were found together in the villa itself. The continued use of the site for industrial activities cannot be denied, and the continued deposition of finds outside the walls of the building are of interest; though because of the weakness of the spatial recording in the report, this cannot be properly investigated.

350 A.D. - 430 A.D.

In the middle of the 4th century some alterations were made to the building (Figure 7.42). The baths were remodelled, a hypocaust was inserted into the southernmost room, and the eastern corridor was partitioned off into small rooms. All of these changes could indicate intensity in occupation (Brodribb *et al.* 2005: 4). Other changes were that new cobbled floors were laid in the large central rooms, and a hearth installed into the main central room, possibly for ironworking (ibid). Also at this time a timber-lined pit was set over the old drainage ditch.

Quite quickly the building began to fall into disrepair, and by the beginning of the 5th century the inhabitants seemed to be living in the northernmost room (the only room which was still roofed) and using the rest of the rooms for the dumping of household refuse. By the end of the 5th century the building was completely abandoned. Period 3b (AD 350-430) at Shakenoak is the first time span in which dishes do not dominate the assemblage (Figure 7.45). In this period (represented by at least 37 vessels) it is local Samian ware copies which predominate (30%), followed by jars and dishes in equal numbers (22%). This is the first period at Shakenoak in which jars feature heavily, and it may also be of some importance that for the first time specific storage jars (5.4%) and large lids (2.7%) were found – possibly indicating both increased storage and/or increased cooking – and more generally, increased occupation. This also corresponds with the spatial evidence in this period (as mentioned above), when the villa was remodelled and the corridor was sectioned off to create more rooms. As for the rest of the pottery, it fits nicely with the same trends present in the earlier phase; including bowls (5.4%), and an equal number of beakers, stamped mortaria, unknown local vessels, flagons, and Samian ware (2.7%). All this speaks to a continuity of ceramic (and possibly also domestic) traditions from the previous phases while attending to the needs of the growing population of the farmstead.

In the final phase of occupation the use-type proportions (Figure 7.46) seem to be fairly well established, the top three categories (out of 57 total finds) being "Personal Adornment" (26.4%), "Fasteners and Fittings" (24.5%) and "Finds of Unknown Use" (17%). However "Military Items" also make a large relative contribution (4%) at this time, and this is due specifically to the deposition in this period of 3 finely made military belt fittings, which have been discussed in detail in

the Shakenoak Excavation volume (Brodribb *et al.* 2005: 124). Present, but to a lesser extent (all less than 4%), are the use-type categories of "Textile Working", "Domestic Items", "Recreation", "Tools", "Agriculture", "Metal Working" and "Bone Working". Of some interest is a metal waste-pipe (which was found in the hypocaust of the re-built bath area), listed under the use-type category of "Buildings and Services" (1.9%). Though the bath is re built in the beginning of this period, glass vessels are not attributed to this phase, which indicates that if bottles were being imported or used at all, they were being taken elsewhere after primary use.

This is the first period of occupation at the villa in which stronger conclusions can be drawn from the finds distribution. As was discussed above, during this period the only area in use was the northernmost room, and the rest of the villa was presumably used for the disposal of rubbish. Visible in the group of artefacts in the centre of the villa are the previously mentioned military belt fittings, which are unusual in what was for all intents and purposes a domestic site without much indication of military occupation whatever. The large deposit of worked antler (and a chisel of contemporary date) found in what were previously the bath rooms is also of note, and points to the continued small-scale industrial use of the site. Worth mentioning as well is another probable necklace dated to AD 350-375, which lies outside the villa, but near to what could have been the entrance to the ruined structure at that time. The preferential deposition of antler bone indicates that the former bath may have been utilised for bone working, whilst the centre room was kept for metalworking. Placed deposition seems to continue in this period, with the burial of a silver candlestick outside the walls of the farmhouse, and a bracelet outside the door. Purposeful deposition, however, could signify something very different in this period

than the last; as the building was in a state of disrepair, it was more likely to reflect a need for items of worth to be secured.

E: Thurnscoe, Yorkshire Region

Site Setting

The site at Thurnscoe is located in South Yorkshire, not far from Doncaster; in a landscape dotted with trackways and rural settlements, as well as cropmarks of similar morphology (D-shaped). Though no Roman roads were said to be near the site, a droveway mouth was excavated, and presumably linked the site to fields or other sites nearby. However, a Roman road also passed by the western edge of Doncaster (which could feasibly have been an alternate route from Lincoln to York), and the road and nearby tributaries of the river Don could have linked sites in the area to wider trade networks.

Though the limited imports at Thurnscoe do not speak to extensive far-flung trade links, both the droveway mouth and the creation of a gatehouse concurrently with a (possible) burial ground hint at local communication.

150 A.D. - 225 A.D.

The earliest phase of activity (Figure 7.47) comprised two linked sub-rectangular enclosures, to the north of which was a triangular area enclosed by ditches. The southern enclosure (A) was approximately 22 x 16 m. Beyond the southern terminal of the earliest phase of the ditch connecting the two enclosures (1921) were a number of features including a line of postholes and a small oven (1778). Within the enclosure were over thirty postholes, slots and stakeholes in groups. Though only two sherds (one of a greyware vessel and one whiteware flagon sherd) were found in these

features, they are linked stratigraphically. Most of the postholes form lines and could represent structures or fences. One particular group was postulated to represent a fence line demarcating an earlier enclosure (Neal and Fraser 2004: 12). Also, two (probable) small hearths (1652 and 1654) surrounded by areas of burning were found in the enclosure, surrounded by stakeholes which could represent supports for small pot stands.

To the north, the other enclosure (B) was 13 x 12 m. It lay adjacent to the southern enclosure, with a roughly aligned eastern terminal defining an entrance of 4m between the two. This enclosure also had another entrance to the north, linking it to the triangular-shaped droveway mouth. Within the enclosure were a number of postholes and a large pit 1099 (but nothing like the number of possible structures in the southern enclosure) which could not be dated.

The triangular area was the most northern of the features in the first phase. It was bounded by ditches and measured approximately 18.5 x 22 m. Only one internal feature was found in this area, which was a T-shaped corn-dryer (1100). The corn-dryer was determined to have probably been in use until the later 3rd and 4th centuries, and was utilised for parching as well as malting (Neal and Fraser 2004: 19).

Only 12 sherds of pottery were associated with this first phase, 4 of which were greywares and one of shell-tempered ware (these came from the ditches around the northern enclosure). The most notable find at this time was more than 40 grams of plate hammerscale, which was found in a posthole (1316), and could indicate iron smithing in the nearby area. A large amount of botanical evidence comes from this phase, dominated overwhelmingly by wheat species, then barley, rye and oats (465 total grains counted, 433 of which were wheat).

Because of the small size of the assemblage from this period and the fact that no evidence of domestic occupation exists at this time, no spatial analysis was performed. However, it is clear that the area was in use, presumably for the control of herds of livestock, the parching of grains, and the dumping of industrial refuse.

c. 200 A.D. - 325 A.D.

Replacing the two earlier enclosures was a larger enclosure complex which closed the triangular area into a droveway mouth and comprised a roughly square enclosure (over the previous two, but using the same entrance from the northern enclosure) and a conjoined D-shaped enclosure (Figure 7.48). The square enclosure measured 34 x 29 m, and contained a small number of discrete pits and postholes, some of which could represent fence lines. The D-shaped enclosure measured 35 x 23 m.; and had an entrance to the northeast, with postholes at either side (representing a probable 'gateway'). 67 square or sub-circular postholes were cut into the bedrock inside the enclosure (but there may have been more; cf. Neal and Fraser 2004: 24), and a number of pits and slots were also identified. Many of the postholes could be tied into four arcs forming possible round structures (approximately 10, 6, 8 and 8 m. in diameter). All but the smallest (and most southern) intercut one another, and so probably represented phases of rebuilding. Five (or more) possible graves (large rectangular pits) were found in and around the D-shaped enclosure. Though none held any human remains, they were dug adjacent to the enclosure ditches, which is a practice recognised in Yorkshire during the Iron Age (cf. Chadwick 1999: 159).

20 sherds of 3rd to 4th century date were recovered from the features in the D-shaped enclosure. 35 sherds of 2nd and 3rd century pottery were recovered from the ditch fills around the D-shaped enclosure, and 25 sherds of late 3rd to 4th century came from the northern 2/3 of the enclosure. 1 sherd of Romano-British pottery (an early 3rd

century flanged bowl) came from the ditch defining the western enclosure. 12 sherds of 2nd to early 3rd century pottery were recovered from the droveway.

One knife and a metal strip were found during this period, along with more plate hammerscale and a quantity of slag. Cattle and horse were represented by teeth and bone fragments (cattle, 30 horse, 9). Wheat (6 grains), one barley grain and one oat grain were also found. As with the last period, a spatial analysis using finds is impossible, however some important changes happening on site do indicate various activities. For example, the round structures indicate that, at least some of the time, the site was lived at, as do the graves. Metalworking seems to be an activity still occurring nearby, though the corn-dryer is not replaced.

250 A.D. - 350 A.D.

At some point in the 3rd century the western (square) enclosure was deliberately filled and the D-shaped eastern enclosure re-cut through it (Figure 7.49).

The re-cut of the D-shaped enclosure yielded 167 sherds of pottery dating from the mid-3rd to the mid-4th century, including sherds of South Yorkshire Late Redware, South Yorkshire mortarium and Dalesware. Four coins dating between 268 and 273 were recovered from the upper fill. At this time a horse bit of Iron Age date was deposited into a ditch end in enclosure F. A latch-pin and an unidentified tool were also found there, as well as one whetstone and one quernstone. 12 cattle or horse teeth were associated with this phase. Interesting in terms of deposition is the fact that it is the southern part of the D-shaped enclosure that is most deposited into. The area more to the north, near the graves, was kept more clear, perhaps out of respect.

275 A.D. - 325 A.D.

The final phase of Romano-British occupation at Thurnscoe began with the infilling of the D-shaped enclosure ditch, and a number of features being cut into the ditch fills (Figure 7.50). These comprised two possible ovens, a number of pits and several gulleys. Occupation and activity during this time was still centered on the area of the former D-shaped enclosure, and the pottery found dated to the late 3rd and early 4th century. At this time, a large slot (1830) and two other linear features (1152 and 1101) were cut into the previous occupation layer. 1101 was likely a field boundary and produced a significant assemblage of pottery including Dalesware and Roman greyware. During this period an oven (1003) was also cut into the upper fill of the previous incarnation of the D-shaped enclosure. Another structure with a flue was identified (1134) cutting into the upper fill of the enclosure ditch.

Overlying the area of the former western enclosure at this time a number of gullies (1414 and 1416 (and possibly 1165 and 1418)), which enclosed another series of rectangular grave-like pits. Only 2 sherds of nondescript greyware were found in 1414, but 57 sherds were recovered from 1416, represented by large fragments of club-rimmed greyware bowls. 44 sherds came from 1418, and comprised pottery of the 2nd to 4th centuries and a 3rd or 4th century mortarium. One possible structure can be assigned to this phase, and is represented by a number of slots associated with 1418, and yielded 23 sherds of the 3rd century. The final phase at Thurnscoe is the first to produce any evidence for Items of Personal Adornment, in the form of a single hobnail from a leather shoe, and a trumpet brooch. This brooch is Flavian in date but is definitely associated with this period, and is therefore thought to have been an 'heirloom'. A rotary quernstone and two late coins were also found at this time.

Because Thurnscoe does not fit the mould of the other rural sites in this study, and because of the scarcity of finds, spatial analysis of the site is necessarily limited. However, it is interesting that the occupation on site seems to decrease at the same time that the focus of occupation (and possibly burial) shifts westward, to the area where the original occupation occurred. During this period, the deposition of a Flavian brooch and the probable burial activity (though shifting in area), point to a possible continuation of ritual or symbolic activities on site.

F: West Blatchington, Sussex

Site Setting

The site at West Blatchington, Sussex, overlooks the old mouth of the Adur river at Aldrington, near Hove and the Devil's Dyke. Evidence for a Roman road was found 500m west of the farmhouse, and has been discussed fairly recently in relation to a possible port site at Copperas Gap (Shields 2005: 135-149). This road has been proposed (ibid: 136) as an alternate route from the port to London.

Whether or not the road itself brought items of trade to the site, or the inhabitants of the site travelled to Aldrington to procure them, it cannot be overlooked that imported pottery was non-existent on the site before A.D. 100 (Section 5.4). It is also of note that Aldrington and the farmhouse at West Blatchington go out of use at the same time. It is possible that West Blatchington was connected to Aldrington to some extent by the specialised corn-drying industry there. West Blatchington would have also been tied to its neighbours and to areas further afield because of its need for fuel. It was noted by the excavators that in the different corn-drying kilns on site was

found different species of fuel wood, presumably to reach consistent firing temperatures (Section 5.3.1).

0 A.D. - 99 A.D.

In the 1st century at West Blatchington a number of ditches and pits were in use. The pits associated with the 1st century occupation (6-16, 22, 24) were connected with several sunken areas interpreted as yards or floors of huts (Figure 7.51). Though the ditches are thought to date from the 1st century, four of the northern ditches (C, D, E, F) contain some pottery from the Iron Age, and therefore may be slightly earlier. Also, in the area of these ditches are pits 4 and 5, which held mostly jars but also a small number of bowls dating to the L.P.R.I.A. Ditches D, E, and F were all cut slightly later in the 1st century by Ditch G, which contained later pottery. Ditch B, at the south end of the site, also dates to the 1st century. Found in the ditch were Iron Age and 1st century A.D. sherds. Partially in the filling of the ditch and partially to the east was Burial 1, which consisted of 5 cremation burials dating to the last quarter of the 1st century A.D. Unfortunately, detailed analysis of the finds of 1st century date cannot be attempted, as they were only mentioned in a general way in the report (see the map of the 1st century where finds are marked with a '+'. This means there was an unspecified number of that item in the feature), but left unpublished.

Though the finds during this period are not addressed in the report, the authors did discuss the faunal remains in the 1st century (Figure 7.52). 724 bones in total were analysed, with cattle being the most prominent species by bone count (46%), followed by sheep or goat (38%), pig (12%) and horse (4%). The report from West Blatchington is unusual in that there are meticulous descriptions of the finds and pottery, though little actual quantification was noted in the text. For example, when

looking at the map in Figure 7.52, jars of Iron Age date with plus signs in them can be seen in the northern ditches. These jars relate to whole sections of the report text that describe large quantities (the counts of which were sadly absent) of Iron Age jar sherds in the ditches. West Blatchington was thus a prime example of the kind of presence/absence and 'reading between the lines' I discussed in Section 3.4.1.

In examining the map in 7.52, it is possible to see a date-related pattern of deposition based on the presence and absence of material. Of interest is the fact that the northern ditches are populated by L.P.R.I.A. material, whilst a deposit of bowls and jars of early Roman date exists at the southernmost extent of the site in a curved ditch, suggesting one possible focus of early Roman occupation outside the excavated area to the south. This occupation could have shifted to the villa building and 'Romano-British hut' later, as the building is associated with pottery no earlier than AD 200, and the hut with pottery of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries.

100 A.D. - 250 A.D.

The 2nd century sees a marked increase in activity on site, with the digging of several ditches (A, A1, A2, L1 and L2). A roughly circular structure was also present at this time (termed the 'Romano-British hut' by the authors of the report) (Figure 7.53). Around the middle of the 2nd century Ditches L1 and L2 go out of use and a number of corn-drying 'kilns' are constructed. Sometime after that corn dryer 9 is constructed, but quickly destroyed by Ditch L, late in the 2nd century. Another burial dates roughly to this (Antonine) period. At the end of the 2nd century kilns 5 and 6 go out of use, as do ditch A and A1. The turn of the 3rd century sees the construction of the villa (which had been excavated previously, though not well recorded.), yard area and hearth on site, as well as a probable approach road (defined by Ditches H and J).

No new corn-dryers are built at this time, but kilns 1, 3, 4, 8 and 9 are still in use. Kilns 1 and 3 go out of use shortly thereafter (c. A.D. 210), and kiln 4 around A.D. 225.

The fineware and tablewares dating to this period (Figure 7.54) are fairly varied in fabric: Samian being the most popular (51%), then mortaria (22%), Castor Ware (11%), Imitation Samian (11%) and New Forest Ware (5%). In terms of the proportion of forms (Figure 7.55), surprisingly cups are the most numerous (24%), followed by mortaria (22%), bowls (19%), vessels (of various fabrics, 14%), dishes and bowl/dishes (both 8%), and flagons and bottles (both 3%). At least 37 vessels were attributed to this phase.

The 2nd century at West Blatchington has the best coarseware assemblage (at least 134 vessels (Figure 7.56), which is very jar-heavy (62%). However there are many other forms present, which is perhaps unsurprising considering the limited number of fineware forms. Bowls (9%), Dishes (8%), Platters (6%), Flagons (3.7%), Lids (3%), bottles (2%), beakers (1.5%) and colanders (1%), as well as unidentified vessels (4%) were all present in deposits in and around the corn-dryers and ditches.

The finds at West Blatchington during this period (13 in total) (Figure 7.57) are dominated by Items of Personal Adornment (30%), Followed by Fasteners and Fittings (23%, comprising a lynch pin, a washer and a staple), Agricultural Items (which include a ploughshare as well as 2 quern fragments, 23%), and Locks and Keys, Weights and Measures, Weapons (all 7%) and Games (4%). Nine coins were associated with this period (ranging from the late Antonine period through the 3rd century). Also, two glass bottles and a glass bowl were found (from ditches A and L).

Though many of the finds could not be specifically dated, most finds represented in Figure 7.53 come from secure contexts, and can build up a picture of

activities. Sadly, the lack of data from the farmhouse limits the domestic interpretation, however it is clear from the corn-dryers and quernstones that the preparation of grains was an important activity. The platters, jugs, cups and dishes associated with this period also point to a focus on dining. However, because of the limited reporting, it is not possible to link these vessels with structures at this time.

251 A.D. – 325 A.D.

In this period there is activity over the area where the kilns were in use, and the ceramic record continues almost into the middle of the 4th century, especially in the area of the 'Romano-British hut floor (7.58). There are limited finds and pottery associated with this period, and it was suggested by the authors of the report that the Romano-British hut floor was used for dumping (the finds from the hut floor are discussed in the next section). The occupation areas over the kilns produced similar finewares to those of the last period, Samian being the most popular fineware fabric (33%), followed by Castor Ware and Imitation Samian (both 20%), then whiteware (13%), New Forest and Colour-coated wares (6%). In terms of fineware forms, however (Figure 7. 60), bowl forms and vessels of various fabrics (both 33%) were the most prominent forms, followed by beakers (13%), dish/bowls, jars and bottles (all 6.6%).

The coarseware (Figure 7.61) assemblage during this period was again dominated by jars (39%), though bowls rose in number (23%), as did dishes and beakers (14%). The other coarseware forms present were lids (5%), and fragments of colander, flagon and unidentified vessel (all 2%).

The only use-type categories represented by finds during this period were Personal Adornment (2 finger rings), and Agriculture (2 pruning hooks and 5 querns). No glass was associated with the 3rd century, but 9 coins (dating between A.D. 119

and 310) were found. The faunal assemblage of 3rd century date is much the same as that of the 1st century (Figure 7.62). Cattle dominate (55%), followed by sheep/goat (37%), pig (4.2%) and horse (4%). 1,464 bones in total were counted from this phase.

Large deposits of coarseware dating to this period were found outside the farmhouse and in the northeast corner of the structure, offering the first glimpse of domestic activity associated with a building on site.

Undated contexts and the 'Romano-British Hut Floor'

As was mentioned above, the excavators of West Blatchington believe that the Romano-British Hut floor was used for dumping, as they found a great mixture of finds in the deposit overlying the presumed structure. This deposit (along with a few finds from 'workmen's trenches', produced a coin of A.D. 183, two drill bits, a loomweight or fishing weight (of clay), two glass bottles, 'more than 100 nails' and 'many mortaria' (Norris and Burstow 1950: 41-42) as well as the same finewares and coarsewares of the other periods (at least 36 vessels were represented). Also mentioned in the text were 17 coarseware platters (Figure 7. 63) a staple or clamp and a bronze mount. A 2nd century quern and a 2nd century coin were also found in undated (or poorly described) contexts.

The generally poor dating of ceramic deposits in the report make it difficult to understand the nature of deposition over time, but in Figure 7.58 it is possible to see occupation floors located outside the villa building and around Kiln 5, which went out of use sometime between 150 and 200 AD and then continued to be a focus of activity until the 4th century. Therefore, if any pattern in deposition can be ascertained in such a wide date bracket, it may be possible to do so by looking at the disposal of refuse into the features as they went out of use. In Figure 7.59 is a site map in which the

features have been roughly coloured by date. Kiln 5 and 6 are the first to go out of use, around 150/200 A.D. The primary (2nd century) deposits associated with the kilns consist of mainly coarse pottery; the largest proportion of which were jars and flagons, as well as a few bowls, and also small numbers of dishes mortaria and Samian. There were also three coins, many nails and two quernstones. The deposits of the 3rd century, however, were much more dish and bowl heavy, though in other respects not greatly changed. The next kilns to go out of use were Kilns 1, 3 and 4, which all lasted until the early 3rd century. In the case of these corn-dryers, there is little 2nd century material except a deposit of that date in the hearth near Kiln 3 which contains platters, mortaria, dishes and jars. The 3rd century deposits on top of the unused kilns differ from those in kiln 5 and 6 in that no dishes or flagons were deposited there (though a few beakers are associated with kiln 4). Kilns 2, 7 and 10, though of uncertain date, are assumed to be 2nd century and later, whilst 8 and 9 show evidence of use until the mid-to-late 3rd century. Kiln 9 has little information, but Kiln 8 (the latest kiln open) is associated with querns, coins, tools, jars and a jug. The 4th century deposit in the hearth next to Kiln 8 is also associated with tools, as well as a colander. The 3rd century shows little patterning in deposition either in the kilns or the unused ditches; the only concentrations being the dishes and drinking vessels above Kiln 5 and the tools over Kiln 8. The 4th century, when the kilns went out of use, is characterised by continued activity around the Romano-British hut.

G: Winterton Villa, Yorkshire Region

Site Setting

The site at Winterton is located very near the confluence of the rivers Ancholme and Trent, roughly 3 miles south of the Humber. It is situated only 2 miles from Ermine Street, just half a mile from the kilns at Thealby and around a mile from those at Roxby.

A discussion of environment, communication, and access to resources in Yorkshire was performed in Sections 6.1 and 6.2, with particular reference to Winterton in terms of the 'Romanized' round houses there (Section 6.2.3 in 'Stone') and the possibility of the complex housing more than one family group (Section 6.2.5). Local connections were discussed above in relation to nearby Old Winteringham (Section 6.3.1).

At Winterton, a paved road or 'path' existed, presumably leading from the structure to nearby Ermine Street (perhaps via a track). However, unlike other roads, trackways, or paths mentioned in this thesis, this path did not lead near to or next to the site, but straight to the 'front door' of the building.

Though not much information has connected Winterton to the wider economy of the area at this time, the fact that nearby Old Winteringham had a stronger connection with the Lincoln market (proposed because of the much larger amounts of Parisian ware found there) is notable. Also, people at Winterton did not have the same desire for or access to Niedermendig basalt quernstones as those at Old Winteringham, though it did have connections enough to provide it with both window and bottle glass (Section 6.3.3).

L.P.R.I.A. – 80 A.D.

The villa at Winterton (Figure 7.20, 7.64) was founded at least in the early Roman period (early Roman-period occupation is thought likely, as a sherd of Flavian Samian was found in the walls of Building J), though more concentrated activity did not occur until the turn of the 2nd century. The excavators note that the main reason for the siting of the villa was a spring along the nearby Lincoln cliff.

100 A.D. - 180 A.D.

The earliest structures on the site (E: Figure 7.65 , and J: Figure 7.66) are roundhouses which date to the beginning of the 2nd century (though J could date to the end of the Flavian period) and are associated with a field system (which had been noted but not investigated by the excavators). E was determined by the discovery of Samian ware to have been built after 130 A.D. Building E was approximately 17.4 metres in diameter, and J was 11.6 metres in diameter. Inside Building E were 4 postholes which presumably held supports for the roof. Also, though Building E had been dismantled, a concrete slab with quarter round moulding was an indication of the flooring present during its life. Neither Building J nor E survive for more than a century. A ditch lay under the site where the later building A was constructed. However, during this first phase activity of Antonine date can be tied to different areas of the site (under buildings A, B, D, E, F, G, H, J, and K), though the rest of the buildings were not constructed until at least A.D. 180.

The imported and fine wares (Figure 7. 67) dating to this phase (at least 48 vessels were represented) indicate that imported Samian ware was the most common fineware on site during the late 1st and 2nd centuries – Samian bowls (33%), bowl/dishes (23%) and cups (21%) being highest in number, followed by mortaria

(15%), Parisian Ware vessels (4%), and a sherd each of a Samian dish and an amphora (this is the only amphora sherd found on site, which is interesting to contrast with nearby Old Winteringham).

As for the 93 or more coarseware vessels dating to this phase (Figure 7.68), the assemblage is overwhelmingly dominated by jars (48%), with bowls (26%) as the next most common form, then beakers and jugs (both 8%), and dishes (4%), flagons (3%), lids (2%) and cups (1%).

The finds associated with this early phase (Figure 7.69) are varied (as can be seen on the maps, Figure 7.70, 7.71), but are dominated by Items of Personal Adornment (48%) and Tools (20%). Smaller numbers of Locks and Keys (8%), Fasteners and Fittings (8%), Domestic Items (4%), Items Associated with Textile Manufacture (4%), Weaponry (4%) and Agricultural Items (4%) were found (though the agricultural item category is frequently only represented by quernstones at Winterton.). 93 finds in total were attributed to this phase. Also during this period around 10 fragments of glass were recovered, the highest percentage coming from window glass. Also represented were fragments from unidentified vessels, beakers, a plate, a bowl and a bottle. A 1st century coin was also found, under Building D.

Around the middle of the 2nd century, Buildings A and C (Figure 7.72) were constructed, and were likely used in conjunction with E and J. Building A was thought to be a barn, but as the author states, this is only conjecture (Stead 1976: 87).

In this period not much can be said about the distribution of finds. However, as was mentioned above, there were indications of activities under the later buildings, and this can be seen especially clearly in Figure 7.70, under buildings A and D. The ditch under building D held a well-rounded complement of domestic ceramics, pointing to the fact that there may well have been temporary structures or other living

arrangements nearby (but as yet unexcavated). Figure 7.71 also shows that there was much activity in the areas of buildings H and K, and this of quite a different character to the refuse under A and D. H in particular was filled with pins, brooches and tools, as well as storage jars and Samian dishes. Though abutting the future building H, the refuse in the area under the future building K was of a different character, being composed of ceramics associated with drinking, as well as a few bowls. The differing assemblages in the two areas with information points to some zonation of activities, though because buildings C and J had such little information, this is only conjecture.

150 A.D. - 299 A.D.

Sometime around the end of the 2nd century (c. A.D. 180 +) buildings A, C, E and J were demolished, and the aforementioned building H was constructed (see 7.71), though it was very short lived (c. A.D. 180 – 200). Around this time a number of other buildings began to take shape. Over building A but incorporating the structure was the later Building B (Figure 7.73, see below), and in the area where Building J had been located a large strip building was erected (Building G, see 7.71). The construction of Building G was dated by the finding of Antonine Samian to be no earlier than 180. Building G comprised two suites of rooms linked by a long corridor with a central entrance. The southern rooms had tessellated floors, whilst the north were covered in concrete, and may have represented a bathing suite. More rooms were added sometime later (rooms 1, 2, 3 and 11, Figure 7.74), and it is speculated that room 3 (which had 3 ‘furnaces’ in it and a drain under the floor) was a kitchen space. Previous to the addition of rooms at the north of building G, Building K may have served as the kitchen for building G (as it also contained furnaces and evidence for a drain).

Also during the Antonine period Buildings D and F were constructed (see 7.73). Building F represents a detached bath house with 8 rooms (curiously, all cold baths and not hot ones). Building D was a small aisled house which included mosaics, a bath suite (rooms 6-9 and possibly room 5, as it was heated), domestic area and what is described by the author of the report as a "barn-like department" (Stead 1976: 86). A 'hypothetical line' can be drawn through the centre of Building D linking it to the two earlier roundhouses (E and H), and the authors of the report posit it respected those structures (Stead 1976: 40). Building D also had concrete floors, 7 infant burials and painted plaster. Buildings H and K were likely also constructed around 180 A.D., but H was destroyed before the building of F, and both were probably very short lived.

The finds distribution over the site at this time shows both domestic and small-scale industrial activities. Under the later floors of Building B, for example, were found several hearths, as well as much domestic pottery (especially dishes) dating between 150 and 220 A.D. Furnaces and tools were also found in Building C, which was built around 150/180. The earlier activity around Building K and the evidence in this period suggesting that it was being used as a kitchen could be linked to the general use of that southwestern area in particular; especially as it is also the area of the bath house, which would also require large amounts of water.

Sometime in the 3rd century Building D was remodelled, and the bath suites were probably turned into domestic rooms. Also in the first half of the 3rd century Building A was replaced by Building B, which had a number of heated features inside and was modelled after building D. Building B also contained a possible granary (in the space originally comprising rooms 1 and 2), a heated floor (thought to be a corn-drying floor) and a circular feature, N, which is thought to have been a threshing

floor. Though the continued construction and probable maintenance of these areas meant that the finds distribution is weaker in this period, it can be seen when looking at Buildings D and B that different activities were taking place in the two buildings. Aside from the proposed granary and threshing floors in Building B, there is also much artefactual evidence pointing to craft activity dating between 250 and 399 A.D. In Building D, on the other hand, has a much more domestic slant to its associated assemblage, being largely devoid of tools or personal items, but instead full of pottery dating between 150 and 299. Building F at this time is perhaps unsurprisingly associated with much window glass, bottle glass, tools and personal items dating between 200-399 A.D.

During the late 3rd century, building G was significantly remodelled, and another building (L, Figure 7.75), thought to be a gatehouse, was built (though another building, M, was excavated later and cannot therefore not included in this study). The entrance of G was switched from the east side to the west, and an apsidal triclinium was added. The plan was also simplified, with just one room on each end of the large corridor. No floors survive from this period, so any further partitioning cannot be proved. Also, the finds associated with building G were extraordinary sparse, so distribution cannot be studied.

The imported and finewares present (Figure 7.76) at Winterton during this period (31 vessels were attributed to this phase) are seemingly dominated by mortaria, though it is possible to see that most of the mortaria from this phase date to the 3rd century. Up until the middle of the 3rd century then, Samian continues to dominate the fineware assemblage, and it seems obvious that the increase in mortaria which happens in the 3rd century is due to the presumably increased activity on site during

the occupation and use of buildings B, C, D, F and G, and the agricultural activity happening in Building B.

The coarseware assemblage during this period (7.77) is much larger (104 vessels), though less varied than in the first phase. It continues to be dominated by jars (39%) throughout the 3rd century. However, coarseware dishes (24%) and bowls (23%) may have replaced Samian or fineware equivalents sometime during the Severan period (after A.D. 193). Beakers (12%) were also high in number, and single sherds of a jug and an unknown vessel were found.

Where the pottery became less varied in this phase, exactly the opposite was true of the finds (Figure 7.78). Out of the 46 finds associated with this phase, Items of Personal Adornment (41%) and Tools (20%) still figure highest and then Domestic Items (9% and frequently dominated at Winterton by furniture fittings). The other use-type categories were represented by either one or two finds each – one notable find being a crucible found under the floor of Building B in a Severan context.

The glass assemblage during this period (7.79) is again dominated by window glass (35 fragments of the total 64 were window glass), though like the small finds the range of types seems to have expanded. Bottle glass, beakers, bowls, unidentified vessels and beads are all present at this time. Seven coins were found associated with this phase, all dating from the mid-to-late 3rd century.

The later life of the site was characterised by a number of contexts dating broadly to the 3rd or 4th century. These obviously show activity around buildings B, D and G, but there were also found a scattering of finds over building E (Figure 7.80), which is perhaps understandable considering its position under a road/path from the gatehouse L, which was built at the end of the 3rd century. The pottery in this broad date range is a small assemblage (4 examples of bowls and 2 each of mortaria, jars

and dishes), and has neither been added to the above phase totals nor to that of the phase below. The finds assemblage for this date range (Figure 7. 81), however, is rather larger (18 finds in total were attributed to this phase), and is again dominated by Items of Personal Adornment (50%) and Tools (17%). Domestic Items (11%), Items associated with Textile Manufacture (11%), Agricultural Items (6%) and Recreational Items (6%) were also present.

The glass assemblage assigned to this date range is also interesting, though small: two bottle fragments (of Hadrianic/Antonine date), two fragments of window glass, one glass bead, and one fragment each of a vessel, a 1st/2nd century vessel, a bowl and a bottle were found. 24 coins were also associated with this date range, mostly of the late 3rd and 4th centuries.

300 A.D. - 400 A.D.

Construction activity took place again during the 4th century (after c. A.D. 335), when another set of baths was added to the east corner of Building D. Also, a collection of carbonised grain was found in a context dating to this period, just to the west of the hearth in Building D (Figure 7.82). Around A.D. 350 buildings C and F had gone out of use, and only buildings B, D and G (and possibly L) were occupied (Figure 7.83). Though little information is given by the excavators about an end-date for the villa, the latest coin found was minted c. 394 A.D.

The ceramic assemblage associated with this period is again small (12 sherds), but was made up of jars (4 sherds), vessels (4 sherds, 3 of which were Parisian ware), bowls (2 sherds) and mortaria (2 sherds).

The small find assemblage of 13 objects (Figure 7.84) is dominated again by Items of Personal Adornment (62%) and Domestic (23%) items, followed by Items of Unknown use (15%), which are represented by a two rings and a hook.

The glass assemblage at Winterton during this period is made up mostly of window glass (78%), but residual vessel glass is also present. 36 coins of the 4th century were found.

7.2.1 Summary

Sections 7.1 and 7.2 have introduced and discussed the micro-scale sites. Following this, 7.3 will investigate activities performed on the micro-scales, first by looking at activities in terms of the lives of the sites themselves, and then by linking those activities to the practices introduced in Section 3.5. This discussion will then be widened to the regional sphere in Chapter 8, when the activities and practices discussed throughout this thesis will be linked to possible identities in the Roman period.

7.3 Evolving Sites, Evolving Activities

7.3.1 Introduction

The following section is dedicated to examining the evidence for changing activities on the micro-scale sites. Because of this, and because this section will be followed by a chapter dedicated to a more regional inspection of activity and practices (in which these sites have been included along with others on the regional level), a slightly different approach was deemed suitable. The seven sites discussed in the previous section were examined chronologically, which allowed for a closer inspection of trends over time – however, on this small scale, chronological differences are less useful in understanding site development.

In this section I have chosen to look at the lives of the sites themselves, and the larger events which affected the small-scale activities I am trying to identify. This approach is not without its challenges (for example, Bishopstone had a lengthy pre-Roman occupation, but the way in which the data was published made attempts to smooth together the L.P.R.I.A. and Roman-period assemblages impossible, which means that the previous occupation area that most likely affected the early Romano-British enclosure cannot be investigated wholly), but I believe that by discussing the site activities in the context of activities or practices taking place in certain periods in the lives of the farmsteads helps to clarify evidence of change and continuity.

7.3.2 Establishing the Romano-British Period Sites

Though not all of the sites had pre-Roman period occupation, the land they occupied obviously did not exist in isolation, and the establishment of farmsteads or buildings

was most likely a decision made with care and forethought. In the case of some sites, like Shakenoak Villa and Winterton Villa, the siting of the building may have been related to its proximity to a nearby water source (see Volume II Appendix I, A and C). For Old Winteringham (Volume II Appendix I, C #5), the buildings were constructed next to a Roman road leading to Ermine Street, and for Thurnscoe (Volume II Appendix I, C #20), Riknild street lay nearby (Codrington 1903). Other enclosures like those at Bishopstone and West Blatchington (Volume II Appendix I, B #1, #6) lie adjacent to earlier enclosures of Iron Age date, and the enclosure at Barton Court (Appendix I, A #2) overlay an Iron Age occupation area (this may also be true of Thurnscoe, though the evidence is unclear). Figures 4.18, 5.31, 6.31 and 6.32 for contain information about other categories of associated feature.

The earliest activity visible in the archaeological record is that of the construction of buildings or features, and can also be attested to by the high proportion of tools found on many of the recently-founded sites. This first phase of activity on all of the sites except Thurnscoe and Shakenoak Villa, comes in the 1st century. For Bishopstone (Figure 7.14), Winterton and Old Winteringham (Figure 7.20), a time around the Flavian period is indicated, which is of interest for the latter two when considering their close proximity to the Humber and the fact that it was forded by the Roman army in A.D. 71. The first Romano-British enclosure at Barton Court (Figure 7.4) was also constructed in the middle of the 1st century. Though the Roman-period enclosures at West Blatchington (Figure 7.51) and Barton Court do not communicate with the Iron Age enclosures (as the one at Bishopstone did), the lack of an abandonment of any length and the similar depositional makeup in the newer and older ditches indicate a level of continuity on both sites. However, for the two sites with the least evidence for physical continuity from the Iron Age (Thurnscoe

(7.47) and Shakenoak Villa (7.39)), another interesting concept is hinted at: local communication.

The site at Thurnscoe is notable for its funnel-shaped droveway mouth, and though the majority of the droveway itself lies out of the excavation boundaries, it must have led somewhere, perhaps to Riknild Street or more likely to nearby settlements or pastures. Conversely, it also could have lead from a more settled area *to* the enclosures at Thurnscoe, which may have been the case if the postholes of this period do not represent a structure. Therefore, the people associated with the site may have been local individuals, moving their home but linking themselves to communal grazing land (or if the slight evidence of an earlier occupation is correct, demolishing and rebuilding their home), or outsiders who did the same. In the case of Shakenoak Villa, the idea is similar: a resource existed which presumably was shared amongst local people (i.e. The 'Lady Well' spring), and the siting of the farmstead would have involved the linking of its occupants (whether local or foreign) to the local community in an ongoing dialogue about natural resources.

Communication or exchange (monetary or otherwise) is also hinted at by the siting of Old Winteringham, where the early ditches lie next to a wide and well-surfaced road of Roman (likely military) construction (Figures 7.22, 7.23). Of course the high number of imports at Old Winteringham also speaks to communication from further afield (whether by trade or simply by the nature of the individuals who occupied the site). Foreign imports are not the only material indicators of communication by trade or exchanging, of course; any object not produced on site would have involved some form of social interaction. On the basis of this idea we may then look at these sites and speculate on some measure of communication they could have had with non-occupants by examining the items they procured during their

earliest on-site activities. In the case of imported and finewares, which are often taken to be strong indicators of outside or foreign contact, Old Winteringham and Winterton Villa (Figures 7.25, 7.66) have the most evidence. Though this could at first be seen to stem from Old Winteringham's likely military roots, the assemblages from the two sites are not similar (this presumably has much to do with the different characters of the sites in general). Other sites with smaller fine/table ware assemblages are Bishopstone (Figure 7.15), Barton Court Farm (7.5) and Shakenoak Villa (7.40) (though the assemblages from Barton Court and Shakenoak Villa are smaller at this time, and are dominated by imported Samian ware). Both Thurnscoe (see Section 7.2, E) and West Blatchington (see section 7.2, F) lack any evidence for tablewares during the period just after their foundation. Shakenoak Villa, Old Winteringham and Winterton also boast coinage during this period (Shakenoak Villa had 3 coins of the 1st century, Winterton Villa had 2 coins of the 1st century and Old Winteringham produced 13: 5 Claudian, 5 Neronian, 1 Tiberian and two of unknown date).

Presumably a military presence at Old Winteringham could have brought both the Gallo-Belgic pottery and the early coinage, and its proximity to Winterton Villa may have influenced the use of money in exchange as well. The other sites then, presumably, felt less desire or necessity for coinage at this time, though this would have had nothing to do with the 'life of the site' as such, and in some cases changed later when the monetary economy in Roman period Britain was more established.

Instead of using coinage in exchanges then, individuals may have bartered with services, homemade goods or foodstuffs. At Thurnscoe (Section 7.2, E) and Bishopstone (Figure 7.14) (and possibly also Shakenoak Villa (Figure 7.39)), metalwork may have been a source of income, as could the trading of cereals (Thurnscoe's early activity involved a single corn-dryer) or animals or their by-

products. At Barton Court Farm (Figure 7.6) (and also at Old Winteringham (Figure 7.27)), textile working was taking place at this time and could have been profitable. Interestingly, at Shakenoak Villa, no artefacts indicative of industrial work or farming were found during this period (see Figure 7.39), and this is a clear indication of the separation of certain activities into specific areas (as only Building A was included in the study).

The items which were traded or purchased were not always practical objects, however. The high proportion of items of personal adornment from this period also indicate the importance of socially acceptable ways of being seen (of course, the spinning and weaving activities could be associated with textiles worn by occupants of the farmsteads as well, though these have not survived on any of the sites). On most of the settlements brooches were the most popular item, but bracelets were also high in number. This can be seen on the colour coded site maps pertaining to this period (see 3.8 and 3.9 for symbols and date colourations, and also 7.4, 7.14, 7.23, 7.24, 7.28, 7.39, 7.69, 7.70, 7.71 to see where the finds are located in the early periods).

Whilst the act of bathing could be said to be social or recreational in some ways, the space in which it took place could be associated with appearing (as could any find indicating acts of self-maintenance). However, the only site at which toilet articles like spatulae were found in the early post-founding contexts was at Old Winteringham. Old Winteringham was also the only site to have glass bottles dating to this period, though their exact context is uncertain. Figures 7.23 and 7.28 show evidence of glass and toilet items, whilst 7.24 showing the NW corner shows no glass, and one toilet item of unknown date. It seems likely that the soldiers would have

brought both the glass and toilet items with them, and therefore these finds point directly to a foreign population at this time.

Of course, the act of being perceived is not solely about personal maintenance, nor is it only about adornment. In the case of a relatively newly founded site, it may also have been important to have been seen to be protected, which is why the finding of locks, keys and weaponry at sites like Old Winteringham (in Figures 7.23, 7.28), Winterton Villa (in Figures 7.68, and associated with buildings C, H and K in figures 7.70 and 7.71) and Barton Court Farm (see Figures 7.4 and 7.6) may be significant. Also, just as people manipulate their bodies and dress to alter the ways in which they are perceived, so do they alter their surroundings. As was mentioned above, the finding of tools associated with the life of the young sites speaks to their construction, and this is not any less true of the staples, clamps and fittings which were used in the ongoing maintenance of the structures or fences.

In this formative period some of the sites (especially those with multiple buildings) show evidence for the 'zoning' of activities, and in some cases this can tell us about how and where individuals spent their time. At Old Winteringham for example, the assemblage of finds nearest the roads is generally slightly higher in status (and has a greater range of finds) than that in the northwest ditches, which though quite similar in makeup has a higher proportion of earlier coarsewares and cooking wares, as well as higher numbers of loom weights, and fewer toilet items. This, along with the lack of glass in this area indicates different activities taking place here; activities possibly of a more domestic slant. However, while the northwest ditch seems to be associated with slightly earlier activity, it also has a late 1st century burial. The slightly later finds nearer the road, along with the greater number of different types of item and high number of 'accidental losses' like brooches, pins, coins and

toilet items (Figures 7.23, 7.28) could also point to more short-term occupation of the roadside area, as passers-through made their way to Ermine street, perhaps stopping to rest or eat (the large number of platters seen in figures 7.23, 7.24 and 7.28 may attest to this).

Not far away, during the earliest occupation of Winterton villa, activity areas have been preserved to some extent under the later buildings. At this time, buildings A, J and E (Figures 7.64, 7.65, 7.69) were likely in use, and domestic activity in the form of ceramics for cooking and serving as well as small finds is particularly clear under buildings H and K (Figure 7.70). An early assemblage under building D (Figure 7.69) also shows evidence of rubbish disposal, though the lack of 'lost' small finds in the ditch points to this area as having less regular activity (or more maintenance of yards or floor spaces) during this period. This is also true to some extent of the assemblage from the early Romano-British features at Barton Court Farm (7.4), West Blatchington (7.61) and Bishopstone (7.14) whilst the limited evidence from Thurnscoe (7.47)) and Shakenoak Building A (7.39) make understanding their use of space more difficult (particularly Thurnscoe, with its uncertain level of domestic occupation at this time). However, it can be fairly confidently assumed that the makeup of the finds in this period reflects the 'growing pains' inherent in the founding of a farmstead area.

7.3.3 Evolving Activities

As can be seen above and in the previous chapters (Sections 4.3, 5.3 and 6.3), indicators of changing activities or practices often came along with physical changes to the sites themselves. For all of the micro-scale sites, this happened within 50 to 100 years of the (Roman-period) 'founding', during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Of course

the sites were never 'static', and there is obviously evidence for construction and maintenance during this period, but strong evidence for changes in activity are lacking from the archaeological record until physical changes influenced routines on site.

At Winterton Villa, the construction of new buildings in the mid-to-late 2nd century (see Figures 7.72, 7.73) heralded a change in occupation and also a change in activity (see Figure 7.77), and the same is true for Shakenoak Villa, where the demolition and rebuilding of Building A (around 80 years into the occupation of the site) was associated with a marked increase in industrial activity (Figure 7.41). The construction taking place at Thurnscoe was the first large-scale change since the site had been in use (some 50 years), and involved the re-arrangement of enclosures and the first evidence for definite domestic structures in the form of roundhouses (Figure 7.48). This kind of large-scale change was also the case at West Blatchington, where after the turn of the 2nd century (by which point the site had been in use for at least 100 years) a roundhouse was constructed and (slightly later) a number of corn-dryers were built (see Figure 7.53).

As was mentioned above, likely changes in the nature of occupation can be seen at all of the sites between 50 and 100 years of founding, though the reasons for these changes may have been quite varied. At Old Winteringham, there is a notable decline in fine items, serving vessels and imports (see 7.28 and 7.29), perhaps indicating the possible removal of a military unit from the site or area, or reflecting the difficulty of (or lack of interest in) replacing imported items. At Winterton Villa the construction of new buildings where previous activity was already taking place could indicate the replacement of already existing timber buildings as well as an influx of people or funds. However the general character of the finds and activities indicated thereby did not change (compare 7.66, 7.67 and 7.68 with 7.75, 7.76 and

7.77). Conversely, the considerable construction taking place at Shakenoak, Thurnscoe and West Blatchington all came along with strong indication of changes in and/or intensity of site use. For Shakenoak this meant more intensive industrial work alongside domestic activity in a larger and more structured dwelling (Figure 7.41), whilst for Thurnscoe and West Blatchington, activity areas shifted and changed in nature. The changing spaces at Thurnscoe incorporated the old area whilst also separating domestic and agricultural activities into two distinct enclosures (Compare Figures 7.47 and 7.48). At West Blatchington because the earlier 'hut floors' were not investigated sufficiently, little can be known other than that at least some activity must have shifted southwest at this time to the new 'Romano-British hut' and corn-drying kilns (Compare Figures 7.51 and 7.53). In terms of the temporary 'abandonment' of Bishopstone and Barton Court Farm, as both sites were associated with previous Iron Age settlements, it is possible that the activity could have shifted to a nearby area from the mid-2nd century until the end of the 3rd. The kind of activity happening on the sites at this time, whilst not uniform, shows how the link between wider site changes can bolster evidence for practices on site.

Most of the micro-scale sites had at least a short-lived period of 'stability', when it seemed that any construction-related activity on site had much more to do with 'maintenance' than 'building'. It was during these periods that routines became the most visible. At Winterton (late 2nd – 3rd century), this was the period in which the highest number of buildings were in use, and the site was likely at its most productive with much evidence of mortaria, tools and agricultural and/or industrial activity in the buildings (see 7.72 especially Building B, as well as 7.79, and 7.80). The high number of jars present point to the storage of surplus, and the other fine and coarseware vessels as well as the large bathing suite (together with the later destruction of the

bathing area in Building D) are indicative of a rise in group activities like bathing (perhaps associated with the glass bottles found during this period) and dining. Therefore, this seems to be a period focused to a greater extent on the 'communal', rather than the 'personal', with the lowest relative proportions of items of personal adornment and household decoration (see Figure 7.77). This is also a time in which the focus seems to lie on craft activities.

At Old Winteringham (3rd- 4th centuries) this period of stability was longer lived, and continued to the end of the life of the site. This more agriculturally and domestically-focused period was effectively devoid of imported pottery (Figure 7.33, 7.34), and quernstones, ceramic vessels (presumed to be Parisian Ware jars) and mortaria point to the storage and processing of cereals. The rest of the ceramic forms, as with Old Winteringham, point to large numbers of individuals eating on site, though the two buildings did not seem to have been used in the same way. Building 1 (Figure 7.31) may have been slightly more domestic, with higher-status objects and two furnaces and a hearth. Of course the destruction of Building 2 (Figure 7.32) and its later use in part as a shelter could have prompted clearing of the area). Maintenance of the road and the buildings or fences was clearly also of some importance, as was the protection (or the appearance of protection) of the site or its occupants, with keys and weapons (7.35).

At Thurnscoe, no such period of 'stability' existed, and this may be a clue as to the nature of occupation on the site and the activities taking place there. Around A.D. 200 the domestic enclosure was created (Figure 7.48), and was followed by the building of roundhouses. The limited size of the assemblage and the successive building of the roundhouses could indicate that this site was established not for long-term occupation, but as a seasonal base for farming or animal husbandry, though the

deposit of the Iron Age horse bit and the 'graves' (see Sections 6.2 and 7.2) probably indicates a ritual basis to some of the activities taking place there.

Both Bishopstone and Barton Court begin their (relatively short-lived) periods of stability when they are're-occupied' after their 'abandonment'. At Bishopstone this spans the 4th century as an unenclosed agricultural settlement with 3(?) structures and a corn-dryer (Figure 7.17). Bishopstone is one of the micro-scale sites with strong faunal evidence, showing the preponderance of sheep. In fact, one of the probable 4th century structures could have been an animal pen, which would have taken much less effort to construct than the re-instatement of the enclosure ditch, especially if its only function was to keep animals in and not for other reasons like security (see Figure 7.19 for total animals present). One of the other structures may have been a granary, and the quernstones, ash-filled pits and corn-dryer (with spelt and barley grains) point to this as a likely possibility. The keeping of animals and the creation of surplus may have generated revenue, as the most coins found throughout the life of the site (seven 4th century coins) were found in this period.

The re-occupation of Barton Court Farm (around A.D. 250, Figures 7.7, 7.10) did not spark a period of stability, nor did one ever really seem to materialise. However, the creation of the farmhouse, enclosure ditches and other features without much respect to the corn-dryer or the 3rd century watering hole is interesting. The site itself shows evidence of agriculture and animal husbandry, though this seems somewhat disconnected from the domestic and industrial (bone working) activity (Figure 7.9). Even the continued use of the entrance to the farmhouse enclosure (facing away from the areas of agricultural activity) is unusual, and could point to different groups of people using different areas of the site. The later movement of domestic occupation to the more agricultural area (along with the creation of the other

paddock ditches and the finds of shears) strongly suggests that the abandonment of the farmyard building (and occupation of the 'cottage') was concurrent with either a shift in focus to more agricultural activities or the removal from the site of the 'bone workers', but not necessarily the farmers, metalworkers and textile makers. After this time both the focus of activity and the area of occupation shift until the site is abandoned in the early part of the 5th century.

As was mentioned above, the physical changes to both West Blatchington and Shakenoak Building A were likely related to an intensity of work-related activity. For Shakenoak this was industrial in nature (Figure 7.44), and for West Blatchington it was agricultural. The agricultural nature of West Blatchington is hinted at by both the numerous corn-dryers and animal bone (Figure 7.62). The remodelling of the 3rd century building at Shakenoak Villa in the mid-4th century involved the creation of new domestic quarters, a reworking of the baths, and a possible ironworking hearth installed in the central room. The increased occupation at this time may have been related to events happening on the rest of the site. During this period there is a rise in jar forms and a change in the main type of vessel from dishes to Samian copies (of varying forms, see Figure 7.45). That more storage vessels may have been needed to deal with the increased occupation is not surprising. However, if the new occupants of Building A did indeed come from elsewhere on the site, the change of serving vessel could signify a difference denoting a preference of Samian serving forms over dish forms. Though the sample is smaller in this phase than others, the steep rise in jar forms as a percentage of the assemblage is nevertheless significant.

The limited evidence from West Blatchington makes certain identification of routines very difficult. As was mentioned above, the early occupation ends with a shift around A.D. 100 to the 'Romano-British hut', and slightly later, with the creation

and use of a number of corn-dryers. The frustration stems from the overlap between the corn-dryers, hut, and villa building (which is constructed around 200 A.D.). However because of the limited work on the villa building and the insufficient recording of the enclosure ditches and finds therein, conclusions about the nature of routine on the site must be drawn from the workspaces near the corn-dryers and domestic areas within and around the hut. These produced very diverse ceramic assemblages, though not many finds. The 'many mortaria' and quernstones found in the deposit associated with the Romano-British hut were most likely used in conjunction with the dried cereals from the corn-dryers. Also, though little can be known about the nearby field systems, the discovery of pruning hooks could point to the growing of cereals as another routine activity. At West Blatchington, in contrast to the other micro-scale sites, drinking vessels like cups and beakers (and also to a lesser extent flagons) are strongly represented (Figures 7.60, 7.61). These could have been required for the dining needs of the extended family. It seems likely that the rise in drinking vessels could have gone hand in hand with the occupation of the 'Romano-British Hut', and the continued use of the remaining corn-dryers.

7.3.4 Dynamic Spaces, Dynamic Practices

Dwelling

As was mentioned in Section 3.5, aspects of activities related to *dwelling* can be seen in the archaeological record through the assessment of household practices like cooking and eating, recreation and small scale production of goods for the home, as well as construction or maintenance related to domestic structures. In the case of the micro-scale sites, the relatively static 'founding phase' ended within 50 – 100 years of

the initial on site activity discussed above, and this led to noticeable changes in the way people lived on site. There were generally three different types of physical change evident throughout the lives of the sites; construction of new structures, re-arrangement of space, or a combination of the two.

Before going on to discuss these changes, it is important first to think about the 50-100 year timespan as more than just a 'post-founding' phase, but as a moment in the lives of the people occupying the site. Though it is true that the individuals occupying the site 50 to 100 years after the founding may not have been the same 'family' that built the house, if they were, they were likely to be the grandchildren or even great grandchildren of the founders. Their breaks with the tradition of their family home could have been motivated by external socio-political events, but we cannot know this for certain. What can be seen is that the different catalysts affecting change on site were likely more personal in nature.

For example, on some sites like Old Winteringham, West Blatchington and Shakenoak Villa, it is more than likely the first post-founding phase of construction indicated a change in dwelling directly related to industry or agricultural work (see *Working* below), and this may have been tied to the desires of the head of the household or the particular skills of those adults living there. At Thurnscoe (Figure 7.48) perhaps a more sedentary lifestyle was desired, and the creation of the D-shaped enclosure and roundhouses replaced the (presumed) sporadically occupied and agriculturally focused nature of the previous site (though the industrial work continues in this period). For Winterton Villa, the construction of new domestic buildings may have come as a desired progression (funded, perhaps, through the activities taking place there) from timber to stone as the site itself became more established (this is purely my own theory and was not mentioned in the report, but is

indicated by fairly extensive domestic activity under later buildings – see Figures 7.69, 7.70, 7.72).

Barton Court Farm and Bishopstone (Figure 7.16) both have periods of 'abandonment', which would have involved the movement of the entire household, and the desertion of the 'family home'. However if this 'abandonment' was nothing more than a shift to a nearby area outside the boundaries of excavation; the farmyard areas may still have been used to work or as enclosures for grazing animals (this is hinted at later at Barton Court by the rapid infilling of the cellar under the aisled house).

One particular activity related to dwelling with strong indications of change on certain sites is that of cooking and eating. This can be seen in the ways in which ceramic assemblages grow or shrink, in their changing compositions and also in the different ways in which items are used over time. All three of these avenues can be explored at Old Winteringham after the initial founding phase (Figures 7.29 and 7.30), when the military groups associated with that site may have moved on, and the roadside ceramic assemblage became less oriented around dining practices (and the finds seemed less dominated by high-status accidental losses). This change in materials may be an example of the visibility of a shift in social or ethnic groups on site (cf. Section 2.1). In the same vein, at sites like West Blatchington, the somewhat limited evidence from the initial founding phase is followed by evidence for a rise in dining and drinking, shown in the large number of imported cups, platters and beakers (Figures 7.55 and 7.56). A rise in serving and drinking vessels in both fineware and coarseware fabrics is interesting because it could also point to a change in population on the site, whether sporadic (e.g. visiting guests, clients, or itinerant workers) or permanent (workers, servants or extended family members who lived and worked on

the farmstead). On the other hand, sites like Barton Court Farm and Winterton show relative continuity in cooking wares (at least at first), though at Winterton the construction of new buildings meant that the ceramic evidence for eating was more dispersed around the site (for the best view of the distribution of artefacts at this time, see "Winterton Phase Map.ai" on the Appendix CD). Also, there was a relative increase in the percentage of mortaria (compare 7.67 and 7.76), which could have been a product of the rise in population on site and/or as a consequence of the continued agricultural endeavours. Of course, given that the minimum numbers of vessels at this time was low, this may not be as significant as it seems. However, later when most of the buildings had been constructed, domestic activities became more visible (see *Working* for indications of grain processing and *Appearing* for a discussion of interior decoration).

At Barton Court, though construction was taking place, continuity is apparent in the 'traditional' makeup of the assemblage (Figure 7.8) as well as the continued practice of ditch-based deposition (see Figure 7.7). Continuity of domestic practices in the face of considerable spatial change is also evident at Shakenoak, where the pottery assemblage favours imported serving vessels like dishes over cooking vessels throughout the life of the site (Figures 7.40, 7.43, 7.45). Interestingly, on the sites where imported or finewares are less prominent it seems likely that coarseware dishes and bowls may have been used as tableware. At some of these sites, like Bishopstone, the evidence for imported bowls from areas like Dorset indicate that the individuals living there did not necessarily reject imported ceramics, but simply may not have desire for or easy access to Samian (see *Exchanging* below). Those sites which did have access to imported ceramics, on the other hand, may have used them in

unexpected ways. At Barton Court in the late 3rd and 4th centuries evidence was found for the use of mortaria and finewares in cooking.

Evidence for actual foodstuffs can only really be hinted at by the floral and faunal remains, though the processing of cereals (which does not necessarily equate to their consumption and will be discussed in *Working* below) can be examined through looking at corn-dryers and quernstones. Because of the fact that a number of the micro-scale sites did not have sufficient recording of animal bones and crops, the subject of changing dietary practices (as they can be seen through the investigation of flora and fauna) cannot be performed with any great confidence with this sample. However, the keeping of food or perishables can be seen at all of the sites except Thurnscoe, which had evidence for glass bottles. The earliest of these were found at Old Winteringham, and were associated with the post-conquest period; whilst at Winterton, bottles were found dating from the turn of the 2nd century until the late 4th.

Though we cannot necessarily know what the individuals on the sites were cooking, it is possible to get an idea of where cooking may have taken place, and this can be a window into daily life and movement around the site. The spaces in which cooking took place are most often indicated by the presence of heated features (hearths/ovens/furnaces) and also (in some cases) access to water, or to disposal areas like ditches and pits. Though a greater number of hearths were found inside buildings, there was also evidence of cooking outdoors, especially at West Blatchington in the 3rd century (see "West Blatchington.ai" on the Appendix CD, where hearths are labelled in the 3rd century layer), and at Barton Court in the early occupation (see "Barton Court.ai" on the Appendix CD, where hearths appear in the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period enclosure). In the later occupation of Barton Court a well was constructed (see above, in later layers), which could be used for cooking and to

provide drinking water for animals or people. The procurement of water was presumably part of the reason for the placement of buildings K and P at Winterton (Figure 7.64). Outdoor cooking is also visible at Thurnscoe, where a number of hearth pits in the early occupation were surrounded by evidence of pot stands (see "THURNSCOE.psd" to view the pits in Phases 1 and 2), and at West Blatchington, where both earlier and later 'ovens/hearths' exist outside the buildings (see "West Blatchington.ai", layers). As a sidenote, outdoor cooking itself could have been both a more visible and therefore social activity, and would also have been safer than indoor cooking if buildings were not made of stone. Cooking outdoors was also presumably seasonal.

On the sites with multiple buildings, hearths or heated features were not present in every structure, and this fact necessarily begs an investigation into building use. At Old Winteringham, Building 1 had a hearth and two 'furnaces' (Figure 7.31), whilst Building 2 had neither (Figure 7.32). The assemblage associated with Building 1 was also more clearly domestic in nature, with higher-status items and fewer tools in use. Similarly, at Winterton, furnaces and hearths were present in different numbers in different buildings. In the earliest incarnation of the site building C was the only building with a furnace (Figure 7.71), but much domestic activity seemed to be taking place in the area of the later buildings H and K (both of which had 'furnaces', see Figure 7.70). After the other buildings were constructed and H and K went out of use (c. 200-220 A.D.), buildings B and D both contained two hearths apiece, as well as other heated gully-trenches indicative of possible domestic or industrial activity (Figures 7.72 and 7.73). Nearby Old Winteringham also has evidence for water pipes and tanks (a drain can clearly be seen at the top of Figure 7.32), which could have either been used for bathing or cooking activities. A single 'hearth' at Shakenoak villa

existed within the structure, though it was moved when the building was re-built, and was likely industrial in nature (see *Working* below).

Of course the domestic lives of the sites were not all about work. Recreation in and around the home can be seen on a number of sites at different times during the Roman period. Gaming counters were found at all of the sites except Thurnscoe. The sites with the earliest evidence for gaming were Bishopstone and Barton Court, both in the early post-conquest period when they may still have been linked to the Iron Age settlements nearby. West Blatchington and Winterton had gaming evidence in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and Shakenoak, Old Winteringham and Barton Court Farm had evidence in the 3rd to 4th centuries. The latter two sites boasted gaming counters in all of their phases. Interestingly they were also the two sites with the strongest evidence for military presence at one time or another. Another form of recreation or socialisation is to be found in bathing. Spatulae or ligulae are present at Shakenoak, Barton Court, Winterton and Old Winteringham.

As was mentioned above, some changes in *dwelling* practices came as a consequence of practical considerations like alterations to work areas. However, the notion of 'workspace' is variable, and in this case can relate equally to forges and farmland. The construction that takes place later in the lives of the sites was variable, but in some cases related more directly to the domestic needs of the individuals living there than the earlier construction. This is true at Thurnscoe, where a D-shaped domestic enclosure (Figure 7.48) was constructed (presumably to separate agricultural and domestic (or ritual/religious?) activities), and then again later when the agricultural enclosure went out of use in the 3rd century leaving only the domestic enclosure (Figure 7.49). At Old Winteringham, the character of the site changed over time, and consequently the space required adjusting as well. This meant a change in

the nature of the site itself; from being more outwardly-focused (i.e. possibly centred on the needs of short-term occupants) to more inward-looking (with the construction of domestic buildings which were presumably permanent homes). At Winterton Villa, though finds point to small-scale textile working and the processing of cereals, more important to the nature of the site is the ongoing construction linking the buildings together in a U-shape that likely represented both a desire to be seen as a particular type of rural site (see *Appearing* below); and also the interconnectedness of the individuals living there (the footprint of the entire site can be seen in Figure 7.63). That too changes over time, with the larger buildings eventually developing on more independent trajectories and eventually losing their physical links.

Of course there were also some construction changes which could have related to more practical needs, like that at Bishopstone. In this period (c. A.D. 300) the enclosure ditch had long since silted, and construction of a number of structures indicated (as well as a need/desire for domestic spaces) a necessity for storage of surplus from the recently constructed corn-dryer or the managing of livestock (Compare 7.15 and 7.17). Also, the change from a 'closed' to an 'open' site could also hint at the way in which the occupants of the site wished to be perceived (see *Appearing* below). The construction of new enclosures and agriculturally-focused features during the later life of Barton Court Farm also point to construction being a practical activity. This is also true of Shakenoak Villa, where each re-construction of the building was more tailored to working and living under one roof than the last (though in comparing Figures 7.39, 7.41 and 7.42, this also was likely to have reflected changes in the status of the site). Practical consideration most clearly stimulated spatial change at West Blatchington (compare Figures 7.51, 7.53 and 7.58) where the focus of activity on the site presumably lay around the numerous corn-

dryers. Naturally, this analysis is made in the knowledge that the information from the excavation of the Roman-period building may skew that perspective. However it is impossible to deny the importance of corn-drying on the site.

One avenue for the study of dwelling practices which has been particularly useful is in the examination of deposition. However, thorough depositional studies cannot be attempted unless a majority of the site area has been uncovered. Especially in the cases of West Blatchington and Shakenoak Villa, very little can be said about depositional practices because of the limited nature of the report itself. Nevertheless, it is possible to see differential deposition of artefacts in different areas through time. At Old Winteringham for example, the early ditches held both pottery and small finds (Figures 7.22, 7.23, 7.24). However, the roadside ditches held mostly pottery. Also later, when the buildings were constructed, small finds were more common in layers inside the houses (7.31, 7.32). At Winterton, the early movement of individuals around the site may have influenced the later layout of the buildings. For example, under buildings A and D were large ditches which were preserved under floors (see Figure 7.69), and which had fairly extensive depositional histories until the buildings were built. At Thurnscoe, pottery was deposited into the enclosure ditches (Figure 7.49), whilst what seems to be 'special' deposits come in the form of a quantity of plate hammerscale from a pit and an Iron Age horse bit from a 3rd/4th century ditch terminal. Bishopstone's excavators saw a marked increase in deposition from east to west within the enclosure (Figure 7.14). Whilst this may have been a bias of excavation or an effect of slope, it is also logical that a pathway would have existed along the western edge of the enclosure from the entrance in the north. Barton Court sees many differences through time in the places where rubbish is disposed of, but not much in the nature of their disposal. The changes in space over time do mean that it is

likely that footpaths around the farmstead changed, and also we know from the assemblage that it changed as well. However though both space and materials changed, deposition into enclosure ditches and small pits is still preferred, even into the 4th century. In fact, deposition into the enclosure ditch of the farmhouse continues even after it is abandoned in favour of the 'cottage' (Figure 7.10).

As can be seen from the above section, no one activity stands alone as a marker of a certain way of 'doing things'. Activities on sites are interconnected and objects on sites can have many uses in multiple contexts. Therefore it is easy to see why aspects of *dwelling* on rural sites often go hand-in-hand with *working*. This is not only because of the seasonal aspects of activities like farming, but also because workspaces and living spaces were often one and the same, and tools could be used both in the maintenance of the site and in the everyday life of the home.

Working

Evidence of working in non high-status rural contexts is often heavily associated with dwelling, and it can therefore be hard to separate workspaces from domestic areas (in many cases because most spaces were likely to have been multi-purpose). As was mentioned above, in the early lives of the sites much construction and maintenance took place, and this would have involved physical labour that would likely have taken time away from other work activities.

Activities associated with *working* can be teased out of the archaeological record by looking at tools, agriculture and livestock, buildings, activity areas and industrial or agricultural production. As was discussed briefly above, in the period after the founding phases, some of the sites showed construction activity which either related directly or indirectly to work. For Old Winteringham the change sprang from a shift in the nature of occupation. Rather than catering for a short-stay or military

population, the finds indicate a slightly more domestic and agricultural slant (Figure 7.36), and the later building of stone structures could imply a desire for longer-term full time occupation. Though industrial 'work' was taking place in the earlier occupation in the form of spinning and weaving, later contexts were associated with tools and quernstones, alluding to some agricultural activity. Maintenance work on the roads also took place, though this may not necessarily have been performed by members of the household.

Both Bishopstone and Barton Court Farm had periods of 'abandonment', when little or no on-site activity was taking place. However when occupation began again, the focus of activity on both of the sites changed. At Bishopstone, the focus of the re-occupied site is agricultural, with finds, structures and features indicating work relating to the drying and preparing of cereals (Figure 7.17). Earlier in the Roman period at Barton Court Farm, spinning and weaving or textile working seemed to be the most popular activity (Figure 7.6) after Personal Adornment. However, the re-occupation of the site led to a period of construction that was associated with many fasteners and fittings and tools, and the construction of associated enclosures with watering holes indicates that agricultural work was clearly an important part of life on site (Figure 7.9). As was mentioned above, at West Blatchington the later occupation is primarily concerned with the corn dryers on site (see Figure 7.58), and the large-scale nature of the industrial work is attested to by finds like weights, which could have been used to measure out grain. Shakenoak Villa also sees larger scale industrial work happening alongside domestic activity, obvious in the metalworking and bone working in Building A (Figure 7.42). However it is important to remember that Building A did not stand alone, and was part of a wider complex, which meant that it is probable that other activities were taking place nearby. Changes in the physical

layout of the site itself are not the only indicators of work-related activity. The presence of livestock, whilst also being important to the culinary aspects of *dwelling*, could also hint at agricultural work or transport.

The tools found associated with the lives of the sites do not vary much, and often include chisels and knives, though more specialist work is visible at Shakenoak where bone working tools were found along with worked antler. Along with fasteners and fittings like staples, clamps and wedges, chisels could be put to use in the maintenance of structures or the construction of features like walls. For some individuals (like those in the military) weapons could have been associated with work, as well as being for protection and hunting. Old Winteringham, West Blatchington and Winterton all have evidence for weapons on site (between the 2nd and 4th centuries, see Figures 7.35, 7.57 and 7.77). Conversely, some objects serve to tell us about the possible occupational associations of the individuals living on the sites. For example, at both Shakenoak Villa and Barton Court Farm were found military fittings.

It is clear that the construction of buildings for the storage of agricultural surplus or livestock would have been associated with 'work' on the sites, though in some cases it is difficult to determine whether the associated activity would have been the production of meat, milk, hides or cereals, or their processing. For sites like Barton Court (see Figure 7.10), the ditches around the domestic areas point directly to agricultural activity on site (and the corn-dryer to small-scale processing), whilst in the case of West Blatchington the excavated area cannot give any indication as to whether the individuals involved in larger-scale corndrying were likely the same as those who harvested the grains (Figure 7.58). However the importance lies in determining whether the individuals on the site could have been producing a surplus, and then considering if they may have used it in trade. This is slightly more

complicated than it sounds. For example, at Bishopstone in the 4th century the creation of domestic buildings and a corn-dryer points to quite a small-scale industry. However two of the pits associated with this period may have been further parching ovens, and much ash was found in other pits (Bell 1977: 189). Also it was suggested by the excavators that the other buildings could have been agricultural in nature, and therefore may have been useful for holding surplus (ibid.). This indicates that though the single corn dryer at Bishopstone points to small-scale industry, more intensive work may have been taking place. Animal Husbandry (Figure 7.19) was also an important occupation on site, and the excavators' note that hunting and fishing were also clearly practiced (Bell 1977: 189).

Whilst determining the level of work on a particular site at a particular moment in time is fraught with difficulties, investigating the nature of work on the site can shed light on the lives people lived there. Through looking at features and outbuildings the notion of surplus can be investigated. Of course, surplus items may have had multiple uses – as extra fodder in lean times, as tribute or taxes, or as currency for other goods or services. Of course, any bartering or exchanging would presume that agreed-upon values for items existed, and this notion serves as a reminder that the individuals living on these sites did not live in isolation, but manoeuvred themselves within and around a multi-layered and multi-faceted social environment.

Communicating

Whilst it is true that most excavation boundaries do not allow the investigation of whole sites, accessibility can be assessed to some extent through the examination of the locations of the domestic enclosures. For example, the siting of farmsteads close

to roads or waterways (or in the case of Old Winteringham the concurrent building of a road and founding of a site) may have brought goods practically to their doorstep. However, this illustration is particularly relevant to discussing the notion of communication, because whilst one of the micro–scale sites nearest a road (Old Winteringham) certainly had wide ranging items and far-flung imports, the other (Thurnscoe) did not; and this definitely related to the nature of the site and the interests of the people who worked and lived there. That being said, the nature of the 'roads' in question were themselves different, and were presumably used in different ways at different times of the day and year.

Though not all of the micro-scale sites were excavated extensively enough to determine field boundaries, some of the sites did lie near to roads, fields or trackways, and these, like natural resources, may have been shared amongst or controlled by the local population (fields or droveways in particular may have had a role in linking rural communities together, and will be discussed again below in 8.1). Of course, information of this type may not be relied upon too heavily, as many areas have not been investigated well enough to build a complete picture of the past landscape. However, the proximity of rural sites to different types of communal (non-domestic) space must have necessarily involved different types of interactions. When these spaces were large throughways, it can be speculated that some of the interactions involved exchange. For sites with nearby roads or large trackways, items of non-local origin may have been more familiar, though the nature of activity on the site is always a more likely indicator of the desires of the inhabitants than proximity to markets or trade routes. This is most clearly demonstrated in the case of Old Winteringham, where the possible change in occupation and concurrent rise in domestic activities meant that though the road stayed in use, the assemblage changed radically. This

change may not solely have been due to the changes on site however, and could also relate to events taking place in the local area or even further afield. When compared with the assemblage at nearby Winterton, for example, it is possible to see that many fewer imported finewares are in use after the middle of the 3rd century (Figures 7.33 and 7.34 vs. Figure 7.75).

'Communication' is a blanket term for different types of interaction, some of which do not necessarily have to be face-to-face. Whether they consciously thought about it or not, individuals who purchased items were in a form of communication with the manufacturers of those items. In terms of the micro-scale sites, all of the settlements except for Thurnscoe had at least a very small percentage of foreign material on site, and this was usually dominated by Samian ware. This is also true of the other non-homemade items on site. Of course, communicating on a routine everyday basis is easier to see in the cases of the more extensively excavated sites, as the position and size of field boundaries or trackways presupposes the traffic of people and animals from managed space to managed space. Routine interactions may have involved negotiations about the movement of livestock from farm to field, or discussions about shared spaces.

Not all communication or interaction was routine, however. For example, infrequent events like feasts or large-scale construction on a site would likely have involved more individuals than those in the immediate household. Evidence of construction which could have utilised an outside workforce is visible at Old Winteringham (for the road), Winterton (in the building of large and complex structures), West Blatchington (possibly for the construction and working of the corn-dryers, as (depending on the intensity of use) one or two individuals looking after all

of them would have been incredibly time consuming), and Barton Court (in the construction of the large enclosures and perhaps also for the digging of the well).

Communication also appears in the constructions themselves, and ties into Appearing because of the creation of structures like gatehouses and bathhouses, or the maintenance of ditches.

Appearing

Though large scale construction may have primarily been a practical endeavour, it also could have served a function as a communicator of status. As important as the number of workers needed to perform tasks (and therefore how their presence would change the makeup of the site) was the visibility of the work itself, and the eventual end result, which may have been created with an 'effect' or a type of 'viewer' in mind. The large scale construction at Winterton Villa is perhaps the most interesting example of this, because the change from round house to rectilinear house seemed simply to be a cosmetic choice. There was no great change in the makeup of the finds assemblage after the construction of the rectilinear buildings, and at least one of the roundhouses was decorated with painted plaster and quarter-round mouldings inside. The same could be true of the construction at Barton Court Farm, though it cannot be known for certain if the people who occupied the farm after the period of 'abandonment' were the same group who lived there before.

It was not only a wish to be seen as being more prosperous which may have inspired changes in the visual aspects of the site. The fact that individuals like those living at Bishopstone, West Blatchington and Thurnscoe let their enclosure ditches silt up meant that perhaps (as well as indicating possible changes in agriculture or animal husbandry) being seen to be defended or segregated became less important. This is the

opposite of sites like Barton Court and Shakenoak, which during points in their occupation saw a rise in the numbers of weaponry and locks and keys on site, perhaps indicating a desire to appear protected. Similarly, both Thurnscoe and Winterton Villa chose to erect barriers in the form of gates (see Figure 7.74). At Winterton an entire gatehouse was built in the late 3rd century, whilst at Thurnscoe the creation of the domestic D-shaped enclosure in the early 3rd century may have necessitated the erection of a gate to keep out livestock, or mark a change in space relating to the probable burials inside the enclosure.

Of course, changes made to the sites as a whole were probably choices which had some collective aspect to them. However more personal choices about appearance could have been manifested within the homes in items of decoration (as well as finds like ceramics and glass). This type of 'appearing' was likely (but need not have been) less dynamic than items of clothing or adornment; however it was sedentary, and those who saw it would have been engaged in different types of interactions than those viewing either the house or interacting with the occupants outside the context of the home. Not only that, but decoration of the home would have had to present a picture of the entire family or unit, and not just a single individual. In that way, items of dress and those associated with grooming were more personal, because of their larger changeability, variety and also their likely associations with individual mood and differing daily routines.

'Items of Personal Adornment' nearly always rank highly in the assemblages, though in terms of the micro-scale sites in Yorkshire, the 3rd century (coinciding with periods of construction and change on these sites) has the lowest relative proportions of items of personal adornment (see 7.35 and 7.77). Toilet articles like spatulae and ligulae can also point to interest in personal grooming, though the highest relative

percentage of these was found at Old Winteringham, and was only 6% (4 items). The decoration of the interior of the home would also be an important indicator of how (at least one of) the individuals in the home wished to be perceived. The first incidences of domestic or household material seem to crop up in Oxfordshire after A.D. 150-200, (5 finds at Barton Court and 3 at Shakenoak Villa), whilst in Yorkshire after A.D. 250-275, Old Winteringham sees the first 'Domestic' items (19% or 11 items) on site (in earlier periods the focus had been on 'Building' materials). At Winterton villa, the relative percentages changed, but the number of domestic finds (4 in each the earlier and later phases) meant that though many changes were happening over time on site, the attention to domestic ornamentation likely stayed the same. In Sussex, items relating specifically to 'domestic' pursuits were not noted, though this could be due to the small numbers of items attributed to later assemblages (13 objects from West Blatchington and 14 objects from Bishopstone).

7.3.5 Summary

Whilst the somewhat arbitrary 'initial activity' period discussed above was concerned with the first evidence for the later Romano-British period occupation of the site, the nature of that occupation was not static over time. The changes which happened during the lives of the site were elucidated in the second section, and they highlighted in particular how occupationally-motivated construction led to changes on site affecting aspects of social interaction. The final section attempted to refine routine activities into aspects of broad ways of doing things, or practices; and to show the flexibility of the methodology in terms of the utilisation of weaker data. The data from all of the sites in this thesis (barring some of the more recent developer-funded excavations in Oxfordshire) is necessarily only a small part of the larger picture, being incomplete in some cases and biased in others; however this methodology was created

to flag up probable patterns that will hopefully be explored in the near future by myself or other researchers.

The next chapter is devoted to the temporal comparison of the regional scale sites (of which those sites discussed above are a part), and will be looking for evidence of regional similarity and difference in practice as it related to the changing social landscapes of people in the countryside. The temporal analysis will be followed by a discussion of the kinds of social identities which can be hinted at in the material record.

Chapter 8:

Comparative Discussion: from Activities to Identities

8.1 Activities through time

As was mentioned in Chapter 3, the methodology underpinning this thesis seeks to tie data to activities and link activities to practices or different ways of doing things over time, in an attempt to understand small-scale social change and identity formation/maintenance/negotiation during the Roman period in Britain. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, data from 50 sites in 3 areas of Britain were used to investigate both regional activity and site-specific practices over time (the specific site descriptions can be found in Appendix I in Volume II of this thesis). Chapter 7 introduced the micro-scale data in more depth and also discussed each of the micro-scale sites through time, as well as trying to look at changing practices in the context of the life of the sites themselves. The section below will pull these threads together to discuss regional similarity and difference through time, and will be followed by a discussion of the specific kinds of identities (introduced in Section 3.2, and tied to the practices discussed in Section 7.3) that can be hinted at through changing activities. Crucial to the study of social change in the rural population is an implicit acknowledgement of the diffuse and indirect effects of larger socio-political processes. Therefore, as was discussed in Sections 2.1, 2.10 and 3.3, it is not actual events that shape our understanding of the past, it is the agglomerations of routine actions that allow identities to be found in the material record.

L.P.R.I.A. – 150 A.D. - 200 A.D.

The earliest timescale investigated in this study began in the Late Iron Age and stretched through the 1st into the middle or late 2nd century. The Iron Age in Britain was a time of considerable change, with cross-Channel trade (which had already been well-established) increasing in some areas. Also, the restructuring or movement of settlements was a fairly common practice. Of the regions studied in this thesis, this is seen most clearly in Sussex, where only 39% (7) of the Roman-period sites were occupied in the Iron Age. In Yorkshire and Oxfordshire, however, there was more evidence for continuity in occupation. In Yorkshire 65% (13) of the Roman sites investigated had roots in the Iron Age, and the Oxfordshire sample boasted 82% (9) continuity.

Whilst the evidence for farming practices was not particularly strong during this period (whether because of the way in which the sites were excavated or because of actual patterning) in any of the regions I investigated, it is thought that the late Iron Age was a time of increased agricultural activity (as evidenced not by floral remains but by increasing pit-storage (Henig and Booth 2000: 7)), and in the case of my regional investigations, the high presence of weed seeds at some sites in this period could also be indicative of agricultural activity (Fuller and Stevens 2009). During this time, as with much of the Roman period, wheat was an overwhelmingly popular crop, though barley, oats, rye, and other edible grains were also present, as well as plants like blackberry canes (which could have grown wild or been cultivated as natural fencing). The relatively high presence of barley could tie into aspects of animal husbandry as it was sometimes grown for feed (Phillipa Ryan, Pers. Comm. November 2010), though there is also some possible sprouting or malting evidence from a number of later sites (see Sections 6.4, 7.2). The cultivation of animal fodder is

bolstered by the relatively high numbers of cattle present in the regions. Using the relative proportions of the top 3 animals present on site, it is clear that in Oxfordshire cattle were more numerous, though equally popular (i.e. present on the same number of sites) to sheep (see Figure 4.17), while in Sussex (Figure 5.26, 5.27) and Yorkshire (Figure 6.37), cattle and sheep were very close in number (though the closer phasing of Melton and Hawling Road (described above in 6.3) in Yorkshire shows the importance of viewing micro-scale data to attempt to understand short-term material trends; also see Newhaven in Figure 5.43 in the discussion of activities on the next page). Horses were fairly abundant on the rural sites in this study, though pigs were present on more sites in Sussex during this period (Figure 5.26), which could have been a product of the earlier establishment of a military presence there (see King 1999), and/or influence stemming from Continental trade. The subject of trade is a key one, as the ongoing importance of agricultural networks in areas like Oxfordshire must have sprung (or continued on) from the activities taking place in the pre-Roman Iron Age. Agricultural practices on rural sites can be both self-sustaining and economically motivated. Whilst the idea of 'surplus' is difficult to pin down in the archaeological record, features like corn-dryers, parching ovens, and storage pits can be helpful in knowing what may have been done with excess grain. Although no definitive corn-dryers were found in this period in Oxfordshire or Yorkshire, again, Sussex stands apart with at least five in use at two sites (see Figure 5.45).

Regional similarity and difference was most marked in the household assemblages from the different areas. In Yorkshire (Figure 6.38), items indicating agricultural activity were present on an equal number of sites to items of personal adornment, though textile making, industrial activity (mostly metalworking), domestic activity, feasting and bathing were also taking place on the sites at this time (it is interesting

that the 'bathing' evidence from Yorkshire in this period comes from Old Winteringham, which probably has early military associations). In Sussex (Figure 5.43) and Oxfordshire (Figure 4.25) agricultural activity was less pronounced, but there is a preponderance of items of personal adornment there. However, like Yorkshire, there is evidence in Sussex for industrial activity (mostly metalworking) and limited evidence for spinning and weaving (and by association, the keeping of sheep or the procuring of wool). Building work is most prominent in Oxfordshire, where the combination of fasteners and fittings and items related to building figure prominently in a number of assemblages. To a lesser extent this is also true of Sussex at this time. If the presence or absence of items in smaller samples (analysed with the larger assemblages) can be used as initial indicator of patterning, this first period already shows potentially significant regional differences.

As was proposed by Evans (2001), the ceramic assemblages in all of the regions are overwhelmingly dominated by jar forms, followed by bowl forms. Oxfordshire's assemblage is the least varied (Figure 4.26), with high numbers of butt beakers, dishes and flagons blocking any other form type out of the three most common. This fits well with Henig and Booth's (2000: 6) assertion that the Iron Age in Oxfordshire is the time during which Continental forms begin to be seen (as copies), and also my own assertion in the case of this study, of pre-invasion social practices as incorporating new artefact types (of their choice) without much essential change. In Yorkshire the ceramic assemblages are also limited (Figure 6.39), though unknown vessels, mortaria and lids are present in equal proportions and serve as a reminder that access to imports may not have been a problem for rural farmsteads (cf. Hingley 2004: 334). Sussex's assemblage is the most varied (Figure 5.44), with amphorae, strainers, platters, cups, beakers, mortaria and urns in addition to the jars

and bowls or bowl/dishes. The preponderance of dish forms in Oxfordshire combined with their general absence in Yorkshire and Sussex points to a difference there in the way that food was consumed and/or served, and this could indicate a particular regional dining practice. Therefore, in Sussex and Yorkshire food could have been served in larger bowls for sharing, or in vessels of different materials, like wood or glass. However vessel glass, though present in all of the regions at this time, was mostly represented by bottles (see Figure 5.46 as an example), which (at least at first) would likely have been related to bathing activities, already known in the later first and 2nd centuries to dominate rural assemblages along with large bowls (cf. Cool and Baxter 1999: 85).

Important to consider at this point is the role of rural sites' place in the landscape and connectedness to other sites, towns, and markets (some of which may not have existed when the farmhouses were founded, but may have affected their later occupations). This was discussed for each of the regions in Sections 4.3.1, 5.3.1 and 6.3.1, and can be found in Figures 4.18, 5.31, 6.31 and 6.32. For the purposes of this section, a consideration of natural resources and early Roman period or Iron Age settlements is important. In comparing Figures 4.18, 5.31, 6.31 and 6.32, it is possible to see that more than half of the sites in all of the regions (a total of 32 sites) had access to water resources (not counting waterholes), whether fresh, brackish or salt. Of course water resources could have been used both before and throughout the Roman period, but they will only be considered in this time bracket; just as Roman period roads could have followed pre-Roman tracks, but will be considered in the next section.

In terms of only fresh water sources (keeping in mind, of course, that Oxfordshire is landlocked), 26 of the sites had access (or in the case of Appleford,

access to waterholes). Sussex, unsurprisingly, has the largest amount of sites sited near salt water (5 out of 17), but the pre-Roman presence at Bishopstone, Park Brow, and very near to Ranscombe Hill (all of which are near the English Channel) clearly point to both access to marine resources and to probable trade links before the Roman period. Of interest, then, is the fact that Ranscombe Hill (East Sussex) had few imports, whilst both Bishopstone (East Sussex) and Park Brow (West Sussex) had strong Continental links (Appendix I, B in Volume II). In Yorkshire, only High Wold was near to the North Sea, and it also had strong trade links in the L.P.R.I.A (see Volume II Appendix I, C #3 'Points of Note'). As was mentioned above in Section 4.2.2. and again in 7.2, the riverine trade links evident in Oxfordshire both before and throughout the Roman period make it no less well-connected than the other regions (cf. Booth *et al.* 2007: 314-5). It could be the case that a direct trade link existed between rural sites in Oxfordshire and stone quarries in Kent, as much evidence for their importation exists, as do links between the Rhineland and Humber (cf. Henig and Booth 2000: 172), which can be seen at the sites of Old Winteringham and Winterton (Section 7.2). Obviously, the siting of a farmstead near a river was also practical in terms of cooking and providing fresh water for animals and humans alike, but it also could have invited unwanted visitors and unseasonable floods; which is why just 19 of the 50 sites included in this study are sited near rivers (Extramural Alchester and Hatford are not counted, as they are sited close to small unnamed streams or brooks).

In terms of the location of the sites in relation to centres pre-Roman of activity, the proximity figures (4.18, 5.31, 6.31 and 6.32) show that 7 of the 9 sites in Oxfordshire are close to larger settlements of Iron Age date. In Sussex, 9 of the 17 sites were nearby to earlier settlements, earthworks, or hillforts, whilst in Yorkshire

the number was smaller, only 7 out of 20. If the proportions rather than the numbers themselves can be trusted, this could point to different ways in which societies in the regions organised themselves.

150 A.D. - 300 A.D.

The 2nd century saw changes in all three of the regions, though interestingly evidence from the reports during this period is sparse. However, with the limited evidence it is possible to see that the period around A.D. 125 - 150 in Oxfordshire and the Thames valley saw the abandonment of a considerable number of sites (Figure 4.27). This was certainly not the case in Sussex, where a number of 'villas' were founded in the 2nd century and the large and long-established pre-Roman sites in the west of the county may have helped to maintain social stability in the post-conquest period. Conversely, the period both before and after the conquest is thought from readings of the Classical sources (Tac. *Ann.* XII 36) to have coincided with 'tribal' conflict in Yorkshire, tensions easing sometime between the end of the 1st century and the middle of the 2nd.

The agricultural evidence from the sites at this time is limited and points generally to the cultivation of wheat and barley. However during the late 1st and 2nd centuries corn-dryers came into widespread use (Van der Veen 1989: 302, cf. Fuller and Stevens, *in press*), as evidenced by the (at least) 4 in Yorkshire and (at least) 5 in Sussex, though the fact that fewer (1+) were present in Oxfordshire could be a bias related to the abandonment of almost half of the sites (in this regional study) at this time. If the trend is to be believed however it points to continuing interdependence of sites in the area, and backs up Henig and Booth's (2000: 32) assertion of the collective nature of decisions made by communities in the region. The faunal remains

show that both Yorkshire and Oxfordshire were dominated by cattle (Figures 6.40 and 4.28 respectively), and Sussex by sheep. However, only one site in Sussex (Slonk Hill) and three in Yorkshire (Figure 6.40) recorded faunal evidence for this date bracket, and therefore this should not be seen as conclusive evidence of a widespread trend. Interestingly, though, the next largest percentage of animal bone from Slonk Hill comes from pigs (cattle is third), which introduces the idea that in Sussex cattle may have been used primarily as beasts of burden and for their manure rather than as a major source of meat (cf. Driel-Murray 2008: 87).

Other on-site activities are generally weakly represented, but show little change from the early post-conquest period except for a rise in all of the regions of more industrial activity like metalworking (Figures 4.29, 5.51, 6.41) . Also in Oxfordshire at this time the increase in spinning and weaving activities correlates well with the faunal evidence (Compare 4.28 and 4.29), showing that in all likelihood beef was the most commonly consumed meat, sheep being kept more for their wool then their meat at the time.

In Section 6.2.2 it is noted that until the mid-2nd century the material record in Yorkshire (see Figures 6.38-6.41) does not vary much from the Iron Age (however Winterton and Old Winteringham do not follow this trend). Nonetheless, the mid-2nd century in Yorkshire does see an increase in the widespread use of 'Roman style' greywares of regional manufacture, though it is also marked by a more general streamlining of the most utilised form types on site (Compare 6.39 and 8.1). It is possible that after struggling with limited interest in imports for nearly a century, the military could have taken control of various industries (see 6.2.3), thereby forcing individuals to either make their own products or acquire Roman-style goods. Conversely, interesting to consider at this point is the assertion by Sargent (2002: 225)

that the civil administration was handed over to the native population at Brough on Humber in the mid-2nd century. If this is true, then it was the native population that demanded Roman-style greywares, and before that their limitation may have previously been controlled by agents of the Empire. This new 'acceptance' of 'Roman' wares may not have been as consequential as it seems, however, as it is probable that after a century Roman-style wares had less of an association with the Roman establishment anyway.

In Oxfordshire at this time there is little change in the ceramic forms present (Compare 4.26 and 4.30), and this may have had something to do with the aforementioned trade networks there, likely linking local groups and helping maintain social norms. As with the other two regions, during the mid- to later 2nd century jars, bowls and dishes dominated the coarseware assemblages in Sussex. However, though it seems that the range of forms began at this time to grow further, exhibiting more tablewares and other ceramics more associated with dining, only 3 sites gave firm ceramic evidence for this period (compare 5.44 and 5.47).

The adoption of more visible dining wares on specific sites seemed to have much more to do with large-scale construction and change on sites than stability and 'progress', however at this time in Sussex, physical changes also likely coincide with social ones. In this period, it has been postulated that social change was happening after the death of the governor Lucullus, and that this can be seen in the archaeological record (see Russell 2006: 46-54). However, as this thesis focuses in particular on small-scale changes on the site level, this is hard to determine with any great reliability (cf. Sections 3.4.1, 3.4.4). However if the social change that is hinted at in the archaeological record did have something to do with political changes at the time, it would be likely that this could be seen to be affecting the sites in the west of

Sussex more readily than those in the east (see Figures 5.56 and 5.57 for regional information (for assemblage counts see previous figures)). If the sites in east Sussex had assemblages which were more in keeping with the previous period, it could point (in opposition to Yorkshire and Oxfordshire) to an unexpectedly direct link between externally-mediated social stability and the beginnings of long-term material change, as opposed to self-imposed social stability or social 'maintenance'. That being said, the excavation and reporting of sites in Sussex at times left much to be desired (2 'A' sites, 8 'B' sites, 4 'C' sites, 3 'D' sites), and for this period the ceramic information is less reliable than in other periods.

Pertinent to the observation of changes in supply in this period is the proximity of the different sites to roads. In terms of Roman-period roads (proposed and known), the information lies in Figures 4.18, 5.31, 6.31 and 6.32. In comparing the three, it is possible to see that 22 sites were near to roads constructed in the Roman period (4 in Oxfordshire, 9 in Sussex and 9 in Yorkshire). However, 4 sites in Oxfordshire were close to trackways or droveways, whilst in Yorkshire there were 2, and the sites in Sussex did not mention any. However the lack of trackways and droveways from the Sussex sites probably represents a bias of reporting or excavation more than a real pattern of settlement.

200/250 A.D. – 450 A.D.

The 3rd century is the time period in which regional differences become most pronounced, and this likely stems from social changes spurred by social and political interaction, trade and industry. In Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley, the abandonment of many farmsteads in the 2nd century was followed by a re-occupation of sites or the creation of new settlements (mostly in the north of the region). Existing

sites were also restructured at this time (Figure 4.31). The rise of the Oxfordshire potteries spurred both trade and probably also migration, as well as being a mechanism through which local elites could have maintained or gained both power and wealth (cf. Henig and Booth 2000: 45, 51).

In Yorkshire, however, though the rise of ceramic industries was probable, the story was quite different; with a marked decline in building followed by the abandonment of most sites in the mid-to-late 4th century (see site dates listed in Figure 6.24). An ongoing issue for the Roman army at this time may have been supply to the garrisons at Hadrian's wall (cf. Collins 2011: 62-63), though the marked decline in corn-dryers in the late 4th century (as opposed to the earlier period of construction) points to decreased agricultural surplus, and possibly, decreased agricultural activity in general (compare Figures 6.40 and 6.42) . However, grain may not have been the most important resource for the Roman army at this time, especially if shipments were coming in from the newly rejuvenated Oxfordshire countryside (Figures 4.31 and 4.32).

If in the mid-2nd century control of the territory including Yorkshire had been given over to the Brigantes, then perhaps this was followed by the conscription of men into the army (see Dobson and Mann 1973 for a discussion of this). The removal of those men (and later, their male offspring) would greatly have affected the agricultural productivity of the area, and the income generating potential of the population left behind, and as with the Lower Rhine area (van Driel-Murray 2008), forced them to find new ways of making ends meet (see Figure 6.43). That being said, of course there is no way to know why the changes apparent in the region happened, or how they would have affected the inhabitants of the households. However, it is hard to deny the differences from generation to generation (Figure 6.44), and the

decrease in agricultural items (and therefore activities) on site demands scrutiny. Any changes in the population of the sites may also have had consequences for the adoption of 'Roman' goods or the expression of 'Roman' identities, if these things can even be said to still exist at the intra-provincial level in the 3rd and 4th centuries. In the case of Yorkshire, the drop in agriculture went hand-in-hand with a significant rise in the numbers of Items of Personal Adornment, and Spinning and Weaving implements, and in general, a diversification in activities on site. In terms of animal husbandry, no meaningful change in proportions of sheep could be discerned, but a decrease in the number of horses could relate to military activity at the time (compare Figures 6.40 and 6.42). Of course, the limited faunal remains only allow for this as an invitation to further study, and not as certain patterning.

Sussex during this period is thought from Classical sources (Mommsen 1892; IV, V, VI, VII) to have been experiencing raids along the coast, and the continuing decline of large centres like Noviomagus must have affected local markets and trade. This can be seen in the rise in coinage in the 3rd century in east Sussex (Figure 8.2), where the economy was not tied to a large market centre (though nor was it tied anymore to the Wealden Ironworks (see Cleere 1974)), and in the decline of the 1st century villas. In the west of the region at this time, sites began to become more self-sufficient, and this could tie equally to the decline of the markets and to general social and political instability.

Agricultural evidence from this period shows that the cultivation of wheat was most prominent (Figures 4.32, 5.48), though barley was also found in relatively large numbers. In Yorkshire, only Winterton gave environmental evidence in this period, but the three most common species on site were wheat, barley and rye. Also, flax was found in Oxfordshire, and wild plants like Fat Hen were collected in Sussex. The

faunal remains from Yorkshire at this time show a decrease in the number of horses concurrent with a rise in the number of pigs (Figure 6.42). The rise in pigs in particular could imply a change in agricultural practices or eating habits, and this is also indicated with the rise in form types from the previous period (Compare Figures 8.3 and 8.4). In the 3rd century, mortaria become more common on a number of sites, as do the number of corn-dryers (Figure 8.5). Metalworking, however, decreases whilst textile making activities rise (Compare Figures 6.40 and 6.43). When taken together these factors suggest that there was likely a decline in larger-scale arable agriculture, and people may have been exploring other sources of income.

In Oxfordshire in the 3rd century, more corndryers are constructed (at Extramural Alchester (1 corndryer), Cotswold Community (2 corndryers), and Yarnton (3 corndryers), though the primary species of cultivated grain do not change, nor do the animal species to any great extent (Figures 4.32 and 4.33). A decline in textile working is also notable at some sites (Compare Figures 4.29 and 4.34), and this is interesting in respect to the above paragraph because whilst the aforementioned decline in agricultural activity in Yorkshire may have been taking place due to changes in the rural population in that area, a concurrent rise in farming in Oxfordshire may have been necessary to feed the rising populations in the ceramic production centres. Agricultural activity also seemed to rise in importance in Sussex at this time, suggested by both a growing number of corn-dryers (Figure 5.50) and also in items for agricultural use (Figure 5.51); though metalworking is also a prominent activity on the sites within this date bracket, and this activity could have been tied into the protection of the farmsteads during this period. Also, the increase in agricultural and industrial activity paints a picture of a region in which sites necessarily became more independent, whether because of Saxon raiding or the

decline of their large market centres (cf. Millett 1990: 223). As with the earlier evidence, in this period the agricultural remains can be used to bolster arguments about the rise of other types of activities, but do not stand alone as categorical proof of change.

Before the decline of the market centres in Sussex, the forts in Yorkshire, and the ceramic centres in Oxfordshire, the Roman road system would have linked sites, production centres, and markets. The proximity of the various sites to settlements and industrial centres is therefore of interest at this time. The settlement data can be seen in the figures (4.18, 5.31, 6.31 and 6.32), and there is strong evidence for local extra-domestic industries in the regions. Yorkshire, for example, had numerous potteries in the mid-3rd-to-4th centuries (Section 6.2.3), whilst the Wealden iron industry in Sussex (Section 5.1.1.) has been used to tie sites like Bodiam to the military. In Oxfordshire ceramic production is known to be a large and well-regulated industry, but in terms of the sites in this study it is their proximity to mineral extraction sites (Section 4.2.1) that may have served a role in linking them together.

8.1.1 Mechanisms of Change

Before moving on to the broadly dated sites, it is important to briefly consider the nature of wider change in this period. The issue of instability in the Roman Empire during 3rd century is a problem which has been disputed as an artefact of both Classical and modern writers (Millett 1981: 525-530), but the region-specific occurrences that are highlighted in this study do not stand in isolation, and are bolstered by other material studies. Arguments like those of Russell (2006: 81) for the political instability in Sussex during the 3rd century are hinted at in the ceramic record (Millett 1980, Green 1980), whilst the rise of the Oxfordshire potteries has been

discussed (Henig and Booth 2000: 45, 51, 66) as profoundly influencing the countryside, both in the region and farther afield (ibid: 45). In Yorkshire, the picture of 3rd century activity is not well-documented in Classical sources, however the conscription of local men into the military is possible (cf. Chadwick 2009: 54, Swan 2002: 67), and could easily have been one reason for the changes in on site activities in the area, just as they seem to be in the lower Rhine (van Driel-Murray 2008).

That being said, there is no way to conclusively tie processes in the archaeological record to events in the written sources. As was discussed in Sections 2.2-2.5, the utilisation of theoretical frameworks in the interpretation of material culture assists in the identification of wider trends in time and space. However, these 'trends' are just that - they cannot, and should not, be confused with facts validating historical events. In order to resolve the dichotomy between textual evidence and archaeological remains, then, attention should be paid first to the material record, and any links with historical sources considered another line of evidence, rather than confirmation of widespread trends. In the case of the above, the evidence from the broad studies provides an interesting link to theories based upon Classical evidence, but also fits with previous materially-based studies in the regions, which is why, for example, conscription of men into the army in Yorkshire is considered when a clear change that points to the loss of part of the population.

8.1.2 The Roman Period in Britain

As was mentioned in 4.5, 5.5 and 6.5, the sites without adequate phasing were grouped together in an attempt to understand the types of activities which were most prominent over the whole lives of the sites. Interestingly, each region had a different focus. Looking at the small finds in Sussex, personal appearance ranked the most

highly (among small finds categories) throughout the Roman period (Figure 5.52). This points not only to a preoccupation with external ways of appearing, but more importantly tells us about the relative access to these items, both in terms of procurement and also replacement (Cooper 2000: 77). In Oxfordshire, the high numbers of 'fasteners and fittings' (Figures 4.36 and 4.37) could indicate the importance of building and maintenance of existing buildings, also pointing to a focus on the home itself as a signifier of status (though the 3rd and 4th century building activities from the sites with adequate phasing likely skew the proportions somewhat). Earlier in the Roman period in Oxfordshire, the multi-purpose nature of the farmsteads points to social interaction and exchange as the most likely form of status display (Figure 4.29), but this changes over time. Later, it seems that the primary 'rules' had not essentially changed, but it was display (primarily of the farmstead and within the home) and not exchange that was valued as a social indicator of status (Figure 4.34).

In Yorkshire, the largest percentage of finds over time were linked to agriculturally related activity (Figures 6.44 and 6.45), though fasteners and fittings also rank highly and point to construction and maintenance as important activities as well. The possibility that the area around and including Yorkshire had seen population change in the form of conscription of able-bodied men into the Roman army could be hinted at by changes in activity and agricultural strategies over time (cf. van Driel Murray 2008: 88, Swan 2002: 67), and the evidence for a rise in pigs (Figure 6.46) and also malting in corn-dryers (see Van der Veen 1989: 303-306 and Figures 6.24 and 8.5) could stand as alternate revenue-generating activities that women, children and the elderly could perform.

In terms of the animals present during the wider lives of the sites, cattle and sheep are present on a similar proportion of sites (Figure 6.46) to horses, and this could tie into either the needs of the military or pre-existing traditions (the specially placed horse bit at Thurnscoe hinting at this (see Volume II, Appendix I, C #20 "Points of Note", Section 4.3.1, Section 7.2 and also Figure 6.36). Oxfordshire has proportionally more cattle and sheep, with slightly higher percentages (but much lower than of cattle and sheep) of horse remains than pigs (Figure 5.54). Interestingly Sussex also shows the same trend as Oxfordshire in terms of cattle and sheep, but evidence for pig remains (proportionally) is almost double to that of horse remains. It is likely that the market system already in place before the Roman period both provided an infrastructure for new trade and also widened the scope of what may have been seen as 'acceptable' trade goods.

The ceramic evidence from Sussex does not show much variability (by region) over the entire lives of the sites (Figure 5.57). Certainly it is generally believed that the west had more access to imports than the east, but this is not as marked in the ceramic assemblages in this study. This is clearly at odds with what is generally believed about west Sussex, and begs for new analysis of rural sites in the region, which up until now have been painting a picture likely skewed by more 'elite' farmsteads and villas.

It is worth mentioning at this point that though there is clearly great variation in both assemblage size and composition, the trends visible in the finds and ceramic assemblages are viable ones, both in terms of wider studies, and more importantly in the context of this methodology. However, as was mentioned above, the faunal and floral remains are generally weaker datasets, but ones that can both hint at wider patterns and add to future studies.

8.1.3 The end of the Roman-Period Sites (but not the end of the story)

Before discussing the decline and abandonment of the Roman-period sites in this study it is first important to acknowledge the fact that even if the sites were not re-occupied they did not disappear from the local landscapes they were a part of. They would still have been seen or navigated, and if they were sited close to natural resources their ditches, walls, and yards may have made them good places to keep animals or grow crops. Also, sites with possible ritual activity could still have had activity of a non-domestic character. This may have been true in the case of sites like Hawling Road (Volume II, Appendix I, C #2), where the ongoing visitation of the Iron Age burial may have continued leaving no archaeologically visible traces, and at Slonk Hill (Volume II, Appendix I, B #5) the Bronze Age burial mound (which was fenced off in the Roman period) would still have been a visible landmark even when the farmyard around it had fallen into disuse.

Having said that the end of the Roman period sites is not the end of the story, however, it is the final phase of their development which is considered in this thesis. In Figure 8.6 it is possible to see the range of abandonment dates for the sites in this study. The mid-to-late 2nd century resettlement pattern in Sussex is hinted at by the abandonment of sites there at that time, however the restructuring in Oxfordshire in the 2nd century is not visible because a number of those sites were re-occupied in the late 3rd century. Also apparent is the widespread abandonment of many sites in Yorkshire during the 4th century, and the overwhelming percentage of sites in Oxfordshire abandoned in the early 5th century. The latter pattern is one which has already been alluded to in regional studies (see Henig and Booth 2000: 112), but the former is less discussed in the literature, and is likely the product of a combination of

factors which also contribute or relate to the abandonment of military outposts and the change in activities on sites during the end of their Romano-British occupations.

On the micro-scale it is possible to see evidence of what is generally called 'squatter occupation' (Cleary 2000: 134), but which in many cases is just evidence of further occupation at a reduced scale. This is suggested by the continued use of features like the Romano-British "hut floor" at West Blatchington (see Figure 7.58 and interactive site map on the Appendix CD) and the 4th century corn dryer at Bishopstone (see Figure 7.17 and interactive site map on the Appendix CD), for the disposal of items. Evidence of actual occupation, however, comes from both Old Winteringham (see Figure 7.32 and interactive site map on the Appendix CD) and Shakenoak (see Figure 7.42 and interactive site map on the Appendix CD), where the remnants of the buildings themselves were used for domestic and small-scale industrial purposes.

Of course it is not possible to know whether the people inhabiting the sites in 100 A.D. were the same family or social group who inhabited it at the end of its Roman occupation or beyond. However, it has been demonstrated in the preceding chapters that the types of activities taking place on various rural sites can be compared with one another to look at aspects of group associations of possible local and regional significance. These variations in practice are meaningful and can give us an idea about the ways in which the occupants of rural sites thought about themselves and the communities of which they were a part. Below, the various social identities introduced in Section 3.2 are discussed in the context of those activities or practices, using the regional data discussed in the previous chapters.

8.2 Identities on Rural Farmsteads

Chapter 7 focused on the discussion of changing activities on the micro scale. So far in chapter 8 I have tried to reunite this with broader trends. In some cases it has been possible to speculate as to the reasoning or impetus behind changes visible in the archaeological record, and to postulate various 'decisions' a family unit or group may have come to in order for those changes to happen. The personal 'choice' of an individual is impossible to pinpoint in the archaeological record, but over time material changes can indicate group choices which would have affected all the individuals on the site. These choices in some cases led to material changes (as discussed in Sections 2.8, 3.1 and 3.5), which in themselves are not always significant, but when taken in the context of group identity construction and negotiation can inform us about the ways in which people wanted to be perceived. Below, the evidence for these kinds of group identities is discussed along the lines examined in Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

8.2.1 Status, Economic Position and Class

As was discussed in 3.2.2, status can be investigated in the archaeological record through a number of material remains. Most often artefacts are used in arguments for the expression of wealth, but this is not usually a precise indicator in Romano-British studies, as it is hardly ever possible to determine the range of items available at markets. Somewhat more telling, then, are choices made on the scale of the whole site, affecting groups instead of individuals. In Sections 4.3.1, 5.3.1, 6.3.1 and 8.1 the siting of various farmsteads near industries, roads or natural resources was discussed as a factor linking the occupants of the sites to groups in the wider local area. The importance of group approval of these actions, especially the natural resources, would

therefore be extremely important. Obviously sources of fresh water were vital for everyone, no matter their class or status, but proximity to those sources may have been a matter of contention. The sites at Stonygate, Winterton Villa, Wharram Grange, Wharram Le Street, Extramural Alchester, and Shakenoak were all sited near to springs, though Winterton was also not far from the Humber river. In terms of rivers, it is interesting to note that Oxfordshire and Yorkshire have similar numbers of sites (see 4.18, 5.31, 6.31 and 6.32) on or near rivers. Obviously, river-sitings could have been important for trade (cf. Henig and Booth 2000: 32, 46, 51), but they could also relate to previous patterns of settlement (cf. Taylor 2007: 60). Sussex, on the other hand, has 4 sites near rivers and 5 near the English Channel; the other sites being mostly in elevated positions, or near to trackways or roads.

The proximity to Roman roads was clearly a factor in the lives of the farmsteads. Yorkshire boasts a similar percentage to Sussex of sites along or near Roman roads. In Oxfordshire, on the other hand, there were only three sites in close proximity to major routes; though some (like Barton Court and Extramural Alchester) were near to markets or towns, and others (like Cotswold Community and Appleford) were close to natural resources used in industrial activities. Interestingly, the sites along roads in west Sussex were slightly more rural and domestic in nature (i.e. with fewer household industries presiding over time) to those in east Sussex, Oxfordshire or Yorkshire (Figure 5.56).

Of course, admitting that the investigation of status, class or wealth through artefacts is difficult does not make it any less important, and certainly there were vast differences between the ways in which individuals at sites like Old Winteringham and those like Thurnscoe exhibited aspects of their identities. In the case of sites like Old Winteringham (Figures 7.21 – 7.38), the relatively high number of 'accidental losses'

(seen most clearly on the colour-coded site map ('Winterton.ai') on the Appendix CD) likely indicates a relative value placed on objects in almost direct opposition to the evidence from Thurnscoe, where a Flavian brooch was found in a late 3rd or early 4th century context (Figure 7.49). Therefore, relative wealth or status can be seen not only by the items which are found on sites but by the care with which they are treated, in the context of carelessness or curation. Also, it has to be kept in mind that different people likely had different access to goods, and also that the archaeological record is primarily made up of losses and 'rubbish' (cf. Cooper 2000; 71).

Ritual deposition can also be relevant to social position (cf. Chadwick 1997, 2001). A number of the sites in this study had evidence for possible 'ritual' or placed deposits (Figures 5.39, 6.36, 8.7), and these in the greater part seemed connected to boundaries (in the case of human or animal burials) and liminality (more connected with single-find deposits). However, there are also deposits with multiple items, sometimes all of the same material, like the one at Barton Court which was filled solely with bronze artefacts (mostly bangles – for better resolution see 'Barton Court.ai' on the Appendix CD; the deposit is between the two structures and all the artefacts are coloured orange (275-350 A.D.)).

Whilst items which were buried completely may not have been visible to outsiders, ditch-terminal deposits could have been a communicator of status either generally to visitors or more specifically to individuals who would not enter the house. Buried items may also not have been placed there for any 'human' reason at all (Black 2008: 3). Similarly, items visible outside the home could have communicated different aspects of status from those inside. Of course, buried or covered items may also have been 'known' to people within and without the household, either communicated verbally or visibly by markers above the ground. This could have been

the case at Thurnscoe, where the digging of 'graves' surrounding the D-shaped enclosure are concurrent with the construction of a 'gate' at the entranceway (see 'Thurnscoe.ai' on the Appendix CD), and would together have been a way of communicating the power or status of the inhabitants to outsiders (or gods), perhaps by seeing to protect the inhabitants of the farmstead (Black 2008: 3-4).

Status and wealth are categories of identification which relate directly to power in society (see Section 3.2.1). Power, being a conceptual and not material construct, must be exhibited for us to see it in the archaeological record, and therefore it is in the most visible of places, features or objects where we must look for status and wealth. In terms of the sites in this study, in considering interaction at the regional level (as was discussed above and in 7.3), the siting of the farmsteads would likely have been involved in exchanges or displays of power. The next level of resolution involves the site itself, and the way it must have been perceived by outsiders. Features like walls, fences, earthworks and ditches would have been visible to passers-by or visitors. In terms of ditches, which were present on many of the sites in this study, in some cases it may not have been the enclosures themselves which signalled aspects of identity, but what was in them – the tradition of ditch-end deposition could have functioned as a communicator of status (refer back to 3.1.5, also Chadwick 2012) . Also, the removal of ditches or enclosure walls (see Bishopstone in the last chapter) could be seen as evidence of a growing farmstead. Only visible when close to the farmstead, locks and keys served not only to protect items, but to indicate the existence of items of value. The facades of the houses and outbuildings would also have been important considerations in the expression of social position or wealth, though these cannot be known in most cases. Also (in most cases) unknowable due to

the nature of modern excavations is the extent of the land owned or controlled by the inhabitants of the farmsteads.

It is often argued that construction changes during the lives of sites can be related directly to changes in the way groups of people wished to be seen (see *Appearing*, above). Whilst this is certainly true, it is most usually argued in the case of sites at which roundhouses are replaced by rectangular ones (e.g. De la Bédoyére 2002: 11), though this is an argument seemingly concerned more with 'Romanising influences' than with actual evidence for the adoption of cultural traits into an existing social system (ibid: 8-10). More useful then is the inference that the growth of a farmstead suggests a measure of success, and that many of the changes seen on the microscale sites were more likely the product of cultural change over the course of generations than the influence of a homogenous or monolithic entity. However, this is not to say that the reproduction of social norms was not significantly affected by the Roman occupation. This was not only because of the influx of people but also because of the things and ideas they brought with them. As has been discussed in 8.1 and will be discussed below in 8.2.4, societal cohesion and local ways of doing things were affected in all the areas, and it is their region-specific actions and reactions which can hint at the changing ways in which social position was negotiated.

8.2.2 Gender and Age

If identities are socially-ratified types of self-identification, then gender and age only really become 'identities' when evaluated by an individual in the context of others. However, the identity of single individuals is not visible in the archaeological record, and therefore a single item pointing to a certain gender or age cannot be used to underpin site-specific or region-specific theories about age and gender (see Baxter

2005 for age, Allason-Jones 2000, 2005 for gender). Also, burial evidence (which can be seen in Figure 8.8 and queried in the Regional Database) can only tell us about the biological age or sex of individuals (and in many cases how their societies categorised them), but we cannot know how they categorised themselves. However, it can be possible to inspect the material record over time to view the material expression of gender and age in the context of changing socio-cultural norms.

Whilst this study was not focused on searching for specific expressions of gender or age, gender-specific and age-related items were found. However, few areas indicating gender-specific or age-specific activities could be found on the sites themselves, and this perhaps points to gender and age roles being more fluid on agricultural or rural sites because of the varied nature of the work taking place there. However some studies like van Driel-Murray's (2008: see Section 1.5) have made arguments about the position of women in Roman-period rural societies, and my investigation of Yorkshire has uncovered some similarities to her analysis of the lower Rhine.

Just as problematic as the assumption of female-specific activities is the assumption of male-specific ones. Weaponry in particular may have been used by both sexes, or not used at all but displayed, or received as gifts. Also, whilst the military fittings found at Barton Court and Shakenoak could have indicated the presence of retired soldiers, there is no way to know if the soldier was an occupant of the farm. Also, even if a former soldier was living in the farmhouse, it is not possible to say that they were 'of retirement age'. Military items in a farmhouse could easily represent early retirement, a memento left behind from a period of leave, an heirloom or an item procured for any number of reasons by individuals not related to the military at all.

Obviously, superimposing a 20th century view of gender or age-specific roles onto a multi-faceted society in the past (especially in a rural setting) will result in insufficient conclusions about household activities (cf. Gifford-Gonzales 2008; 19). Gender and age, being the most invisible and in some ways intangible of the identities we choose to explore in the archaeological record, cannot generally be sought through broader investigations. Instead, the micro-scale sites and their accompanying maps must be this thesis' source of gender or age-related evidence. However, though one would wish to 'discuss gender' (Nelson 1998: 287), in the case of Roman Britain the search for gendered activities/items is sometimes focused upon 'finding women' (ibid., cf. Gifford-Gonzalez 2008: 19). This, in the case of my sites, primarily involves looking for items which were likely female-specific, like hairpins and bracelets. The most interesting deposition of female items was at Winterton villa, where 5 hairpins were found in and around a large domestic deposit *underneath* a late 2nd century roundhouse. This is the area mentioned in 7.3 that I believe may have been the site of a previous timber structure, as much domestic activity was taking place there. Also interesting is the larger number of bracelets and pins found in Oxfordshire as opposed to Yorkshire and Sussex, which presumably represented a different tradition or way of appearing feminine. This pattern is surprising when comparing it to Sussex, where the importation of Continental items before the invasion was not unusual, and the publication of such finds would not be neglected in site reports. Therefore, this patterning seems significant, and warrants further inspection.

Though it is unwise to unquestioningly assume that textile manufacture and cooking are female-specific activities, when considering the running of a farmstead in the context of life courses (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 1-6), it seems probable that

women could have been the primary performers of these tasks (certainly spinning and weaving is associated with women in Roman conventions (Liv. 1: 57-60), though this may not have been true in Britain). For example, a day based around the caring for a breastfeeding child would be structured by their schedule, leaving gaps for other activities at certain points (though this relates primarily to a single nuclear family – larger groups may have had a designated child minder or wet nurse). Of course a child too young to work but eating solid food could have been looked after by older members of the household who may not have been able to perform more labour-intensive tasks, though this is a problem because in this case both the child and the elderly are largely invisible in life; though child burials like the ones at Barton Court (in which three children were buried with animals) and Hawling Road (in which the child burial seemed to have been visited over a long period of time) serve as prime examples of the old axiom, 'Absence of Evidence is not Evidence of Absence'. The importance of the kinds of activities that kept the farmstead running and the people clothed and fed may not have involved children and the elderly in a lasting material sense, but that did not mean that they were not valued as members of the family or wider group.

As was mentioned above, a single item cannot tell us about the expression of age-related social identity, and the very young and elderly cannot be seen as clearly on farmsteads for many reasons, the most important being that their roles within the household were likely not as strongly expressed through material remains. Therefore, a study like Baxter's (2005) on toys, whilst useful in the context of high-class urban houses where 'manufactured' items may have been present, cannot be utilised on rural farmsteads where many items were homemade (from perishable materials or from

broken items already present), as many other artefacts on the sites were, or where children had daily occupations within the household or on the farmstead.

The age-related evidence we see most clearly on farmsteads describe groups of 'adult' individuals working and living in a rural setting which was likely centred on routines affected by the time of day and the seasons. The fixed nature of these particular cycles would have structured daily interaction and routine in the countryside in ways that could not have been much changed by the Roman invasion (this is of course not true of places and times when men were conscripted into the army). Therefore, the fact that little evidence for gender or age-specific items exists is not surprising, and though gender expression becomes more visible in the archaeological record of later periods through the adoption of certain aspects of personal adornment, it is difficult to say whether gender differentiation became more important due to changing societal norms or whether the expression of gender had had other material (or non-material) correlates in the pre-invasion societies.

8.2.3 'Roman' Identity and 'Military' Identity

The material signs of a Roman or Roman military presence do not necessarily equate to evidence of 'Roman' or 'Military' identities in practice. To find evidence of the expression of what would (in the L.P.R.I.A. and early Roman-period) be seen as foreign material culture then, attention was paid to unusual ceramic imports and items ('unusual' in this case meaning items which would have seemed 'unusual' to individuals living in Britain). The clearest example of this is at Old Winteringham, which in its early phase had both large numbers of imported ceramics (Figure 7.25) and also relatively high numbers of toilet items like nail cleaners and spatulae (Figure 7.27). Personal grooming items (as with the widespread building of bathhouses)

seemed to have taken longer to become enmeshed in the routines of rural areas (for many sites this seems to have been a 3rd or 4th century phenomenon). Consequently, their early occurrence at Old Winteringham (along with the Roman road and imports of earlier manufacture) signals the presence of individuals likely of non-British origin whose daily routines and expressions of identity involved different material culture correlates. Of course, it was probably the case that the expression of identity through material objects was secondary to other more obvious aspects like language, but these are mostly invisible in the archaeological record. In any case, it was probably unlikely that individuals considered the expression of their identities on a daily basis, when they were already entrenched in larger social groups like 'the family' and/or overarching institutions like 'the military'.

Whilst in the post-conquest period foreign material culture can indicate the likely presence of the Roman military or associated immigrants, it can also inform us about the perceptions of local individuals, through looking at their material choices. However, arguments linking the 'adoption of Roman ways' with the 'success' of Britain as a Roman province (see Russell 2006) cannot be used in contexts like that of rural Sussex, where pre-existing cultural contact and the early saturation of markets (in the west of the region) may have made it difficult *not* to acquire imported material in some proportion.

The flexibility of social identities means that their expression changes depending on the context, and this has implications for the understanding of 'Roman' identity in different settings because the widespread introduction of towns into the landscape must have come along with ideas of 'urbanism' as an ideology about how to live (see Revell 2009, who looks at identity in cities in part through the negotiation of Imperial symbolism). Context-specific social identities in rural settings then could

have been negotiated under local rules specific to rural life, creating over time a 'rural' ideology or way to live (this necessarily coming into existence in tandem with the urban ideal) (cf. Mattingly 2004: 427). However before this happened, individuals living on rural sites would have come across differing degrees of contact with Roman material culture, and its adoption must have been negotiated in the context of pre-existing local traditions until the local and the foreign became one and the same. No overarching framework of 'Romanisation' is needed to understand social change if it is viewed in the context of local rules (cf. *ibid*). In fact, using "Romanisation" as an explanation of cultural change fails to engage with and generally overlooks regional or local agency (cf. Creighton 2006: 69).

As an example, models of "Romanisation" often use the uptake of imported ceramics like Samian in certain areas as evidence of a desire by the local community to appear more 'Roman'. However, market saturation and novelty (rather than any desire to 'appear Roman') could easily have been influences, especially in areas where most ceramics were homemade. Whilst it has been said that the degree to which societies were affected by Roman culture informs us about social structure (Mouritsen 1998: 82-4), that is not generally the case in Roman Britain. If we use the inhabitants of Sussex as an example (refer back to 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), it is clear that the ways in which social identities were negotiated through foreign goods and symbols had already been defined within the existing cultural system.

It is important to state at this point that whilst initial cultural contact may have involved the introduction of new 'symbols' to some regions of Britain, the ones most likely to be adopted by people in the countryside were those which fit into already existing practices. Stein (2002: 907-908) discusses the 'borrowing' of symbols, goods or knowledge from foreigners. However very little 'borrowing' can be seen in this

study; foreign items were procured and used, and those which did not fit into existing practices (like drinking or feasting (Pitts 2008)) only rarely became widespread imports. Of course, cultural practices changed gradually over time, and this was likely a product of many factors: the growth of towns, the spread and mobilisation of industries, the influence of the military (both in an official capacity and by the nature of their being made up of tribesmen as well as foreigners) and the road networks. Later in the Roman period when foreign items had been incorporated into the material repertoire of most areas coinage use was widespread and "Roman" architecture and decoration, "Roman" technologies (like the rotary quernstone) and "Roman" ceramic styles (like the mortarium) were a part of daily life (and this now 'traditional' material culture is then affected by different influences like Christianity (cf. Henig 2008: 191-192)). However, whilst material changes are evident throughout the Roman period, the primary social identity for most people in rural farmsteads was still a local one, and generations of Roman presence meant that what we now think of as being "Roman" material culture was just material culture.

8.2.4 Ethnic or 'British' Identity

In the past it was assumed that ethnically-specific cultural traits could be simply mapped to characterise or identify ethnic groups (cf. Diaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005: 98). However, whilst we have moved to a more practice-based approach, and the linking of material culture and activities is the ultimate goal for anyone wishing to identify and understand regional or ethnic identities, no simple one-to-one correlation can be made between an object or activity and a 'cultural trait'.

Ethnic affiliation relating to larger regional groups is a particularly troublesome identity category to pinpoint in Roman-period Britain, not least because

our modern perceptions of the British 'tribes' both stem from and are coloured by Classical texts (e.g. Tacitus' *Annals*, cf. 3.3.1) written from an outside viewpoint. One place to look for evidence of identity negotiation is in the early post-conquest period, when social structures are likely to have interacted with military institutions. Of course, much evidence exists for pre-Roman cultural contact, particularly in Sussex. There, as has been discussed previously (Section 5.2.1), an east-west divide existed (perhaps stemming from the lack of a large market centre in the east), though in the case of this study, the early Roman period sites in both the east and west experienced similar amounts of activity. Interestingly, however, specific evidence of socially-motivated cultural continuity or tradition-keeping is less apparent in the post-conquest period in Sussex than one would have thought. This is not surprising considering the fact that the lengthy period of pre-Roman cultural contact may have significantly altered ideas about the value of 'society' or 'belonging'. Sussex changes in the 2nd century however, when a steep rise in the number of new villas indicates that individuals living in the region had now fully incorporated aspects of Roman-style material culture into the markers of their own status and cultural or ethnic identity. As has been discussed by Pitts (2008: 500-03), ceramic evidence (in the late 1st-to-mid-2nd century) points to the acquisition of imports which fit into already existing social structures (Figures 5.43 and 5.44). In the case of Sussex (an area which had been incorporating Continental wares into its ceramic repertoire for generations), the presence of beakers in the top 3 form types of the pre-to-post-conquest period indicates that this incorporation happened earlier; the 2nd century landscape change then being representative of groups which were already comfortable negotiating their group identities in the context of outside material culture (see 8.1 above). In fact, by

the mid-to-late 2nd century, it is probably true that (at least in Sussex), Roman material culture was not thought of as outside material culture at all.

In Oxfordshire, imported material culture is no less evident on many sites, but a shift towards the collective negotiation of elite identities happens more than 100 years later than in Sussex. Evidence of ethnic or wider regional identity and large-scale group choice can be seen in the widespread abandonment of sites in the 2nd century and their eventual re-occupation in the late 3rd century (Figure 4.27), likely coinciding with both a change in political power and also the rise of the Oxfordshire pottery industries (see 4.2.3). However, the pre-existing agricultural network (Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) would have linked poorer settlements together in terms of trade and industry. This cohesion is visible in the communal spaces at sites like Appleford, Yarnton, Cotswold Community, and Old Shifford, but later more 'material' homogeneity appears later in the 3rd century, with more sites focusing on agricultural activity (Figure 4.33), and (as with Sussex) an adoption of Roman-style building practices (Figure 4.33 indicates a rise in the preoccupation with the decoration of the inside of the home) and ceramic forms (Figure 4.34). This likely represents a new interpretation of status display in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley.

In the L.P.R.I.A. in this region, rural settlements were linked by trackways (as with Yorkshire) and communal spaces (see section 4.2.3 and Figure 4.18), which would probably have been used by groups or individuals on a daily basis and have required both cooperation and consistent negotiation. The kinds of activities taking place on the sites were varied and it seems probable that groups exchanged their surplus (whether wool, grain or ceramics) which reinforced social cohesion, instead of (or alongside) other social activities like feasting. However, if in the 2nd century there

was a widespread movement into larger towns like Oxford and Alchester (Section 4.2.3), the previously existing exchange networks may have become unsustainable. The same result may have come from a widespread demand for items like grain or wool, which (for the farmsteads which carried on to the 3rd century, Figures 4.27 and 4.28) would have forced individual farmsteads to neglect their previous social contracts and/or use the income from their farming to procure items from local markets. Unlike Sussex, however, the widespread re-occupation or building which happens in the late 3rd century (Figure 4.30) along with the focus on agriculture (discussed in 4.5) could be indicative of an attempt to re-define cultural boundaries outside of the previous norm. If the reinforcement of communal identities had previously been performed through trade and exchange (likely making someone's affiliations visible to anyone who came into their home or complex), the evidence (Figure 4.33) of high numbers of 'fasteners and fittings' (many of which were decorative elements for architecture or furniture) in the 3rd and 4th centuries could have provided a similar function in high-status households --- linking the occupants both to traditional modes of display whilst also using different material identity markers. The later re-occupation of the farmsteads also suggests a reinvigoration of agricultural practices, which could have provided grain for other areas, like Yorkshire, that was itself changing at that time.

The post-conquest period in Yorkshire is thought to have been marked by ethnic and political tensions (see 6.2.2, also Maxwell 2004: 75-76 and Dent 1983: 38), which could have affected opinions about the Roman establishment and likely also the adoption of new items or practices (whether through conscious rejection, unavailability or a refusal to trade). The fact that most of the sites in Yorkshire show a limited range of material until later in the Roman period is a testament to this (see

figures 6.36-6.43). Also, the assemblages at Old Winteringham and Winterton Villa prove that 'Roman' items were indeed known to the inhabitants of Yorkshire, if not necessarily readily available to all of them. Later, the assemblage at Hawling Road provides a good example of a site making specific choices regarding pottery supply, as it was nearer to the market at York, but procured its ceramics from the Holme-on-Spalding-Moor production centre.

Whereas dislocation was seen in Oxfordshire in the many sites which lay unused during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, in Yorkshire concurrent change may have begun to be expressed through the uptake of particular small-scale industries like metalworking, beer making (malting), animal husbandry and spinning and weaving. It is this diversification of activities that points to revenue generation outside the scope of agriculture; relevant of course to the survival of farmsteads whose male members could have been conscripted into the army, or left to work in the rising regional ceramic production centres.

It does seem that in terms of regionally specific examples, the clearest evidence of long-standing tradition in social practice comes from Yorkshire. There, pre-invasion tensions between local groups (Maxwell 2004: 75-76, Dent 1983: 38, Tacitus *Annals* XII: 36) and limited but not insignificant coastal trade would certainly have affected social cohesion; and as the Roman occupation continued, local people may have sacrificed a certain amount of self-sufficiency in order to band together as a single entity. Of course it is probable that the sheer size of the territories in question meant that local identities were stronger than any wider group identity could be. The slow and eventually limited uptake of Roman-style goods in the Yorkshire region has generally (and even fairly recently, e.g. McCarthy 2005: 62, 64) been linked to 'tribal' resistance (refer back to 3.1.1 for a discussion of 'tribes'). However, if the link

between the mid-2nd century power shift and the uptake of Roman-style ceramics can be believed, it points to a puzzling conclusion: that those in control of the administration of Yorkshire and the area around the Humber may have themselves been limiting the importation of Roman goods. This is suggested later (around 270) by changes in the provisioning for the army (Bidwell 1991: 12-14), but can be seen at this time in the pottery supply (Swan 2002: 70-71). Later, when the local industries had taken elements of imported goods into their repertoire (and also when imports were more readily available), families (whose adult male members could have been serving in the army) may not have been able or willing to procure higher status items to assert their social standing. Certainly, there is evidence in this study for a diversification in practical on-site activities that seems at odds with the concurrent decline in pottery forms (see Section 6.4).

In the pre-Roman period Oxfordshire showed strong social cohesion in the form of a network of largely self-sufficient farmsteads. These farmsteads perhaps coalesced after the instability and political reorganisation of the mid-to-later Iron Age (see Booth and Henig 2000: 9-33). However, the patterning visible in this study may be skewed as a result of Oxfordshire's modern county border, which straddles three 'tribal' areas (see 4.1). Interestingly, the general homogeneity of sites within the modern county could indicate (at least in the case of Oxfordshire and the surrounding area) that sites along the borders of proposed 'tribal' boundaries may have had more in common with one another than with neighbouring areas. Also, the insular nature of the region itself could be a factor, with only riverine and land-based trade isolating people to some degree. Nevertheless, during the 2nd century social cohesion in Oxfordshire unravelled and the inhabitants of Oxfordshire and the Thames valley were forced to re-fashion their local identities by other means. The significant shift in

settlement, which is discussed by Henig and Booth (2000: 13) and Booth (2009: 5), can be seen at a proportion of the farmsteads in this study (Figure 4.26), and could link directly to the rise of industries like the Oxfordshire potteries (Henig and Booth 2000: 45).

Sussex, being the region with the most evidence for pre-Roman cultural contact did seem to have more easily incorporated foreign elements into its material makeup, and most of the sites in this study lying to the east of the region (which has been described as being ceramically backwards and set in contrast to the west (Lyne 2003: 141)) both had much evidence for the adoption of imported objects (Figures and building practices and also (in some ways more importantly) for a respect for pre-existing traditions. There, pre-Roman period interactions certainly would have seen the inhabitants of Sussex continuing with their everyday tasks whilst using foreign material culture. The report data from Sussex, however, was in some ways the weakest dataset of the three regions (see Section 5.2.9 for a discussion of biases), and would benefit in future from the addition of more modern, developer-funded data. However, the multi-scalar methodology used in this study (especially for sites like West Blatchington, which have much to offer despite their weaknesses) succeeded in making the most of these often-neglected site reports.

As has been discussed in previous chapters (see Section 3.2.3 in particular), there was likely no such thing as an all-encompassing 'British' identity, but continuity in some traditions and the respect given to some features or spaces does show a certain level of regard for the past. The fence erected around the Bronze Age mound at Slonk Hill (Volume II, Appendix I, C #5) is a particularly good example, as is the ongoing 'visitation' of the Iron Age child burial at Hawling Road (Volume II, Appendix I, #2). Not only that, but the combination of rectilinear and round houses on

the same site (like those at Winterton, West Blatchington and Extramural Alchester) indicate that a different way of using space was desired, regardless of the other options or material culture used.

Many of the sites in this study, regardless of region, had links with Iron Age settlements and respected or used earlier features or landscapes (4.18, 5.31, 6.31, 6.32); though this may have been a matter of practicality rather than a conscious desire to 'link' with the past. In fact, though individuals may have felt strong ties to their local or wider regional group, in their present day it was probably their local or familial identities which most affected larger-scale changes on their sites (Section 7.3.3). This can be illustrated by the previously mentioned construction changes on the micro-scale sites, which happened 50 – 100 years after the founding and involved people 3 or 4 generations removed from the founders. The large-scale construction happened at different times for each of the sites and therefore was likely to have been related less to unfolding socio-political events, and more a product of a new generation taking control of the farmstead and effecting change both to the site itself and also to the activities taking place there (see Sections 7.3 and 8.1).

8.2.5 Summary

In Chapter 1 I outlined my research aims. First and foremost, I wished to investigate the changing activities, uses of space (where possible) and negotiation of identities on rural farmsteads during the Roman period in Britain. I also wanted to further add to the ongoing critique of Romanisation by illustrating that the cultural change evident in rural areas throughout the Roman period in Britain can be viewed in terms of an ongoing interplay of local, regional and provincial interests, with local pressures at the forefront of identity construction and maintenance. Chapter 2 involved introducing

the theoretical constructs which serve to underpin the material patterning indicative of changing activities and social identities. In Chapter 3, as well as outlining my methodology, I posed specific questions regarding the visibility of regional change, the effect of the Roman invasion and occupation upon rural life, and the feasibility of investigating local dynamics through the archaeological record. These aims and questions have been addressed throughout the thesis, but some key points will be highlighted below.

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, I began the data-based regional case studies, but also compared and contrasted activities and architectural or spatial changes on the sites through time, to look for regional patterning and local trends. Chapter 7 was devoted to the micro-scale sites, discussing smaller-scale change in occupational tasks, social interactions (both evidenced by small finds and pottery) and spatial change (by looking at the micro-scale site maps I created) through time at each of the farmsteads. In the last section of Chapter 7 a more holistic approach was attempted – inspecting the 'lives' of the sites themselves in an attempt to see changes in development without the interpretive framework of recorded socio-political factors; in essence looking at those events which would have involved choices made by individuals or groups on sites.

Section 8.1 returned to a temporal comparison, using both the regional and the microscale data together to get a better-rounded picture of local and regional scales of interaction and social change by highlighting local similarity and difference in activities like farming, building and dining. 8.1 also presented some smaller-scale evidence for the larger scale socio-political events recorded in the regions during the Roman period. Section 8.2 addressed my aim of identifying social identities in the

archaeological record using the micro- and macro-scale activity data to pinpoint evidence of status, age, gender, "Roman", military, ethnic or "British" identities.

Whilst some social identities like status seem to have been important in the negotiation of rural space and daily routine, others like gender and age seem not to have been as visible on or as vital to the running of a farmstead, and this is likely because many activities could have been performed by people of various genders and ages. On a more institutional note, whilst the Roman military certainly affected many rural sites indirectly, military identities (of serving men) are less likely to have been negotiated on farmsteads in any way that could be seen in the archaeological record, because they would not have been living there whilst they served. "Roman" identities on rural sites, however, may have been expressed through a number of material correlates in a manner specific to a 'rural way of living', which was in general constituted more in social interaction then conspicuous material markers. However, in the L.P.R.I.A. and into the post-conquest period in Sussex, widespread trade with the Continent had already changed the material expressions of 'rural life' (and the ways in which that life was negotiated materially). For the other regions, though, new ways of expressing their identities developed through time - in the years following the invasion there were likely to have been easily visible differences between 'locals' and 'foreigners', but as time went on those lines were blurred.

Though it is true that networks of farms existed before the Roman invasion and trade was widespread and fairly successful, social cohesion was not particularly visible in the archaeological record except in Oxfordshire, where the combination of a linked landscape and the probable existence of agricultural networks (introduced in 3.3.1 and discussed in relation to Oxfordshire in 4.2.1) reinforced cultural norms. A form of social cohesion is also thought to exist in Yorkshire due to past assertions of

limited imports or aceramic culture, though this is a perspective which is changing, especially in north Yorkshire (cf. Abramson 1995; Fitts *et al.* 1999; Willis 1999:101; Hingley 2004: 334). However in the case of the sites in this study, large quantities of imported material at some sites points to the idea that access to imports may have been limited to certain individuals and also the military (this changes in the 2nd century when it is thought that regional administration was purportedly handed over to 'tribal' authorities).

Ethnic or "British" identity in the different regions then, seemed in general to be not as visible or expressed as local or family identity, and even though the road network made widespread trade (and more varied interaction) easier, day-to-day practices were still most affected by the local influences of market availability, social acceptance, and necessity.

Chapter 9: General Conclusions

9.1 Local landscapes, local identities

At the end of Chapter 1 I stated the aims of the thesis. Below I will discuss the ways in which this study has addressed those aims.

1. To investigate the shift in uses of space in and around rural farmsteads/settlements before and during the Roman period, and to compare changing activities in different regions as a way of identifying cultural change, by working forward from the premise that locales of cultural consumption (discussed in Section 3.1.1) illuminate regional characteristics.

Throughout this thesis I have stressed the importance of local rules and locales of cultural consumption in both the construction and maintenance of identities, and sought their identification in the archaeological record. I have utilised a multi-scalar and multi-focal method in order to create a more holistic 'rural' approach to studying identities in the past. Practically, this approach works to strengthen the weakest datasets (where in some cases presence/absence is the only form of analysis) along with those from sites investigated many years ago (or from developer-funded sites with limited resources) by widening the contextualisation and using the stronger data to bolster these. Also the combination of synthetic material, regional reports and micro-scale data provides resolution at all levels of detail, which facilitates both understanding and comparison.

In trying to look for evidence of past activities I spent much time considering the various interactions possibly occurring in the Roman period in rural Britain. Of

course interaction is not only constituted in people or groups, but also is visible in material culture and spaces. The spaces and buildings investigated in this thesis represent specific contexts in which material culture served to reinforce social norms. Therefore the alteration of spaces and buildings would not only have been meaningful and communicative to the people who lived or worked in (and around) them, but also to the people who saw them, whether those people were part of the local community or not. Their alteration would also sometimes necessitate or facilitate changes in the sorts of activities practiced on the sites, and therefore the objects needed or desired by the individuals living there. These changes in objects and activities would have gone hand-in-hand with changes in the way individuals or groups negotiated their local identities, and consequently affected how they were perceived. This leads on to the second aim of this thesis:

2) To gain a fuller understanding of the social identities being negotiated on rural sites.

In this thesis interactions of various types were explored, and it is through those interactions that identities are formed and negotiated. The kinds of activities we can see (and consequently those identities present) in the archaeological record are of course limited by factors affecting the preservation of materials, however as was elucidated in Chapter 7, the methodology utilised in this study (linking materials to activities, activities to practices or ways of doing things, and practices or ways of doing things to the maintenance or change in social identities) used the various scales of resolution to illuminate these in the Romano-British period. It was also through this methodology that regional traditions and local ethnicities were shown to both mediate

the adoption of and affect the differential use of material culture – necessitating a movement away from the typical 'Romanisation' argument.

3) To contribute to the ongoing critique of 'Romanisation' in an attempt to encourage a new, more comprehensive approach to studying Roman rural households (and hopefully households in other cultures as well). Can the considered and systematic use of cultural, spatial and architectural data (combined with theoretical approaches) be employed to inform the current dialogue on the study of Roman period dwellings as well as in assisting wider archaeologies, to illuminate past practice?

I believe this thesis has demonstrated two key points: firstly, that local societies are governed by local rules (cf. Gardin 1989: 11), which operate independently of (but not necessarily in ignorance of) larger socio-cultural or socio-political events or trends. The Romano-British countryside was of course affected by wider socio-political changes, however more indirectly and diffusedly than larger settlements and towns. This was demonstrated by the regionally-variable uptake of imports in the early Romano-British period, and the later changes (stemming from regional pressures) evident in the regions in and around Yorkshire, Oxfordshire and Sussex. The second point is that rural contexts require a different approach from urban ones, and that this approach needs to be tailored to the identification of local pressures and needs. These two points are obviously closely linked, as the first is not possible without the second. In the case of this thesis, I have used a relatively manageable sample to look at various types of interactions, practices and identities, however a larger sample could be used to look at specific cultural traits or changes.

The routine dimensions of everyday life are a challenge to pinpoint in the archaeological record, but one which can reward the investigator with a view into the core of past communities. The social identities expressed in these communities, being fixed in some respects and flexible in others, are constantly negotiated through interaction, which means that they serve as both meanings and meaning-makers. Social interactions in the past (as in the present day) involved both material and conceptual elements - and though it is the material culture which we study, we can use theories to assess more intangible and non-material elements of interactions, such as notions of identification and group affiliation. In order to do this for Roman-period Britain, however, it must first be acknowledged that different groups were affected in different ways and on different scales, and it is the critical analysis of these interacting scales which can identify local pressures as primary factors influencing social change.

9.2 Limitations of the Research

When I began this research, my intentions were to create linked databases of finds, materials, features and plant and animal remains that would be of use to other archaeologists as well as in this thesis. However, the original *Pilot, Faunal Remains and Building Remains* databases I utilised for the examination of Shakenoak Villa and Barton Court Farm in Oxfordshire proved far too cumbersome, and I was forced to invent a less expansive and more "tailor-made" approach to the materials. This has necessarily meant that less well-represented items, features, or species cannot be compared across sites, but I firmly believe that this thesis is a successful illustration of the usefulness of the multi-scalar methodology I have proposed. In future, however, I believe it would be of more use to create a 'Top 10' analysis for faunal and floral

remains, as this would pick up meaningful presence/absence data for more unusual species.

In recording all of the broad information about sites into the Regional database I have collected much information (such as coins or burial information) that was not as fully utilised as it could have been. This was due in part to my own particular interests, but I was also limited by the scope of my research and the necessary time limits of completing a doctoral research project. However, all of this data exists on the Appendix CD (in the Excel documents and also in the Regional Database, as well as in the Pilot Database for Barton Court and Shakenoak).

Chapter 3 mentioned some of the limitations of using grey literature and published sites, but at this point I feel it is necessary to stress again the importance of trying to get the most out of this frequently under-used data. Sites which were published many years ago were excavated to different standards and with different aims. This fact limits the way in which they can be utilised in modern studies, but it most certainly does not preclude their use. In many cases by 'reading between the lines' one can gather useful information that, whilst not data-based, can help in the interpretation of the sites themselves. In terms of the grey literature, whilst I was extremely impressed by the high quality of much of the analysis and reporting, none of grey literature I obtained was complete, and therefore none of it could be used at the micro-scale level. However the use of grey-literature is becoming a much more accepted and encouraged practice, and I am excited for the prospects of research when projects like Holbrook and Fulford's Roman Grey Literature Project (see Fulford 2011) have been fully realised. Not only that, but firm illustration of the importance of grey literature and properly excavated data is more important now then ever, as the

current political climate in Britain threatens to endanger the role of archaeology in development again.

Working with the wide date-range utilised in this study has been both a rewarding experience and a challenge (not least because of the different chronologies given to each site by the excavators). By discussing change both in a chronological (Chapters 4.4, 5.4, 6.4, 7.2 and 8.1) and also a more fluid manner (7.3), the interplay between local and regional pressures during the Roman period can be interpreted in the context of group choice and/or social cohesion. Group choices affected day-to-day life on the farmsteads themselves, and social pressures can be seen through changing activities, especially those which likely would have provided income for the group. The identification of routine practices and changing activities on rural sites is key to building a picture of social interaction in the past, and through that, the construction of the kinds of identities discussed in 8.2.

9.3 Suggestions for Further Research

My most pressing suggestion for future research is thankfully now being addressed with the help of money from the Heritage Lottery Fund. This grant is going into the investigation of East Sussex coarsewares, which (along with other coarsewares in Sussex) have been neglected since the 1980's.

Space, as has been demonstrated in this thesis and in other works (Gardner 2001, 2007; Allison 2007) can tell us much about social interaction in the past. The level of current technology means that distributions of finds from commercial sites could be plotted without undue time and effort. Also, commercial archaeology in general would be much more accessible to researchers and the public alike if reports

were published in an online format, which is also thankfully becoming much more common thanks in part to the work of the ADS.

In this thesis I have suggested that there may have been some similarities between the lifestyles of people living on farmsteads in Yorkshire in the 3rd century, and those living in the Lower Rhine. I believe that this investigation could prove both useful and interesting, and may, if enough data is collected, be able to shed light on my proposal of possible military recruitment in Yorkshire. That being said, I also believe that there could be a connection between the rise of the Yorkshire potteries and the re-occupation (and concurrent rise in agriculture) in Oxfordshire. Both of these ideas certainly warrant a closer look.

As was mentioned above, there are a number of types of material that were inputted into my database which I did not get the chance to fully utilise in my study. I would welcome any other researcher to work with them, or, in fact, to utilise my databases for further study.

My last suggestion for further research stresses the importance of finding new ways of comparing sites. Simple chronological comparison is not enough – the examination of a site must be sensitive to many factors. For example, if it were possible to compare two farmsteads whose main focus was metalworking (but their dates were wildly different), would this similarity in work show up in assemblages to do with their lifestyle? What could this mean about the way they saw themselves or wanted to be seen?

The suggestions above are only a few of the ways in which I believe this work could be expanded upon. However, though there is scope to explore the data and the ideas further, I hope that this thesis can stand alone as a demonstration of the potential

in using neglected rural sites to identify and investigate both local and wider trends in Roman-period Britain and abroad.

Roman Households: Space, Status and Identity

Meredith Leigh Wiggins

Volume II
References, Figures and Appendices

University of London
2014

Classical Sources

Ammianus Marcellinus, 2010. *Res Gestae Divi Augustae.* Translated by J. C. Rolf. London: W. Heinemann.

Cicero, M., (2012). *De Legibus et consuetinibus Angliae.* Translation by H. de Bracton, and T. Twiss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Livy, 1994. *Ab Urbe Condita*. Translated from Latin by C.S. Kraus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pliny the Younger, 2010. *Epistulae ad Familiaris*. Translated from Latin by E.G. Hardy. Charleston: Nabu Press.

Suetonius, T., 2007. *Domitian*. Translated from Latin by B. Jones. Bristol: Bristol Classic Press.

Tacitus, C. 1956. *The Annals of Rome, translated by Michael Grant*. London: Penguin.

Vitruvius, 2001. *De Architectura*. Translated from Latin by I.D. Rowland and T.N. Howe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

References

Abramson, P., 1996. Excavations along the Caythorpe Gas Pipeline, North Humberside. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 68, pp. 1-88.

Albarella U., Dobney K., Ervynck A. & Rowley-Conwy P., 2007. *Pigs and Humans. 10,000 years of interaction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Allason-Jones, L., 1996. *Roman Jet in the Yorkshire Museum*. York: Yorkshire Museum.

Allason-Jones, L., 2001. Material culture and identity. In: James, S. & Millett, M. 2001, *Britons and Romans: advancing the archaeological agenda.* Council for British Archaeology Research Report 125. York: Archaeopress, pp. 19-25.

Allen, T. G., 1990. *An Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed settlement at Watkins Farm, Northmoor, Oxon*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Allison, P.M., 1993. How do we identify the use of space in Roman houses? In: E.M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting, Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting.* Babesch Supplements 3. Leiden: Peeters Publishers, pp. 1–8.

Allison, P.M., 1997. Artefact distribution and spatial function in Pompeian houses. In: B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds.), *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 321–54.

Allison, P.M., 1999. Labels for ladles: interpreting the material culture of Roman Households. In:Allison, P.M. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. London: Routledge, pp.57–77.

Allison, P.M., 2004. *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture*. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press.

Allison, P.M., 2007. Engendering Roman domestic space. In: Westgate, R. Fisher, N., and Whitley, J. (eds), *Building Communities: House, Settlement, and society in the Aegean World and Beyond*. Athens: British School at Athens Studies, pp. 343-350.

Althusser, L., 1971. Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In: Althusser, L. (ed.), *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 127-188.

Annis, R., 1992. Two Romano-British Settlement Sites at Coulby Newham, Cleveland. *Yorkshire Archaeologial Society Roman Antiquities Section Bulletin* 10. York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, pp. 9-16.

Archer, M., 1995. *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach.* Cambridge.

Ashmore, W., 2002. "Decisions and Dispositions": Socializing Spatial Archaeology. *American Anthropologist* 104(4), pp. 1172-1183.

Ashmore, W. & Wilk, R., 1988. House and Household in the Mesoamerican Past. In: R. Wilk & W. Ashmore, (eds.) *Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 1-28.

Baker, S., 2002. Prehistoric and Romano-British landscapes at little Whittenham and Long Whittenham, Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia* 67, pp. 1-28.

Barber, L., 1994. The excavation of a Romano-British site at Moraunt Drive, Middleton-on-Sea, West Sussex, 1992. *Sussex Archaeological Collection* 132, pp. 87-100.

Barnes, B. & Bloor, D., 1982. Relativism, Rationalism and the Sociology of Knowledge. In: M. Hollis and S. Lukes (eds.), *Rationality and Relativism*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 21-47.

Barth, F., 1969. *Ethnic groups and boundaries.* London: Allen & Unwin.

Bauman, Z., 1992. Soil, blood and identity. *Sociological Review* 40, pp. 675-701.

Bauman, Z., 1992. Survival as a social construct theory. *Culture and Society* 9, pp. 1-36.

Baxter, J.E., 2005. *The Archaeology of Childhood*. Oxford: Alta Mira Press.

Bedwin, O., 1983. Rescue archaeology in Sussex 1982: a ninth progress report on the Sussex Archaeological Field Unit. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 20. London: University of London Press, pp. 73-100.

Bedwin, O. & Pitts, M., 1978. The excavation of an Iron Age settlement at North Bersted, Bognor Regis, West Sussex 1975–76, *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 116, pp. 293–346.

Bedwin O. & Place C., 1995. Late Iron Age and Romano-British occupation at Ounces Barn, Boxgrove, West Sussex; excavations 1982-1983. *Sussex Archaeological Collections 133*, pp. 45-101.

Bell, M., 1976. The excavation of an early Romano-British site and Pleistocene landforms at Newhaven. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 114, pp. 218 – 305.

Bell, M., 1977. Excavations at Bishopstone. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 115, pp. 83-117.

Bentley, G. C., 1987. Ethnicity and practice. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29, pp. 24-55.

Bidwell, P., 1991. Later Roman Barracks in Britain. In: Maxfield, V. & Dobson, P. (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 9-15.

Binford, L.R., 1962. Archaeology as anthropology. *American Antiquity* 28, pp. 217-25.

Binford, L.R., 1983. Forty-seven trips: a case study in the character of archaeological formation processes. In: Binford, L. (ed.) *Working at Archaeology*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 243-268.

Bishop, M.C., Carrott, J., Didsbury, P., Gidney L.J., Kenward, H., Huntley, J.P. & Milles, A., 1999. An Iron Age and Romano-British 'Ladder' Settlement at Melton, East Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 71, pp. 23-63.

Black, E., 1987. *The Roman Villas of South East England*. British Archaeological Report Series 171.

Black, E., 2008. Dieties and Belief. In Rudling R. (ed.), *Ritual Landscapes of Roman South-East Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 1-18.

Blagg, T., 2002. First Century Roman Houses in Gaul and Britain. In T. Blagg and M. Millett, (eds.), *The Early Roman Empire in the West.* Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, pp. 194-209.

Blagg, T.F.C. & Millett, M. (eds.), 2002. *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Blumberg, R.L., 1993. Poverty vs. ‘purse power’. In: J.P. Mencher and A. Okonqwu (eds.) *Where did all the men go? Female headed/female supported households in a cross-cultural perspective*. San Fransisco: Westview, pp. 13- 52.

Boivin, N., 2008. *Material Cultures, Material Minds: The Impact of Things on Human Thought, Society and Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Booth, P. 2009. *Roman Oxfordshire*, [online] Available at: <http://www.thehumanjourney.com/pdf_store/ sthames /phase3/County/Roman/Roman%20Oxfordshire.pdf> [Accessed 20 April 2010].

Booth, P. Barclay, A, Bradley, P, Garwood, P, Hey, G. Morigi, T., Robinson, M. Schreve, D., & White, M., 2007. *The Thames Through Time: TheArchaeology of the Gravel Terraces of the Upper and Middle Thames – The Early Historical Period: AD 1-1000.* Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph 27. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Booth, P. & Hillier, J.K., 2005. *Excavations in the extramural settlement of Roman Alchester, Oxfordshire with contributions by D. Allen, illustrations by L. Adams.* Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Booth, P., Simmons, A., Allen, D., 2009. *Appleford's earliest farmers : archaeological work at Appleford Sidings, Oxfordshire.* Oxford Archaeology Occasional Paper 17. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Bourdieu, P., 1977 (1990). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyd, R. & Richerson, P.J., 1985. *Culture and the evolutionary process*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bowden, M.C.B. & McOmish, D., 1987. The Required Barrier. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 4, pp. 76-84.

Bradley, G.J., 2000. Romanization, the Social War, and Integration into the Roman State. In G. Bradley (ed.), *Ancient Umbria: State, Culture, and Identity in Central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 190-245.

Bradley, R., 1975. Maumbury Rings, Dorchester: The Excavations of 1908-1913. *Archaeologia* 105, pp. 1-97.

Bradley, R., 1992. Roman Salt Production in Chichester Harbour: Rescue Excavations at Chidham, West Sussex. *Britannia* 23, pp. 27-44.

Bradley R., 2007. *The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Branigan, K., 1977. *Gatcombe Roman Villa*. British Archaeological Reports Series 44. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Breeze, D.J. & Dobson, B., 1985. Roman military deployment in north England. *Britannia* 16, pp. 1-19.

Briggs, C. S., 1988. The location and recognition of metal ores in pre-Roman and Roman Britain and their contemporary exploitation. In: Jones, J. (ed.), *Aspects of ancient mining and metallurgy: Acta of a British School at Athens Centenary Conference, 1986*. Bangor: University College North Wales, pp. 106-114.

Brodribb, G. & Cleere, H., 1988. The Classis Britannica bath-house at Beauport Park, East Sussex. *Britannia* 19, pp. 217 – 274.

Brodribb, A.C.C. Hands, A.R. & Walker, D.R., 2005. *The Roman Villa at Shakenoak Farm Oxfordshire, Excavations 1960-1976.* British Archaeological Reports British Series 395. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Brown, J., 1999. Romano-British Villa Complex: Chapel House Farm, Dalton on Tees, North Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Roman Antiquities Section Bulletin* 16, pp. 19-27.

Brubaker, R. Feischmidt, M. Fox, J. & Grancea, L., 2006. *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Buckland, P.C. & Dolby, M.J., 1987. A Roman site at Womersley, North Yorkshire. *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 59, pp. 1-9.

Butler, C. & Lyne, M., 2001. *The Roman pottery production site at Wickham Barn, Chiltington, East Sussex*. British Archaeology Research Report 323. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Burnham, B. C., & Wacher, J., 1990. *The Small Towns of Roman Britain*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Carne, P., 2001. A Roman villa and settlement at Ingleby Barwick, Teesside. *Yorkshire Archaeological Soceity Roman Antiquities Section Bulletin* 18, 12-16.

Cary, M. & Scullard, H.H., 1979. *A History of Rome*. London: Palgrave.

Casella, E. & Croucher, K., 2011. Beyond human: the materiality of personhood. *Feminist Theory* 12, pp. 209-217.

Chadwick, A.M., 1997. *Towards a social archaeology of later prehistoric and Romano-British field systems in South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire*. [online] Available from: <http://www.assemblage.group.shef.ac.uk/2/2chad.html> [Accessed 28 July 2011].

Chadwick, A.M., 1999. Digging ditches but missing riches? Ways into the Iron Age and Romano-British cropmark landscapes of the midlands. In: B. Bevan (ed.), *Northern Exposure, Interpretive Devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain.* Leicester. Leicester Archaeological Monographs, pp. 149-172.

Chadwick, A.M., 2004. “Heavier Burdens for willing shoulders”? Writing different histories, humanities and social practices for the Romano-British countryside In: B. Croxford, H. Eckardt, J. Meade **&** J. Weekes (eds.), *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference Leicester 2003*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 90-110.

Chadwick, A.M., 2009. *The Iron Age and Romano British Periods in West Yorkshire: A Research Agenda.* Unpublished document written for West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service.

Chadwick, A.M., 2012. Routine Magic, Mundane Ritual: Toward a Unified Notion of Depositional Practice [online]. Available at: <http://www.academia.edu/1862561/Chadwick_A.M._2012._Routine_magic_mundane_ritual_towards_a_unified_notion_of_depositional_practice> [Accessed August 2012].

Challis, A.J. & Harding, D.W., 1975. *Later prehistory from the Trent to the Tyne*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 20.

Chapman, J. & Hamerow, H. 1997. *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 664, Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 21-32.

Cheung, C., Shroeder, H. & Hedges, R.E.M., 2011. Diet, Social differentiation and cultural change in Roman Britain: new isotopic evidence from Gloucestershire. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 4, pp. 61-73.

Childe, V. G., 1956. *Piecing together the past*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Clarke, S., 1999. Architectural and Social Change during the Roman Period. In: A. Leslie, (ed.) *Theoretical Roman Archaeology and Architecture Third Conference Proceedings* 1999. Oxford: Oxbow, pp.111-121.

Cleary, A.S.E., 2000. *The ending of Roman Britain*. London: Routledge.

Cleere, H., 1974. The Roman iron industry of the Weald and its connexions with the Classis Britannica. *Archaeological Journal* 131, pp. 171-99.

Cleere, H., 1978. Roman Sussex- The Weald. In: P. Drewett (ed.), *Archaeology in Sussex to AD 1500,* 59-63. *Council for British Archaeology Research Report* 29. York: Archaeopress, pp. 59-63.

Cleere, H., 1981. *The Iron Industry of Roman Britain*. Unpublished dissertation.

Cleere, H. & Crossley, D., 1985. *The Iron Industry of the Weald*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Codrington, T., 1903. *Roman Roads in Britain*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Cohen, A.P., 1985. *The symbolic construction of community*. London: Routledge.

Collingwood, R.G., 1939. *An Autobiography*. London: Claredon.

Collins, R. 2012. *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries.* New York, London: Routledge.

Collis, J., 1996. Celts and Politics. In: P. Graves Brown, S. Jones, and C. Gamble, (eds.), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Cool, H.E.M., 2002. Craft and industry in Roman York. In Wilson, P. & Price, J. (eds.), *Aspects of Industry in Roman Yorkshire and the North.* Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 1-11.

Cool, H.E.M., 2006. *Eating and drinking in Roman Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cool, H.E.M. & Baxter, M. J., 1995. Finds from the fortress: artifacts, buildings and correspondence analysis. In: Wilcock, J. & Lockyear, K. (eds.) *Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology.* BAR International Series 598. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 177-182.

Cool, H.E.M, & Baxter, M., 2002. Exploring Romano-British Finds Assemblages. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21(4), pp. 365-80.

Cooper, E., 2000. *Ten-thousand years of pottery.* London: British Museum Press.

Cornell, T. & K. Lomas, 1997 (eds.), *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*. London: Accordia Specialist Studies on Italy 6.

Creighton, J., 1999. Chapter 7: Excavations at Hawling Road. In: Halkon, P. & Millett, M. (eds.), *Rural Settlement and Industry: Studies in the Iron Age and Roman Archaeology of Lowland East Yorkshire*. York: Roman Antiquities Section and East Riding Archaeological Society, pp. 168-220.

Creighton, J., 2000. *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Creighton, J., 2006. *Britannia: the creation of a Roman province*. London: Routledge/ Psychology Press.

Crone, P., 1986. The Tribe and the State. In: J.A, Hall (ed.) *States in History*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 48-77.

Crook, J.H., 1981. The Evolutionary Ethnology of Social Processes in Man. In: Kellerman, H. (ed.), *Group cohesion*. New York: Grune & Stratton, pp. 86-108.

Crummy, N., 1983. *Colchester Archaeological Report 2: The Roman small finds from excavations in Colchester 1971-9*. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust.

Cruse, J., 2004. Yorkshire quern Survey - Recent Activity. *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Roman Antiquites Section* 20, p. 19.

Cunliffe, B., 1973. *The Regni*. London: Duckworth.

Cunliffe, B. 2009. *Iron Age Communities, an account of England, Scotland and Wales.* London: Routledge

Dark, C. & Dark, P., 1997. *The Landscape of Roman Britain*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.

Darling, M.J., 1985. The Other Roman Pottery. In: Pitts, L.F. & St Joseph, J.K. (eds.), *Inchtuthil, the Roman Legionary Fortress*. London: Society for the promotion of Roman studies, pp. 328-38.

Davenport, C., 2003. The late Pre-Roman Iron Age of the West Sussex coastal plain: continuity or change? In: D. Rudling (ed.), *The Archaeology of Sussex to AD 2000.* Brighton: University of Sussex, pp. 101-110.

De la Bédoyére, G., 2002. *Architecture in Roman Britain.* Oxford: Shire Publications LTD.

Deagan, K. A., 1983. *Spanish St. Augustine: The archaeology of a colonial creole community.* New York: Academic Press.

Deagan, K.A., 1988. Transculturation and Spanish American ethnogenesis: The archaeological legacy of the Quincentenary. In: Cusick G. (ed.), *Studies in Cultural Contact: Interaction, culture change, and archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, pp. 23-43.

Dearne, M. & Branigan, K., 1995. The Use of Coal in Roman Britain. *Antiquities Journal* 75, pp. 71-105.

Dench, C. E. & Patterson, J., 1996. The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy: Recent Trends and Approaches. *The Journal of Roman Studies* 86, pp. 181-2.

Dent, J.S., 1983. The Impact of Roman rule on Native Society in the Territory of the Parisi. *Britannia* XIV, pp. 35-44.

Derrida, J., 1978. *Writing and difference*. Translated by A. Bass. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Descartes, R., 1647 (1984). The Description of the Human Body. In *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*. Edited and translated by J. Cottingham, R. Stoothoff & D. Murdoch. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Diaz-Andreu, M., 2008. *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology. Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Diaz-Polanco, M., 1989. Ethnic questions and social change in Latin America. *World Archaeological Bulletin*, 3, pp. 52-59.

Dickson, J.H., Boyd, W.E., Newell, P.J., & Robinson, D.E., 1985. The vegetation of central Scotland in Roman times. *Ecologica Mediterranea* II, p. 1.

Dion, D., Sitz, L., Remy, E., 2011. Embodied Ethnicity, Gournded in the body. [online] Available at: <http://www.academia.edu/1569573/Embodied ethnicity the ethnic affiliation grounded in the body> [Accessed 22 June 2012].

Dobson, B & Mann, J.C., 1973. The Roman army in Britain and Britons in the Roman army. *Britannia* 4, pp. 191-205.

Donley-Reid, L., 1990. The Power of Swahili Porcelain, Beads and Pottery. In: Nelson, S. and Kehoe, A.B. (eds.), *Powers of Observation: Alternative Views in Archeology*. American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., pp. 47-59.

Dore, J. & Greene, K., 1977. *Roman Pottery Studies in Britain and Beyond*. British Archaeology Report Supplement Service 30. London: Council for British Archaeology.

Down, A., 1978. *Chichester Excavations 3*. Chichester: District Council.

Down, A., 1979. *Chichester Excavations 4*. Chichester: Civic Society.

Down, A., 1998. *Roman Chichester*. Andover: Phillimore.

Drennan, R. 2001. Overview-Numbers, Models, Maps: Computers and Archaeology. In: D.R. Brothwell & A.M. Pollard (eds.), *Handbook of Archaeological Sciences*. London: Wiley, pp. 663–670.

Drewett, P., Gardiner, M., & Rudling, D., 1988. *The South-East to AD 1000*. London: Longman.

Duara, P., 1993. De-constructing the Chinese Nation. *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 30, pp. 1-26.

Dumayne, L., 1993a. Invader or native? Vegetation clearance in northern Britain during Romano-British Times. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 2, pp. 29-36.

Dumayne, L., 1993b. Vegetation clearance in northern Britain: further evidence. *Botanical Journal of Scotland* 46, pp. 385-92.

Dumayne, L. & Barber, K.E., 1994. The effect of the Romans on the environment of northern Britain: pollen data from three sites close to Hadrian's Wall. *The Holocene* 4, pp. 165-73.

Duncan-Jones, R. 1974. *The Economy of the Roman Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duncan-Jones, R. 1990. *Structure and Scale of the Roman Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eckardt, H., 2002. *Illuminating Roman Britain*. Instrumentum 23. Editions Monique Mergoil: Montagnac.

Eckardt, H., 2007. Contexts in Colchester. In: S. Willis & R. Hingley (eds.) *Roman Finds: Context and Theory*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Eckardt, H. & Crummy, N., 2003. Regional identities and technologies of the self: nail-cleaners in Roman Britain. *Archaeological Journal* 160, pp. 44-69.

Eckardt, H. & Crummy, N., 2008. *Styling the body in Later Iron Age and Roman Britain: A contextual approach to toilet instruments*. Monagnac: Instrumentum Monograph 36.

Edmonds, M., 1990. Description, understanding and the chaîne opératoire. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 9(1), pp. 55-70.

Ehrenreich, R. M., 1994. Ironworking in Iron Age Wessex. In: A. P. Fitzpatrick & E. L. Morris (eds.), *The Iron Age in Wessex: Recent Work*. Salisbury: Trust for Wessex Archaeology Ltd on behalf of the Association Française D'Étude de l'Âge du Fer, pp. 16-18.

Engelstad, E., 1991. Gender and the use of Household Space: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach. In O. Gron, E. Engelstad and I. Lindblom (eds.), *Social Space: Human Spatial Behaviour in Dwellings and Settlements*. Odense: Odense University Press, pp. 49-54.

Evans, K. J., 1974. Excavations on a Romano-British site, Wiggonholt, 1964, *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 112, pp. 1–56.

Evans, J., 1995. Reflections on later Iron Age and 'native' Romano-British pottery in north-eastern England. In: B. Vyner (ed.), *Moorland monuments*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 101, pp. 46-68.

Evans, J., 2001. Material approaches to the identification of different Romano–British site types. In: S. James & M. Millett (eds.), *Britons and Romans: Advancing the Archaeological Agenda*. York: Council for British Archaeology, York, pp. 26-35.

Ewen, C.R., 1991. *From Spaniard to creole: The archaeology of cultural formation at Puerto Real, Haiti*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Felgate, M.W., Bickler, S.H. & Murrell, P.R., 2013. Estimating parent population of pottery vessels from a sample of frament: a case study from itner-tidal surface collections, Roviana Lagoon, Solomon Islands. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40: 1319-1328.

Fenner, V., 1994. *The Thames Valley Project: a report for the National Mapping Programme*. Swindon RCHME internal report.

Fenton-Thomas, C., 2003. *Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Landscapes of the Yorkshire Chalk.* British Archaeological Reports (British Series) 350. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Fenton-Thomas, C., 2009. *A Place by the Sea: Neolithic, Late Iron Age and Romano-British Occupation at Sewerby Cottage Farm, Bridlington.* OSA Monograph 1.

Fitts, R. L., Haselgrove, C. C., Lowther, P. C. & Willis, S. H., 1999. Melsonby revisited: survey and excavation 1992-95 at the site of the discovery of the "Stanwick", North Yorkshire, hoard of 1843. *Durham Archaeological Journal* 14, pp. 1-52.

Foucault, M., 1961. *Madness and Civilization*. London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M., 1969. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London and New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M., 1977. History of systems of thought. In D. F. Bouchard (ed.), *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews by Michel Foucault*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 119-204.

Franklin, N.R., 1989. Research with style: a case study from Austrailian rock art. In: S.J. Shennan (ed.) *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. London: Unwin Hyman, pp. 278-290.

Freeman, P., 1993. 'Romanisation' and Roman Material Culture, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6, pp. 439-45.

Frere, S.S. 1974. *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*. Cardinal.

Fried, M.H. 1967. *The evolution of political society*. New York: Random House.

Fried, M. H. 1968. On the concepts of 'tribe' and 'tribal society'. In: J. Helm (ed.), *Essays on the problem of tribe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, pp. 3-22

Fried, M. 1975. *The Notion of 'Tribe'*. University of Michigan: Cummings Publishing.

Fulford, M., 1992. Iron Age to Roman: A period of radical change on the gravels, in Fulford, M. & Nichols, M. (eds.), *Developing Landscapes of Lowland Britain. The Archaeology of the British Gravels: A Review*. London: Society of Antiquities 14, pp. 23-34

Fulford, M., 2001. Links with the Past: Pervasive 'ritual' behaviour in Roman Britain. *Britannia* 32, pp. 199-218.

Fulford, M., 2008. Nero and Britain: the palace of the client king at Calleva and imperial policy towards the province after Boudicca. *Britannia* 39, 1-13.

Fulford, M., 2010. Roman Oxfordshire: Research Framework (Draft 2010) [online]. Available from: <http://oxfordshirelocalhistory.modhist.ox.ac.uk/pdf/STRF%20Roman%20Oxfordshire.pdf> [Accessed December 2012].

Fulford, M., 2011. The impact of commercial archaeology on the UK heritage. In: Curtis, J., Fulford, M., Harding, A. & Reynolds, F., (eds.) *History for the taking? Perspectives on material heritage.* London: British Academy, pp. 33-53.

Fulford, M.G. & Holbrook, N. 2011. Assessing the Contribution of Commercial Archaeology to the Study of the Roman Period in England, 1990-2004. *Antiquaries Journal* 91, pp. 323-325.

Fulford, M.G. & Nichols, E.,1992. Developing landscapes of Lowland Britain. The Archaeology of the British gravels: a review. *Society of Antiquaries London Occasional Paper* 14, pp. 78-105.

Fuller, D.Q. & Stevens, C. J., 2009. Agriculture and the Development of Complex Societies: An Archaeobotanical Agenda. [pdf.] Available from: <http://www.homepages.ucl.ac.uk/~tcrndfu/articles/FullerSteven%20GCH%20Feitschrift.pdf> [Accessed on 12/5/11].

Gardin, J., 1989. The role of local knowledge in archaeological interpretation. In: S. Shennan (ed.) *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. London: Routledge, pp. 110-122.

Gardner, A., 2001. *Military and Civilian in Late Roman Britain: An archaeology of Social Identity.* PhD Thesis. University College London.

Gardner, A., 2002. Social identity and the duality of structure in late Roman-period Britain . *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 2.3, pp. 323-351.

Gardner, A., 2004. Agency and Community in 4th Century Britain: Developing the Structurationist Project. In: Gardner (ed.) *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological perspectives on social agency, power, and being human.* London: UCL Press, pp. 33-51.

Gardner, A., 2007. *An Archaeology of Identity.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Garfinkel, H., 1967. *Studies in Ethnonethodology.* New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Gazda, E., 1991. *Roman art in the private sphere. New perspectives on the architecture and decor of the domus, villa, and insula.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Gebbels, A., 1977. The animal bones. In: Bell, M. (ed.), Excavations at Bishopstone. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 115, pp. 277-284.

Geller, P.L. 2009. Identity and Difference: Complicating Gender. *Annual Review of Anthropology 38*, pp. 65-81.

Graves-Brown, S., Jones, S., & Gamble, C., 1996. *Cultural identity and archaeology: the construction of European communities.* Theoretical Archaeological Group series. London: Routledge.

Geary, P. J., 1983. Ethnic identity as a situational construct in the early middle ages. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113, pp. 15-26.

Geertz, C., 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gellner, E., 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Gent, H., 1983. Centralized storage in Later Prehistoric Britain. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 49, pp. 243–67.

Geo-Services International (UK) Ltd, 1993, 1995. *Melton Grade Separated Junction: Geophysical Investigation.*

Gerard-Smith, V., 1939. Iron Age and Romano-British site at Seaford, *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 80, pp. 293-305.

George, M., 1997. *Servus and domus: the slave in the Roman house.* In Laurence, R. and Wallace-Hadrill, A., (eds.) *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 22, p. 15-24.

Giddens, A., 1979. *Central problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. London : Macmillan.

Giddens, A., 1984. *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity.

Giddens, A., 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Gifford, J.C.,1960. The type variety method of ceramic classification as an indicator of cultural phenomena. *American Antiquity* 25(3), pp. 341-347.

Gifford-Gonzalez, D., 2008. Thoughts on a method for the study of daily life. In: Sandra Montón Subías & Margarita Sánchez-Romero (eds.), *Engendering Social Dynamics: The Archaeology of Maintenance Activities.* BAR International Series 1862, pp. 15-24.

Gilkes, O., 1990. Miss P.A.M. Keef's Exacavations on a Roman Farmstead at Lambs Lea, West Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 128, pp. 246-9.

Goffman, E., 1956 (1959). *The presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Centre.

Goodman, P. 2007. The Roman city and its periphery: From Rome to Gaul [online]. Available at: < http://www.antiguidadeclassica.com/reac/index.php/reac/article/viewFile/251/249> [Accessed March 2012].

Grahame, M., 1999. Reading the Roman house: the social interpretation of spatial order. In Leslie, A. (ed.) *Theoretical Roman Archaeology and Architecture: Third Conference Proceedings*. Great Britain, Gruithne Press.

Graves-Brown, P. Jones, S. & Gamble C., 1996. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology.* London: Routledge.

Green, C.M., 1980. Handmade Pottery and Society in late Iron Age and Roman East Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 118, pp. 69-86

Greene, K., 1990. *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy*. California: University of California Press.

Griffin, N.S., 2004. *Archaeological Excavations at Roundstone Lane, Angmering, West Sussex*. Unpublished ASE Client Report No. 1333.

Groot, M., 2008. *Animals in Ritual and Economy in a Roman Frontier Community: Excavations in Tiel-Passawaaij*. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 12.

Hales, S., 2003. The Roman House and Social Identity. *Classical Review* 55, pp. 675-7.

Hall, J.M., 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hall, A. R. & Tomlinson, P., 1990. Archaeological Records of Dye Plants, an Update, With a Note on Fullers' Teasels'. *Dyes in History and Archaeology* 8, pp. 19-21.

Halkon, P. 2008. Britons and Romans in an East Yorkshire Landscape. *Bollettino di Archeologia On Line*, Volume Speciale, pp. 24-40.

Halkon, P. & Millett, M., (eds.), 1999. Rural Settlement and Industry: Studies in the Iron Age and Roman archaeology of Lowand east Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Roman Antiquities Section Monograph* 4.

Hambleton, E., 2004. The Animal Remains. In: Hands, A. R. (ed.) *The Romano-British Roadside Settlement at Wilcote, Oxfordshire III: Excavations in 1997-2000.* Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, pp. 321-330.

Hamilton, S., 2007. Cultural Choices in the British Eastern Channel Area in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. In: Haselgrove, C., Moore, T. (eds.), *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 81-106.

Hamilton, S. & Gregory, K., 2000. Updating the Sussex Iron Age. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 138, pp. 57-74.

Hanson, W.S., 1996. Forest clearance and the Roman army. *Britannia* 27, pp. 354-8.

Harding, D.W., 1972. *The Iron Age in the Upper Thames Basin*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Harlow, M. & Laurence, R., 2002. *Growing Up and Growing Old in Ancient Rome: A Life Course Approach*. London: Routledge.

Hartridge, R., 1978. Excavations at the prehistoric and Romano-British site on Slonk Hill, Shoreham, Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 116, pp. 69-141.

Haselgrove, C., 1987. Culture process on the periphery: Belgic Gaul and Rome during the Late Republic and Early Empire. In: Rowlands, M., Larsen, M., and Kristiansen, K. (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 104-124.

Haselgrove, C., 1987. *Iron Age coinage in south-east England: the archaeological context*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 174.

Haverfield, F., 1905. The Romanization of Roman Britain. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 2, pp. 185-217.

Hawkes, T., 1977. *Structuralism and Semiotics.* California: University of California Press.

Hawthorne, J., 1998. Pottery and Paradigms in the Early Western Empire. In: C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne & R. Witcher (eds.), *TRAC: Proceedings of the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Nottingham 1997*. Oxford, pp. 160–72.

Hayes, R.H., 1974. Querns. *Ryedale Historian* 7, pp. 22–44.

Hayes, R. H., 1988. Stonygate Romano-British Site. In Wilson, A., (ed.) *North-East Yorkshire Studies: Archaeological Papers by Raymond H Hayes, MBE, FSA*. Roman Antiquities Section, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, pp. 57-65.

Hayes, R. H., Hemingway, J. E. & Spratt, D. A., 1980. The Distribution and Lithology of Beehive Querns in Northeast Yorkshire. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 7, p. 305.

Hayfield, C., 1987. *An Archaeological Survey of the Parish of Wharram Percy, East Yorkshire: Evolution of the Roman Landscape volume 1*. British Archaeological Report Series 172.

Hedeager, L., 1992. Kingdoms, ethnicity and material culture: Denmark in a European perspective. In: M.O.H. Carver (ed.) *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The seventh century in north-western Europe*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 279-300.

Hendon, J.A., 1996. Archaeological Approaches to the Organization of Domestic Labor: Household Practice and Domestic Relations. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25, pp. 45-61.

Henig, M., 1998. Togidubnus and the Roman Liberation. *British Archaeology* 37, pp. 8-9.

Henig, M., 2002. *The Heirs of King Veica, Culture and Politics in Roman Britain*. Stroud: Tempus.

Henig, M., 2008. 'And Did Those Feet in Ancient Times': Christian Churches and Pagan Shrines in South-East Britain. In: D. Rudling (ed.) *Ritual Landscapes in Roman South-East Britain.* Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 191-207.

Henig, M. & Booth, P., 2000. *Roman Oxfordshire*. Oxford: Stroud.

Heslop, D.H., 2008. *Patterns of Quern Production, Acquisition and Deposition: A corpus of Beehive Querns from Northern Yorkshire and Southern Durham.* York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

Hey, G. 1995., Iron Age and Roman Settlement at Old Shifford Farm, Standlake. *Oxoniensia* LX, pp. 93-177.

Hill, J.D., 1989. Rethinking the Iron Age. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 6, pp. 16-24.

Hill, J.D., 1995. *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*. Oxford: British Archaeological Report British Series 242.

Hill, J.D., 2001. 'Romanisation, gender and class: recent approaches to identity in Britain and their possible consequences.' In: S. James & M. Millett (eds.), *Britons and Romans: advancing an archaeological agenda.* York: CBA Research Report 125,pp.12-18

Hill, J.D. & Willis, S. 2010. Maritime and Marine Historic Environment Research Framework – Resource Assessment: The Late Bronze Age and Pre-Roman Iron Age c. 1250 BC to AD50 (draft) [online]. Available at: <http://www.southampton.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/maritime_and_marine_historic_environment_research_framework.page> Accessed June 2011.

Hillier, S. 1996. *Space is the Machine: A configurational theory of architecture*. London: Space Syntax.

Hinchliffe, J. & Thomas, R., 1980. Archaeological investigations at Appleford. *Oxoniensia* 45, pp. 9-111.

Hind, I., 1989. The invasion of Britain in AD 43 – An alternative strategy for Aulus Plautius. *Britannia* 20, pp. 1-21.

Hingley, R., 1984. The archaeology of settlement and the social significance of space with special reference to Iron Age Upper Thames valley. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3, pp. 22-31.

Hingley, R., 1989. *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*. London: Seaby.

Hingley, R., 1990. Iron Age 'currency bars': the archaeological and social context, *Archaeological Journal* 147, pp. 91–117.

Hingley, R., 2004. Rural Settlement in Northern Britain. In: M. Todd (ed.) *A Companion to Roman Britain*. London: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 327-349.

Hingley, R., 2005. *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire*. London: Routledge.

Hingley, R., 2008. Not so Romanized? Tradition, reinvention or discovery in the study of Roman Britain. *World Archaeology* 40(3), pp. 427-443.

Hingley, R. & Willis, S., 2007. *Roman Finds: Context and Theory*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Hiscock P., 1985. The need for a taphonomic perspective in stone artefact Analysis. *Queensland Archaeological Research* 2, pp. 82-95.

Hodder, I. & Millett, M., 1980. Romano-British villas and towns: a systematic analysis. *World Archaeology* 122, pp. 69-76.

Hodder, I., 1974. The distribution of two types of Romano-British coarse pottery in the West Sussex region. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 112, pp. 1-12.

Hodder, I., 1979. Social and economic stress and material culture patterning. *American Antiquity* 44, pp. 446-54.

Hodder, I., 1982. *Symbols in Action.* Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, I., 1986. *Reading the Past.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, I., 1991. *Archaeological theory in Europe: the last three decades.* London: Routledge.

Hodder, I., 1999. *The Archaeological process: an Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Hodgson, N., 2012. Assessing the Contribution of Commercial Archaeology to the Study of Roman South and West Yorkshire, 1990–2004, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 84, pp. 38-58.

Hollis, M. & Lukes, S., 1982. *Rationality and Relativism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Holgate, R., 1986. Excavations at the late prehistoric and Romano-British enclosure complex at Carne's Seat, Goodwood, West Sussex, 1984. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 124, pp. 35-50.

Hopkins K., 1978, Economic Growth and Towns in Classical Antiquity. In: Abrams, P. & Wrigley, E.A., (eds.), *Towns in societies: Essays in economic history and historical sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horton, R., 1982. Tradition and modernity: a reformulation. In: M. Hollis & S. Lukes (eds.), *Rationality and Relativism.* London: Basil Blackwell, pp. 243- 259.

Hunter, F., 2001. Roman and native in Scotland: new approaches, *Journal Of Roman Archaeology* 14, pp. 289-307.

Ingold, T. 2012. Toward an Ecology of Materials. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41, pp. 427-442.

Ioannidou, E., 2003. Taphonomy of Animal Bones: Species, Age and Breed Variability of Sheep, Cattle and Bone Density. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 30: 355-365.

James, S., 1999. The community of the soldiers: a major identity and centre of power in the Roman empire. In: Baker, P., Jundi, S., & Witcher, R. (eds.), *TRAC 98: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 1998*, Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 14-25.

James, S., 2001. 'Romanization' and the peoples of Britain. In: S. Keay & N. Terrenato (eds.), *Italy and the West. Comparative issues in Romanization.* Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp.187-209.

Jaspal, R. & Cinnirella, M., 2011. *The construction of ethnic identity: insights from iddentity process theory.* [online] Available at: <http://www.academia.edu/204412/The_construction_of_ethnic_identity_insights_from_identity_process_theory>[Accessed January 2012].

Jenkins R., 1994. Rethinking ethnicity: identity, categorization and power. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17, pp. 197 – 223.

Jenkins, R., 2008. *Social Identity*. London: Routledge.

Johnson, M.H., 1999. *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Johnston, D., 1994. *A63 Grade Separated Junction, North Humberside: Contract and Specification for Archaeological Trial Excavations.* Unpublished Document.

Jones, A.H.M., 1960. The cloth industry under the Roman Empire. *Economic History Review* 13, p.184.

Jones, S., 1996. Introduction. In: P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones, and C.S. Gamble (eds.), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*. London:Routledge, pp. 1-24.

Jones, S., 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: constructing identities in the past and the present*. London: Routledge.

Jones, G.B.D. & Mattingly, M. 1990. *An Atlas of Roman Britain.* London: Blackwell.

Jordan, D., 1987. Diatom analysis. In: M. Millett & S. McGrail, (eds.), The Archaeology of the Hasholme Logboat. *The Archaeological Journal* 144, pp. 69-155.

Keay, S.J. & Terrenato, N., 2001. *Italy and the West. Comparative issues in Romanization.* Oxford: Oxbow.

King, A., 1999. Diet in the Roman World: a regional inter-site comparison of the mammal bones. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12(1), pp. 168-202.

Kitson Clark, M., 1935. A Gazetteer of Roman remains in East Yorkshire, collected and arranged by Mary Kitson Clark, with introductory essay and map. *Roman Malton and District Report* 5. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

LaPlanche, J. & Pontalis, P., 1973. *The language of psycho-analysis*. London: Hogarth Press.

Lambrick, G. H., 1988. *The Rollright Stones: Megaliths, monuments and settlements in the prehistoric landscape*. London: English Heritage.

Lambrick, G.H., 1992. The development of prehistoric and Roman farming on the Thames gravels. In: Fulford, M. and Nichols, E. (eds.), *The Archaeology of the British gravels: a review*. Society of Antiquities London occasional papers 14, pp. 78-105.

Lambrick, G. H. & Allen, T. G., 2004. Gravelly Guy, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire: the Development of a Prehistoric and Romano-British Community. *Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph* 21. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Lambrick, G.H. & Robinson, M. A., 1988. The development of floodplain grassland in the Upper Thames Valley. In: M.K. Jones (ed.), *Archaeology and the Flora of the British Isles*. Oxford: University of Oxford Community Archaeological Monograph 14, pp. 55-75.

Laurence, R. 2004. Milestones, Communication, and Political Stability. In: L. Ellis and F.L. Kidner (eds.), *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity*. Ashgate: Aldershot. pp. 38-49.

Leary, R. 2008. The Iron Age and Romano-British Pottery. In: Richardson, J. (ed.) *The Late Iron Age and Romano-British Rural Landscape of Gunhills, Armthorpe, South Yorkshire*. Archaeological Services (WYAS) Publication 10. Leeds: West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, pp. 25-45.

Lemmon, C.H. & Darrall Hill, J., 1966. The Romano-British site at Bodiam. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 104, pp. 88-102.

Leslie, A., 1999. *Theoretical Roman Archaeology and Architecture: Third Conference Proceedings*. Great Britain: Gruithne Press.

Lechtman, H., 1977. Style in technology: Some early thoughts. In: H. Lechtman & R. S. Merrill (eds.), *Material Culture: Styles, Organization and Dynamics of Technology*. Saint Paul, MN: West Publications. pp. 3–20.

Lightfoot, K.G., Martinez, A., & Schiff, A.M., 1998. Daily Practice and Material Culture in Pluralistic Social Settings: An Archaeological Study of Culture Change and Persistence from Fort Ross, California. *American Antiquity* 63, pp. 199–222.

Locke, J., 1690 (1847). *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Philadelphia: Kay & Troutman.

Lucy, S., 2005. Ethnic and cultural Identities. In: Diaz-Andreu M., Lucy S., Babic, S. & Edwards D.N. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion.* London: Routledge, pp. 86-110.

Lyne, M. 2003. The Late Iron Age and Romano-British pottery production sites at Redcliff, Arne and Stoborough: The excavations of P.A. Brown, H. Burr and R.A.H. Farrar 1952-83. *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 124, pp. 45- 99.

Macdonald, S., 1993. *Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe.* Providence/Oxford: Berg.

Madgwick, R. 2010. Investigating the Potential of Holistc Taphonomic Analysis in Zooarchaeological Research [online] Available at: <http://alexandriaarchive.org/bonecommons/items/show/1342> [Accessed July 2012].

Maltby, M., 1989. Urban-rural variation in the butchering of cattle in Romano-British Hampshire. In: D. Serjeantson & T. Waldron (eds.). *Diets and Crafts in Towns.* Oxford: British Archaeological Report Series 199, pp. 75–106.

Maltby, M. 2011. Specialist Roman butchery - challenges of identification, classification, quantification and interpretation [online]. Available at: < http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/imported-docs/numbered/11th-pzg-minutes.pdf>. [Accessed October 2012].

Manby, T.G., Moorhouse, S., & Ottoway, P., (eds.) 2003. *The archaeology of Yorkshire. An Assessment at the beginning of the 21st century.* Yorkshire Archaeolgoical Society Occasional Paper 3. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

Mann, J.C. & Breeze, D.J. 1987. Ptolemy, Tacitus and the tribes of northern Britain. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries Scotland* 117, pp. 85-91.

Mann, M.,1986. *The sources of social power, vol. I: A history of power from the beginning to AD 1760.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Manley, J., 2002. *AD 43 – The Roman Invasion of Britain: a reassessment*. Stroud: Tempus.

Margary, I., 1948 (1947). *Roman Ways in the Weald*. London: Phoenix House.

Marx, K., 1858 (1965). *Pre Capitalist Economic Formations.* New York: International Publishers.

Mason, O., 2012. *Roman Pottery Production in East & West Sussex: A Review of Evidence & Establishment Of A Regional Fabric And Form Type Series*. Unpublished Internal Report, Porslade: Archaeology South East.

Matthew, J. 2010. *English houses 1300-1800: vernacular architecture, social life.* London: Longman.

Matthews, K. J., 1999 Britannus/Britto: Roman ethnographies, native identities, labels, and folk devils. In: Leslie, A. (ed.) *Theoretical Roman Archaeology and Architecture: the third conference proceedings.* Glasgow: Cruithne Press, pp.14-32.

Mattingly, D., 2004. Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial setting. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17, pp. 5-25

Mattingly, D., 2006. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire 54 BC – AD 409*. London: Penguin.

Maxwell, G., 2004. The Roman Penetration of the North in the Late First Century A.D. In: M. Todd (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Britain*. London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

May, J., 1996. *Dragonby: A Report on Excavations at an Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement in North Lincolnshire*. Oxford: Oxbow Monographs in Archaeology.

McCarthy, M., 2005. Social Dynamics on the Northern Frontier of Roman Britain. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24, pp. 47-71.

McGrail, S., 1987. *Ancient Boats in Northwest Europe: The archaeology of water transport to AD 1500*. London: Longman.

Mead, G.H., 1934. *Mind, Self, and Society, from the standpoint of a social behaviouralist (edited by C.W. Morris)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Meadows, K.I., 1997. Much ado about nothing: the social context of eating and drinking in early Roman Britain. In: Cumberpatch C.G. and Blinkhorn P.W. (eds.), *Not So Much a Pot, More a Way of Life: Current Approaches to Artefact Analysis in Archaeology*. Oxbow Monograph 83. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 21-36.

Meskell, L., 1998. *Archaeology Under Fire*. London: Routledge.

Miles, D., 1986. *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm Abingdon, Oxon.* Oxford Archaeological Unit Report 3, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 50. Oxford Archaeological Unit and the Council for British Archaeology.

Miles, D., Palmer, S., Smith, A., & Jones, G.P., 2007. *Iron Age and Roman Settlement in the Upper Thames Valley: Excavations at Claydon Pike and other sites within the Cotswold Water Park*. Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph 26.

Miller, D., 1997. Consumption and its consequences. In: Mackay, H. (ed.), *Consumption and everyday life*. London: Sage. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113, pp. 15-26.

Millett, M., 1980. Excavations on a Romano-British farmstead at Elsted, West Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 118, pp. 197 – 229.

Millett, M., 1990. *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Millett, M. & McGrail, S., 1987. The Archaeology of the Hasholme Logboat. *The Archaeological Journal* 144, pp. 69-155.

Mommsen, T., 1886. *The Provinces of the Roman Empire: From Caesar to Diocletian, Parts 1 and 2, translated by W.P. Dickson*. London: Macmilan and Co.

Mommsen, T, 1892. *Chronica Minora Saec*. Charleston: Nabu Press.

Monk, M.A. & Kelleher, E., 2005. An Assessment of the Archaeological Evidence for Irish Corn-Drying Kilns in the Light of the Results of Archaeological Experiments and Archaeobotanical Studies. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 14, pp.77-114.

Moore, K. 1999. Political Protest and Institutional Change: The Anti-VietnamWar Movement and American Science. In: Giugni, D. McAdam, & Tilly, C., (eds.), *How Social Movements Matter.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 97–118.

Moore, T. 2011. Detribalizing the later prehistoric past: Concepts of tribes in Iron Age and Roman Studies. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 11, pp. 334-360.

Moreland, J., 2001. *Archaeology and Text*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd.

Mouritsen, H., 1998. *Italian Unification: a study in ancient and modern historiography*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

Munslow, A., 2000. *The Routledge companion to historical studies*. London: Routledge.

Mytum, H., 1986. The reconstruction of an Iron Age roundhouse at Castell Henllys, Dyfed. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 33, pp. 283-90.

Neal, P.G.E. & Fraser, R., 2004. A Romano-British Enclosed Farmstead at Billingsley Drive, Thurnscoe, South Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 76, pp. 7-75.

Neff, L., 2002. Gender division of labor and lowland terrace agriculture. In: Ardren, T. (ed) *Ancient Maya Women*. Walnut Creek: Alta Vista, pp. 31-51.

Nielsen, A.E., 1991. Trampling in the Archaeological Record. *American Antiquity* 56(3), pp. 483-503.

Nelson, S.M., 1998. Reflections on gender studies in African and Asian archaeology. In: S. Kent (ed.), *Gender in African Prehistory*. Alta Mira Press, pp. 285 – 294.

Nevett, L., 1994. Separation or Seclusion? Towards an Archaeological Approach to Investigating Women in the Greek household in the 5th to 3rd Centuries. In: Pearson, M.P. & Richards, C. (eds.) *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*. London: Routledge, pp. 98-112.

Nevett, L.C., 1999. *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, N.E.S. & Burstow, G.P., 1950. A prehistoric and Romano-British site at West Blatchington, Hove. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 89, pp. 1-56.

Norris, N.E.S & Burstow, G.P. 1951-2. A prehistoric and Romano-British site at West Blatchington, Hove. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 90, pp. 221-240.

Northern Archaeological Associates, 2000. Billingsley Drive, Thurnscoe.*Yorkshire Archaeological Society Roman Antiquities Section Bulletin* 17, pp. 15-17.

Orton, C. 1993. *Sampling in Archaeology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Orton, C., 2000. *Sampling in Archaeology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oxford Archaeology, 2006. *A multi-period site at Cotswold Community (SKCC), Wilts and Glos. Post-excavation Assessment and Project Design.* Oxford Archaeology. Unpublished.

Outram, A.K., 2001. FOCUS: The Scapula Representation could be the Key: A Further Contribution to the 'Klasies Pattern' Debate. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 28(12), pp. 1259-1263.

Parker, J., 2000. *Structuration.* Buckingham: Open University Press, Pp. 32-43.

Parker Pearson, M. & Richards, C., 1994. *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*. London: Routledge.

Peacock, D., 1980. The Roman Millstone Trade: A Petrological Sketch. *World Archaeology* 12, pp. 43-53.

Pearson, A.F., 2005. Barbarian Piracy and the Saxon Shore: A Reappraisal. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24, pp. 73 – 88.

Pena, J.T., 2007. *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Perring, D., 2002. *The Roman House in Britain*. London: Routledge.

Perry, B.T., 1970. Iron Age Enclosures and Settlements on the Hampshire Chalklands. *Archaeological Journal* 76, pp. 29-43.

Pitts, M., 2008. Globalizing the local in Roman Britain: an anthropological approach to social change. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27, pp. 493-506.

Powlesland, D., 2003. The Heslerton Parish Project: 20 years of archaeological researc in the Vale of Pickering. In: Manby, T.G., Moorhouse, S. & Ottoway, P. (eds.), *The archaeology of Yorkshire. An Assessment at the beginning of the 21st century.* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Paper 3. Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, pp. 275-92.

Rahtz, P., Hayfield, C., & Bateman, J. 1986. Two Roman Villas at Wharram Le Street. *York University Archaeological Publications 2*. York: York University.

Ramm, H., 1978. *The Parisi*. Gloucester: Sutton.

Rapoport, A., 1990. Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings. In: Kent, S. (ed.), *Domestic architecture and the use of space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 9-20.

Redfern, R., Millard, A.R., & Hamlin, C., 2010. A regional investigation of subadult dietary patterns and health in late Iron Age and Roman Dorset, England. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, pp. 1249-1259.

Redknap, M. & Millett, M. 1980. Excavations on a Romano-British farmstead at Elsted, West Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 118, pp.197-229.

Redfern, R., Hamlin, C. & Athfield, N.B., 2010. Temporal changes in diet: a stable isotope analysis of late Iron Age and Roman Dorset, Britain. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37, pp. 1149-1160.

Reece, R., 1988. *My Roman Britain*. Circencester: Cotswold Studies 3.

Renfrew, C., 1987. *Archaeology and language: the puzzle of Indo-European origins*. London: Jonathan Cape.

Revell, L., 2009. *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rhys, J. 1884. *Celtic Britain.* London: SPCK.

Richerson, P.J., 1985. *Culture and the Evolutionary Process*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Richmond, I., 1969. The Plans of Roman Villas in Britain. In: Rivet, A.L.F. (ed.) *Town and Country in Roman Britain.* London. pp. 49-70.

Rickett, R., 1975. *Post-Roman and medieval drying kilns*. Unpublished BA dissertation, Department of Archaeology, University College Cardiff.

Rigby, V., 1973. Potters Stamps on Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra found in Britain. In: Detsicas A. P., (ed.) *Current Research in Romano-British Coarse Pottery, CBA Research Report 10*. London: Council for British Archaeology, pp. 7-24.

Riley, D.N., 1980. *Early landscape from the air*. Sheffield: Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield.

Rippengal, R. 1993. Villas as the key to social structure: some comments on recent approaches to the Romano-British villa and some suggestions towards an alternative. In: E. Scott (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: First Conference Proceedings*. Aldershot: Avebury. Routledge, pp. 79-101.

Rivet, A.L.F. 1966. *The Iron Age in Northern Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Rivet, A.L.F. 1979. *The place-names of Roman Britain.* London: Batsford Limited.

Robbins, G. 1997. Scrooby Top 1997: ceramic report. In: Davies, G. , Parker Pearson, M. & Robbins, G. (eds.) *Report on the excavation of the enclosure at Scrooby Top*, Nottinghamshire. Unpublished report: ARCUS/University of Sheffield.

Robbins, R.P. 1998. Patterns in the landscape: A case study in nonsite archaeology from southwest Queensland. *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum, Cultural Heritage Series* 1(1), pp. 23-56.

Roberts, I., 2009. A Late Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement at High Wold, Bempton Lane, Bridlington, East Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Archaeological Society* 81, pp. 47-136.

Roberts, I., 2010. *Understanding the Cropmark Landscapes of the Magnesian Limestone*. Yorkshire: West Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

Robertson, R. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture.* University of Aberdeen: SAGE Publications, Limited.

Robin, C., 2002. Archaeological Ethnographies: The social Dynamics of Outdoor Space. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2(2), pp.159-172

Robin, C., 2003. New Directions in Classic Maya Household Archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 1(4), pp. 307-356

Robinson, G., 2009. A Romano-British Settlement at Millfield Farm, Wheldrake, Near York. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 81, pp. 139-177

Rodwell, W.J., 1976. Coinage, oppida and the rise of Belgic power in south-eastern Britain. In: Cunliffe, B.W. and Rowley, T. (eds.), *Oppida: The Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe*. Oxford: British Archaeological Report 11, pp. 181-367.

Rothe, U., 2012. The "Third Way": Treveran women's dress and the "Gallic Ensemble". *American Journal of Archaeology* 116(2), pp. 235–252.

Roymans, N. 1995. The cultural biography of urnfields and the long term history of a mythical landscape (with comments and reply). *Archaeological Dialogues* 2(1), pp. 2-38.

Ruane, J., Todd, J. & Mandeville-Briot, A. (eds.), 2004. *Europe's Old States in the New World Order: The Politics of Transition in Britain, France and Spain*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.

Rudkin, D., 1986. The excavation of a Romano-British site by Chichester Harbour, Fishbourne. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 124, pp.51-77.

Rudling, D., 1986. The Investigation of a Roman Tilery at Dell Quay, West Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 125, pp. 81-90.

Rudling, D., 1998. The development of Roman villas in Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 136, pp. 41-65.

Rudling, D., 2008. *Ritual Landscapes of Roman South-East Britain.* London: Oxbow.

Russell, M., 2006. *Roman Sussex*. Stroud: Tempus.

Sackett, J. R.1982. Approaches to style in lithic archaeology. *Journal of Anthological Archaeology* 1, 59-112.

Sackett, J.R., 1990. Style and Ethnicity in Archaeology : the Case for Isochrestism. In: Conkey, M. & Hastorf, C. (eds.) *Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Cambridge University. pp. 32-43.

Salway, P., 1981. *A History of Roman Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Salway, P.,1998. *Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Samson, R., 1990. *The Social Archaeology of Houses*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Samuels, J. & Buckland, P.C., 1978. A Romano-British Settlement at Sandtoft, South Humberside. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 50, pp. 65-75.

Sargent, A., 2002. The north-south divide revisited: thoughts on the character of Roman Britain. *Britannia* 33, pp. 219-226.

Saussure, F., 1916. *Cours de linguistique générale*. Glasgow: Fontana/Collins.

Sauer, E, 1999 Middleton Stoney/Upper Heyford, Aves Ditch, earthwork and tribal boundary of the Iron Age. *South Midlands Archaeology* 29, 65-9.

Sawyer, J. 1999. The excavation of a Romano-British site at Burgess Hill, West Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 137, pp. 49-58.

Schiffer, M.B., 1976. *Behavioural archaeology*. New York: Academic Press.

Schiffer, M.B., 1995. *Behavioural Archaeology: First Principles.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Schiffer, M.B., 1999. *The material life of human beings: artifacts, behavior, and communication.* London/New York: Routledge.

Schortman, E. M., 1989. Interregional interaction in prehistory: the need for a new perspective. *American Antiquity* 54(1), pp. 52-65.

Schortman, E. & Urban, P., 1994. Living on the Edge: Core-Periphery relations in Ancient Southeastern Mesoamerica. *Current Anthropology* 35, pp. 401-430.

Scott, E., 1993. *A Gazetteer of Roman Villas in Britain*. University of Leicester LUARC Monograph 1, Leicester.

Scott E. 1997. Introduction: on the incompleteness of archaeological narratives. In: Moore, J. & Scott, E., (eds.) *Invisible People and Processes. Leicester: Leicester University Press*, pp. 1-12.

Sealey, P.R., 2009. New Light on the Wine Trade with Julio-Claudian Britain. *Britannia* 40, pp. 1-40.

Shanks, M & Tilley, C., 1987. *Re-constructing archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shennan, S. J., 1989 (1994). *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. London: Routledge.

Sheppard, J.A., 1996. *The Draining of the Marshlands of South Holderness and the Vale of York.* York: East Yorkshire Local History Society.

Shields, G., 2005. The Roman Roads of the Portslade/Aldrington Area in relation to a possible Roman port at Copperas Gap. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 143, pp. 135-149.

Sibun, L., 1998. *A Report on the Archaeological Excavations at Bognor Regis Community College, Westloats Lane, Bognor Regis, West Sussex*. Unpublished ASE Client Report No. 921.

Smith, A.D., 1986. *The ethnic origins of nations.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Smith, A.D., 1991. *National Identity*. London: Penguin.

Smith, J.T., 1978 (1979). Villas as a key to Social Structure. In: Todd, M. (ed.), *Studies in the Romano-British Villa.* Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp. 149-86.

Smith, J.T., 1997. *Roman Villas: A Study in Social Structure*. London/New York: Routledge.

Stead, I.M., 1976. *Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa and other Roman sites in North Lincolnshire: 1958-1967.* Department of the Environs Archaeological Reports 9. London: H.M.S.O.

Stein, G.J., 2002. From Passive Periphery to Active Agents: Emerging Perspectives in the Archaeology of Inter-Regional interaction (AAA Archaeology Division Distinguished Lecture in Archaeology). *American Anthropologist* 104, pp. 903-916.

Stephens, M., 2000. A Roman Site at Crab Lane, Crossgates, North Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Roman Antiquities Section* Bulletin 17, pp. 11-15.

Stoertz, C., 1997. *Ancient Landscapes on the Yorkshire Wolds*. Swindon: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.

Swan, V.G. 2002. The Roman pottery of Yorkshire in its wider historical context. In: P. Wilson & J. Price (eds.), *Aspects of Industry in Roman Yorkshire and the North.* Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 35-79.

Taylor, J., 2001. Rural Society in Roman Britain. In: James, S. & Millett, M. (eds.), *Britons and Romans: advancing an archaeological agenda.* York: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 125, pp. 46-56.

Taylor, J., 2004. *English Heritage Roman Rural Settlement Project: a national overview*. Unpublished report, University of Leicester.

Taylor, J., 2007. *An Atlas of Roman Rural Settlement in England*. London: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 151.

Tilley, C., 1978. Migration in modern European History. In: McNeil, W. H., & Adams, R.S. (eds.), *Human Migration: patterns and policies*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, pp. 48-72.

Tilley, C., 1991. *Material Culture and Text: the art of ambiguity*. London/New York: Routledge.

Timby, J.R., 1998. *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire: A Roman Estate Centre and Small Town in the Cotswolds with Notes on Related Settlements.* Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeological Trust.

Timby, J.R. 1998. *Yarnton Site Report*. Oxford Archaeology, Unpublished Site Report.

Todd, M., 1990. Villa and Fundus. In: Branigan, K. & Miles, D. (eds.) *The Economies of Romano-British Villas.* Sheffield: University of Sheffield, pp. 14-21.

Todd, M., 2005. Social transformations, collective categories and identity change. *Theory and Society* 34, pp. 429-63.

Torben, R., 2002. Eolian processes, ground cover, and the archaeology of coastal dunes: A taphonomic case study from San Miguel Island, California, U.S.A. *Geoarchaeology* 17(8), pp. 811 – 833.

Torrance, L. J. & Durden T., 2003. An Evaluation and Excavation of Iron Age and Roman occupation at Mansfield Road, RAF Chessington, Surrey, 1994. *Surrey Archaeological Collection* 90, pp. 233–246

Trigger, B., 2006. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, J., 1987. Pollen Analysis. In: Millett, M. & McGrail, S., The archaeology of the Hasholme logboat. *Archaeological Journal* 144, pp. 69-155.

Tyers, P. 1996. *Roman Pottery in Britain*. London: Batsford Limited.

Ucko, P.J., 1983. The politics of the indigenous minority. *Journal of Biosocial Science Supplement* 8, pp. 25-40.

Van de Noort, R., 2004. *The Humber Wetlands: the archaeology of a dynamic landscape*. Bollington: Windgather Press.

Van der Veen, M. 1989. Charred Grain Assemblages from Roman Period Corn-Dryers in Britain. *The Archaeological Journal* 146, pp. 302-319.

Van der Veen, M., 1992. *Crop Husbandry Regimes. An archaeobotanical study of farming in northern England: 1000 BC - AD 500*. Sheffield: Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 3.

Van der Veen, M., 2007. Formation processes of desiccated and carbonised plant remains – the identification of routine practice. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34, pp. 968-990.

Van der Veen, M., Livarda, A. & Hill, A., 2008. New Plant Foods in Roman Britain-Dispersal and Access. *Environmental Archaeology* 13(1), pp. 11-36.

van Driel-Murray, C., 1999. Dead Men's Shoes. In: Schuler, W. & Wiegels, R (eds.), Rom, Germanien und die Ausgrabungen von Kalkriese, pp. 169-191.

van Driel-Murray, C., 2008. Those who wait at home: the effect of recruitment on women in the Lower Rhine Area. In: Brandl, U. (ed.), *Frauen und Romisches Militar:*

Beitrage eines Runden Tisches in Xanten Vom 7. bis 9. Juli 2005. British Archaeological Report Series 1759, pp. 82-91.

Wallace, C. 2006. Long Lived Samian? *Britannia* 37, pp. 259-272.

Wallace-Hadrill, A., 1988. The social structure of the Roman house. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66, pp. 43-97.

Washburn, D., 1989. The property of symmetry and the concept of ethnic style. In: Shennen, S. (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. Routledge, London, pp. 157-173.

Watson, P.J., LeBlanc, S.A. & Redman, C., 1971. *Explanation in archaeology: an explicitly scientific approach.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Watts, L., Jones, A. and Rahtz, P., 2003. The Roman Villa at Blansby Park, Pickering: Excavations at the Park Gate Roman site in 2000. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 75, pp. 15-56

Waugh, H., & Goodburn, R., 1972. Non Ferrous objects: the objects of bone. In: Frere, S.S. *Verulamium Excavations Volume 1*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology Monographs 1, pp. 149 – 151.

Weber, M., 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Translated from the German by G. Roth & C. Wittich. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Webster, J., 2001. Creolizing the Roman provinces. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, pp. 209-25.

Webster, J., 2008. Slavery, archaeology and the politics of analogy. *Archaeological Dialogues* 15(2), pp. 139-149.

Weatherill, L., 1988. *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain*. London: Routledge.

Webster, J., & Cooper, N. (eds.), 1996. *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspective.* Leicester Archaeology Monograph No. 3. Leicester: University of Leicester School of Archaeological Studies.

White, K., 1995. A Tale of Two Theories: Critical Comparisons of Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 58, pp. 255–69.

Whitelaw, T., 2000. Beyond the palace: a century of investigation at Europe's oldest city. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 44: 223-226.

Whittington, G., and Edwards, K.J., 1993. Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant: The Romans in Soctland, a paleoenvironmental contribution. *Britannia* 24, pp. 13-25.

Wiessner, P., 1983. Style and Social Information in Kalahari San Projectile Points. *American Antiquity* 48(2), pp. 253-276

Wiessner, P., 1989. Style and changing relations between the individual and society. In: Hodder, I. (ed.), *The meanings of things: material culture and symbolic expression*. London: Unwin Hyman, pp. 53-63.

Wightman, E.M., 1970. *Roman Trier and the Trevari*. London: Hart-Davies.

Wilk, R. R. & Rathje, W. L., 1982. Household Archaeology. *American Behavioral Scientist* 25(6), pp. 617-639

Williams, D. & Carreras, M. C., 1995. North African Amphorae in Roman Britain, A Reappraisal. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. *Britannia* 26, pp. 231- 252.

Williams, H., 1999. Identities and Cemeteries in Roman and early medieval Archaeology. & Baker, P. Forcey, C. Jundi, S. & Witcher, R.(Eds.) *TRAC 98 Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference.* Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 96-108.

Willis, S., 1996. The Romanization of Pottery Assemblages in the East and North-East of England during the First Century A.D.: A Comparative Analysis. *Britannia* 27, pp. 179-221.

Willis, S., 1999. Without and within: aspects of culture and community in the Iron Age of north-eastern England. In: B. Bevan (Ed.), *Northern Exposure: interpretive devolution and the Iron ages in Britain.* Leicester: School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester, pp. 81-110.

Willis, S., 2004. Research framework document for the Study of Roman Pottery in Britain. *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 11, pp. 1-20.

Willis, S. 2005. Samian pottery, a resource for the study of Roman Britain and beyond: the results of the English Heritage funded Samian project. An e-monograph. Internet Archaeology 17 [online], Available at <http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue17/willis_toc.html> [Accessed 27 May 2012].

Wilson, P. R., 2002. Craft and Industry on the North Yorkshire Moors in the Roman Period. In: Wilson, P.R. & Price, J. (eds.) *Aspects of Industry in Roman Yorkshire and the North.* Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 13-21.

Winther-Jacobsen, C., 2001. *From Pots to People: A Ceramic Approach to the Archaeological Interpretation of Ploughsoil Assemblages in Late Roman Cyprus.* Babesch Supplements: Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology. Peeters Publishers.

Witcher, R. E., 1998. Roman Roads: Phenomenological Perspectives on Roads in the Landscape. In: Forcey, C., Hawthorne, J. & Witcher, R.E. (eds.) *TRAC 97 proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, which formed part of the Second International Roman Archaeology Conference, University of Nottingham, April 1997*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 60-70.

Wobst, M., 1977. Stylistic behaviour and information exchange. In: Cleland, C.E. (ed.) *For the director: Research essays in honor of James B. Griffin.* Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Anthropological Papers 61. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, pp. 317-42.

Wolf, E. R., 1994. Perilous Ideas: Race, Culture, People. *Current Anthropology* 35, pp. 1–12.

Wolseley, G.R., Smith R.A. & Hawley, L.1927. Prehistoric and Roman Settlements on Park Brow. *Archaeologia* 76, pp. 1-40.

Woodward, K., 2002. *Understanding Identity*. London: Arnold.

Woolf, G.D., 1993. The Social Significance of trade in late Iron Age Europe. In: Carre, C.S. & Healey, F. (eds.), *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe: Acts of the Prehistoric Society Conference* held at the University of Bristol, April 1992. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 211-18.

Woolf, G., 1998. *Becoming Roman: The origins of Provincial civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, P.J., 2010. Methodological Issues in Paleoethnobotany: A consideration of Issues, Methods and Cases. In: VanDerwarker, A.M. & Peres, T.M. (eds.), *Integrating Zooarchaeology and Paleoethnobotany: A Consideration of Issues, Methods and Cases*. New York: Springer, pp.37- 65.

Wylie, A., 1989. Matters of Fact and Matters of interest. In: Shennan, S.J.(ed.) *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity.* London: Routledge, pp. 94-108.

Yeates, S.J., 2008. *The Tribe of Witches: The Religion of the Dobunni and Hwicce*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2004. Stamford Bridge, East Yorkshire. *Roman Antiquities Section Bulletin* 20, pp. 12-14.

Zeepvat, R. J. (ed.), 1993. *Three Iron Age and Romano-British rural settlements on English gravels : excavations at Hatford (Oxfordshire), Besthorpe (Nottinghamshire) and Eardington (Shropshire) undertaken by Tempvs Reparatvm between 1991 and 1993*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Roman Households: Space, Status and Identity
Figures

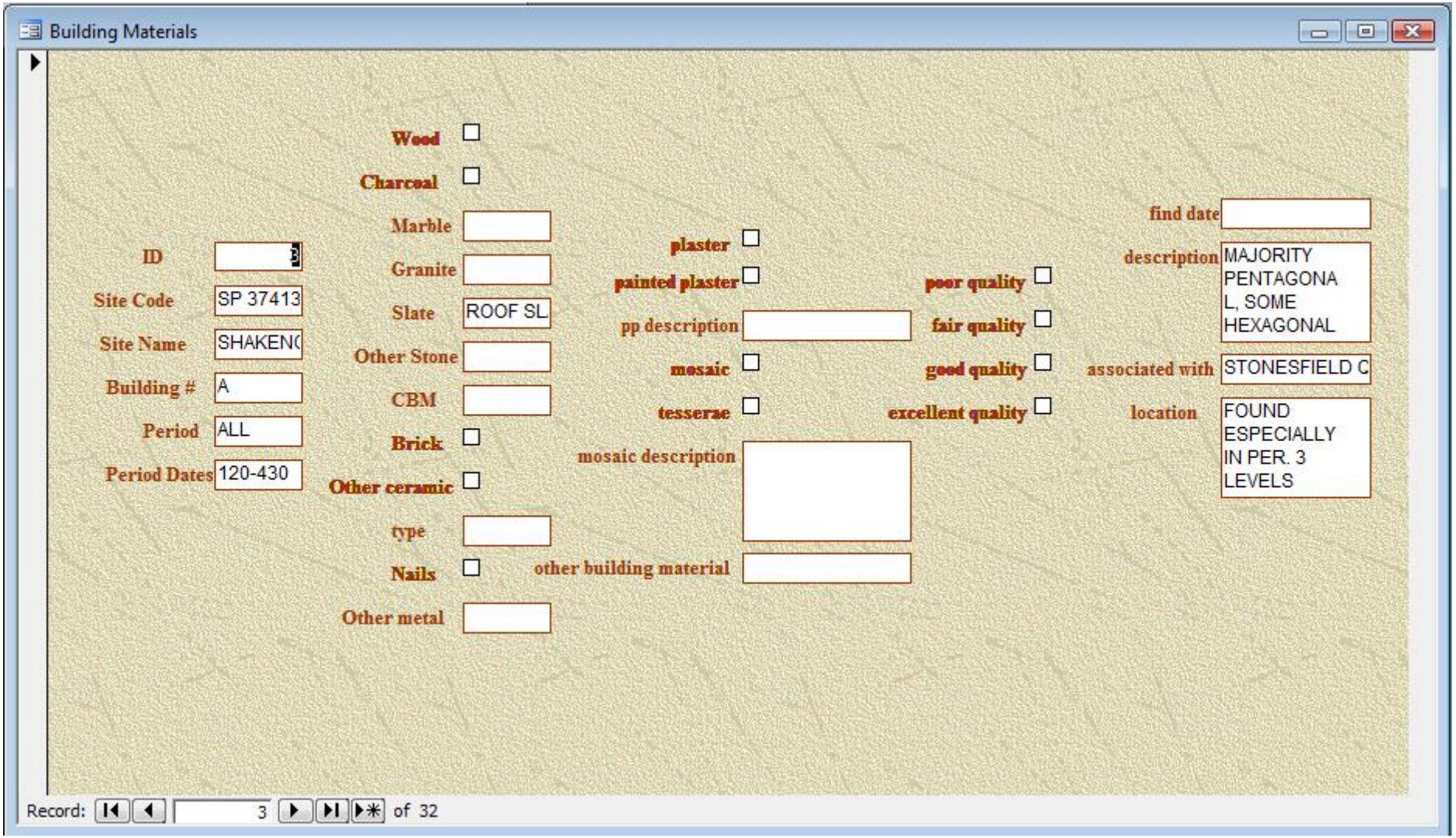

Figure 3.1 *Building Materials* database form.

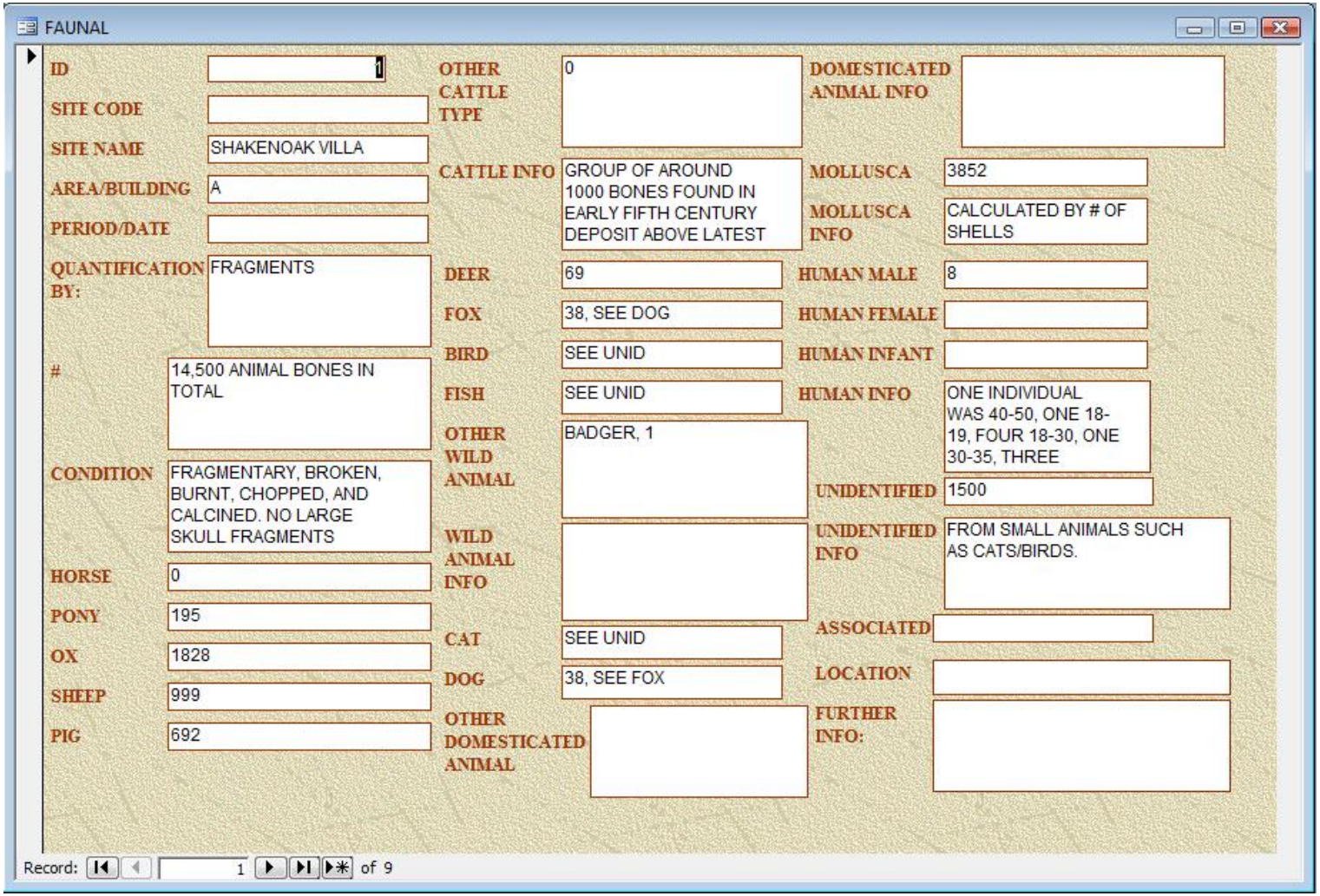

Figure 3.2 *Faunal Remains* database form

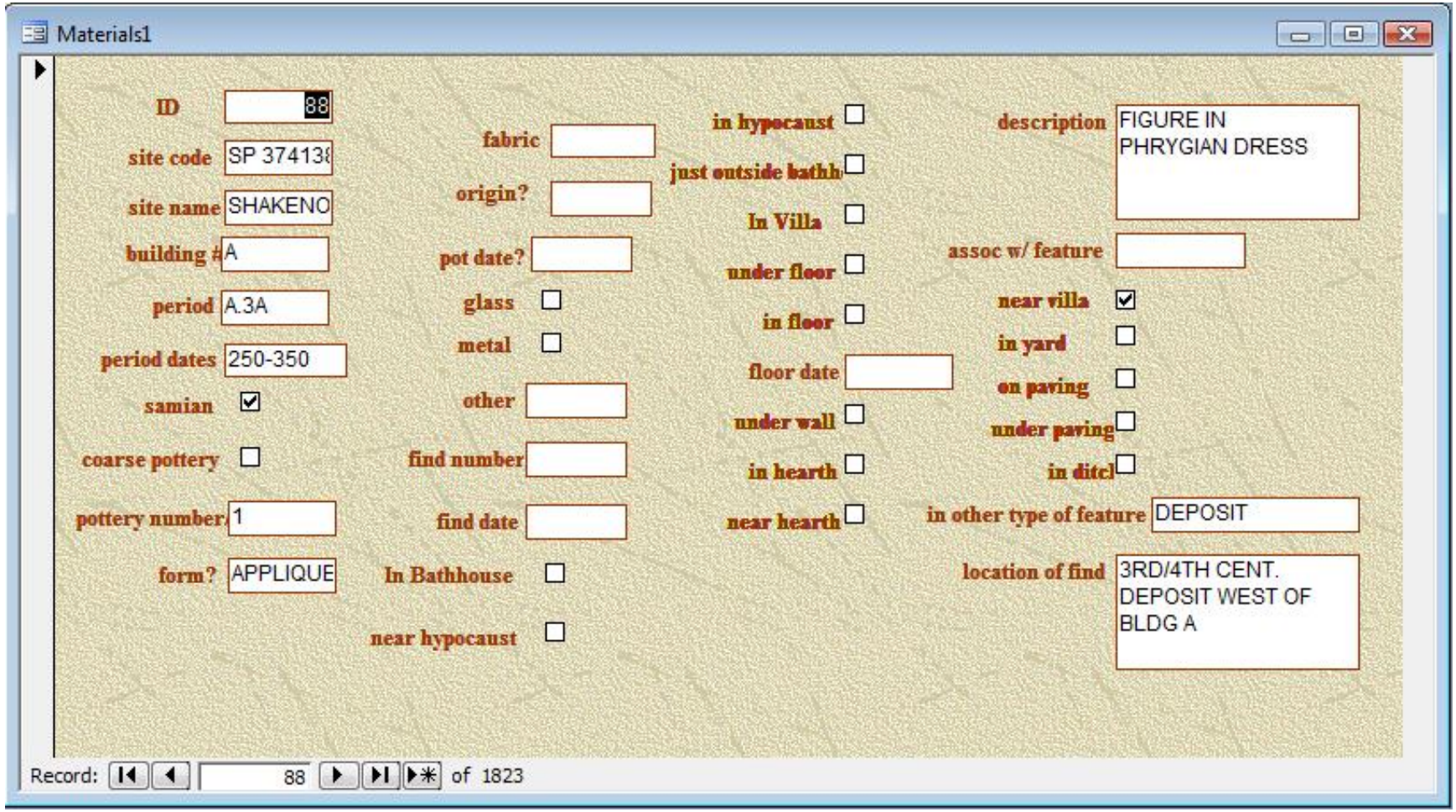

Figure 3.3 *Pilot Database* form. Note that this form also contains human burials.

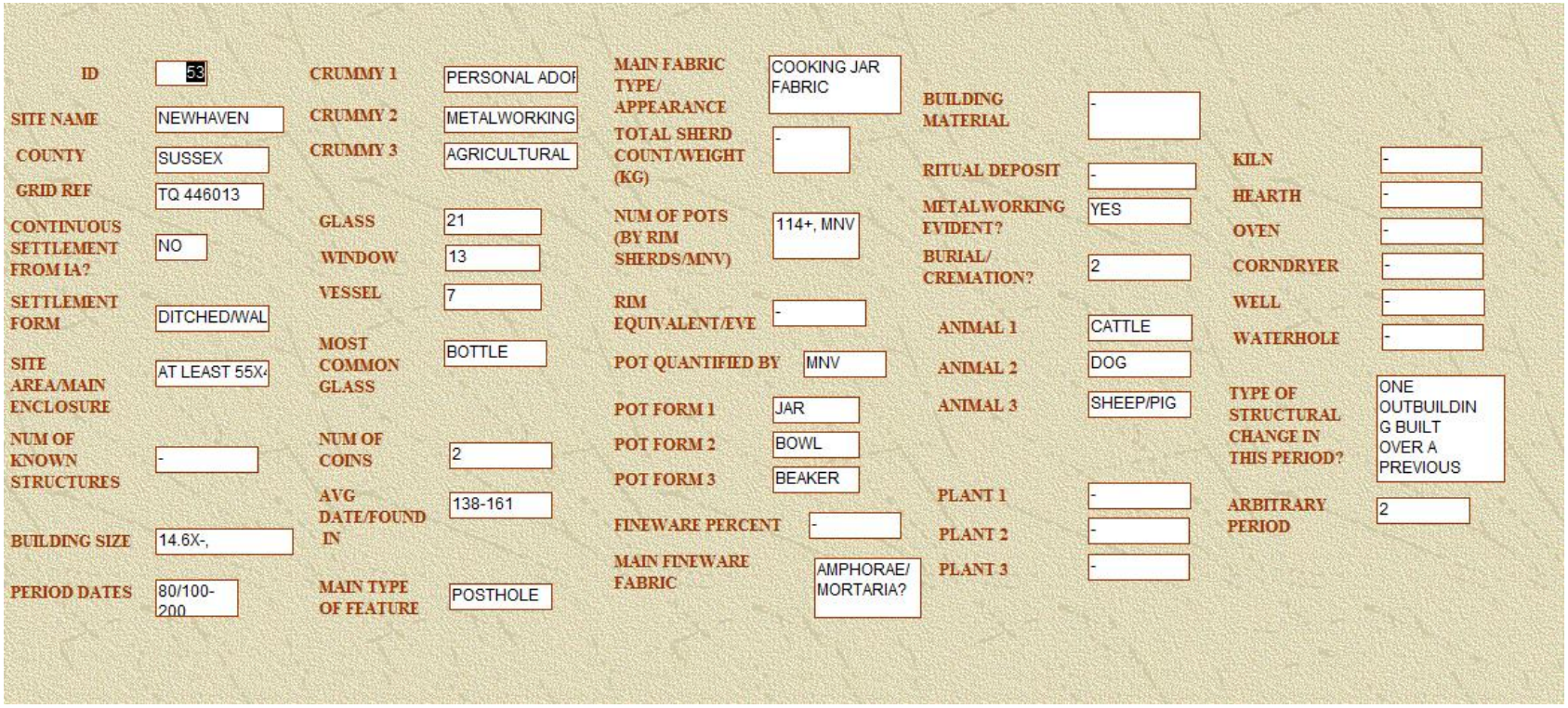

Figure 3.4 *Regional Database* form, with 'Top 3' information.

SITE NAME	COUNTY	GRID REF	CLASSIFICATION
APPLEFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	SU 522 925	C
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	OXFORDSHIRE	SU 031 960	A
YARNTON	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 4711	B
MANSFIELD COLLEGE	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 516068	A
OLD SHIFFORD (2)	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 382 022	A
HATFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	SU 331 955	B
WATKINS FARM	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 426 035	B
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 5715 2095	A
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE	OXFORDSHIRE	SU 019 945	B
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A)	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 374 138	B
BARTON COURT	OXFORDSHIRE	-	A
PARK BROW	WEST SUSSEX	-	B
LAMBS LEA	WEST SUSSEX	SU916154	D
BOXGROVE	WEST SUSSEX	SU 9220 0845	A
FISHBOURNE CREEK	WEST SUSSEX	SU 83610424	B
BURGESS HILL	WEST SUSSEX	NGR TQ296188	C
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD	WEST SUSSEX	SU 88760945	D
MIDDLETON ON SEA	WEST SUSSEX	-	C
SLONK HILL	EAST SUSSEX	TQ226065	A
NEWHAVEN	EAST SUSSEX	TQ 446013	B
BISHOPSTONE	EAST SUSSEX	TQ 46750072	B
CHILGROVE I	WEST SUSSEX	SU 834 125	B
CHILGROVE II	WEST SUSSEX	SU842 137	B
UPMARDEN	WEST SUSSEX	SU 797 124	B
ELSTED	WEST SUSSEX	SU 813 191	B
RANSCOMBE HILL	EAST SUSSEX	TQ 432 089	B
BODIAM	EAST SUSSEX	TQ 783 251	D
WEST BLATCHINGTON	EAST SUSSEX	ORDINANCE MAP REF. 51/275074	C
WHARRAM LE STREET VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 867667	B
WHARRAM GRANGE VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 846657	C
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	-	A
STONYGATE	N.E. YORKSHIRE	SE 8334 8795	C
THURNSCOE	S. YORKSHIRE	SE 452 052	B
BLANSBY PARK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	SE 8083 8575	D
SANDTOFT	S. YORKSHIRE	SE 733098	D
WOMERSLEY	N. YORKSHIRE	SE 524196	D
CRAB LANE,	N. YORKSHIRE	TA 02758350	D

CROSGATES			
DIXON'S BANK, COULBY NEWHAM	N.E. YORKSHIRE	NZ 5279 1451	D
BONNY GROVE FARM, COULBY NEWHAM	N.E. YORKSHIRE	NZ 5257 1420	D
INGLEBY BARWICK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	NZ 437 151	B
STAMFORD BRIDGE	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 708 545	C
DALTON ON TEES	N. YORKSHIRE	NZ 3008 0822	B
MELTON	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 975 264	A
BIRDSALL HIGH BARN FARM	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 844 644	D
OLD WINTERINGHAM	E. YORKSHIRE	-	A
HAWLING ROAD	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 873 412	A
WHELDRAKE	N. YORKSHIRE	SE 688 443	B
HIGH WOLD	E. YORKSHIRE	TA 1815 6930	A

Figure 3.5 A-D Categorisation of sites, ordered by modern county.

Pot Forms	Animal	Plant
Amphora	Cattle	Wheat
Beaker	Dog	Barley
Bowl	Domestic Animals	Blackberry
Collander	Horse	Rye
Crater	Marine Mollusca	Oats
Cup	Oxen	Spelt
Cup/Mug	Oyster	Weeds
Dish	Pig	Chaff
Dish/Bowl	Sheep	Cereals
Flagon	Sheep/Goat	Peas
Jar		Flax
Jar/Bowl		Fat Hen
Jar/Jug		Scrub
Jug		Trees
Lid		Corn
Mortarium		
Plate		
Platter		
Samian		
Samian Copy		
Samian Vessel		
Skillet		

Figure 3.6 This table shows the various ceramic types, small finds, animal bones, and floral remains found on the Romano-British sites in this study. Use-Type Categories are shown in the next figure.

1. **Objects of personal adornment or dress**- Finds such as jewellery, garment fittings and the garments themselves.
2. **Toilet, surgical, or pharmaceutical instruments** – Objects used for personal grooming, such as combs, and objects which can be seen as either toilet, surgical, or pharmaceutical instruments. (only toilet instruments were found in this study)
3. **Objects used in the manufacture or working of textiles**- Objects used for the preparation and conversion of raw materials into textiles and objects associated with the working of textiles into garments or other items.
4. **Household utensils and furniture**- Objects used in the preparation, cooking, and serving of food (other than pottery vessels). (* **Items for Domestic Use (Addition to #4)** – This category was added in order to note when items decorating furniture or the interior of the house were used. It also applies in part to items (like knives and buckets amongst others) which can be used in the house but also can be used elsewhere.)
5. **Objects used for recreational purposes** – Objects such as pieces for board or other games.
6. **Objects employed in weighing and measuring-** Finds such as balances, scale pans, and weights.
7. **Objects used for or associated with written communication**- Finds such as styli or seal-boxes
8. **Objects associated with transport**- Objects such as harness or cart fittings.
9. **Buildings and Services** – Objects assocated with the fabric of buildings (e.g. worked stone) (***** modified to "Buildings and Construction" in order to better see how patterns in construction activity were followed by deposition of building refuse, nails, etc, in the archaeological record.
10. **Tools** – Tools which cannot be assigned to one of the more specific categories.
11. **Fasteners and fittings**- A 'blanket' category for those finds which fit into more than one other category, such as nails, hinges, staples, etc.

12. **Objects associated with agriculture, horticulture and animal husbandry** – Objects like cow bells, spades, scythe blades and other agricultural tools.

13. **Military Equiptment** – Finds such as weapons, fittings from armour, tools with military associations, and phallic amulets.
14. **Objects associated with religious beliefs and practices (*referred to in the text as "Ritual")** – objects such as figurines, coffin fittings and grave goods
15. **Objects and waste material associated with metal working** – Smithing tools and metallurgical waste products.
16. **Objects and waste material associated with antler, horn, bone, and tooth working** – Tools found with bone waste, or unfinished items.
17. **Objects and waste material associated with the manufacture of pottery vessels or pipeclay objects** – Finds such as moulds or stamps.
18. **Objects the function or identification of which is unknown or uncertain** – Unidentified objects or those with a range of possible uses, like chains.
19. ***Locks and Keys** (after Cool 1995) – This category was added for the purpose of tracking which sites may have seen fit to protect themselves, their goods or their livestock with locks.
20. **Objects the function or identification of which is unknown or uncertain** – Unidentified objects or those with a range of possible uses, like chains.
21. ***Weapons** – Items for defence which cannot conclusively be proven to be military.

Figure 3.7 Use-Type Categories (after Crummy 1983). * denotes a new category or one that has been modified.

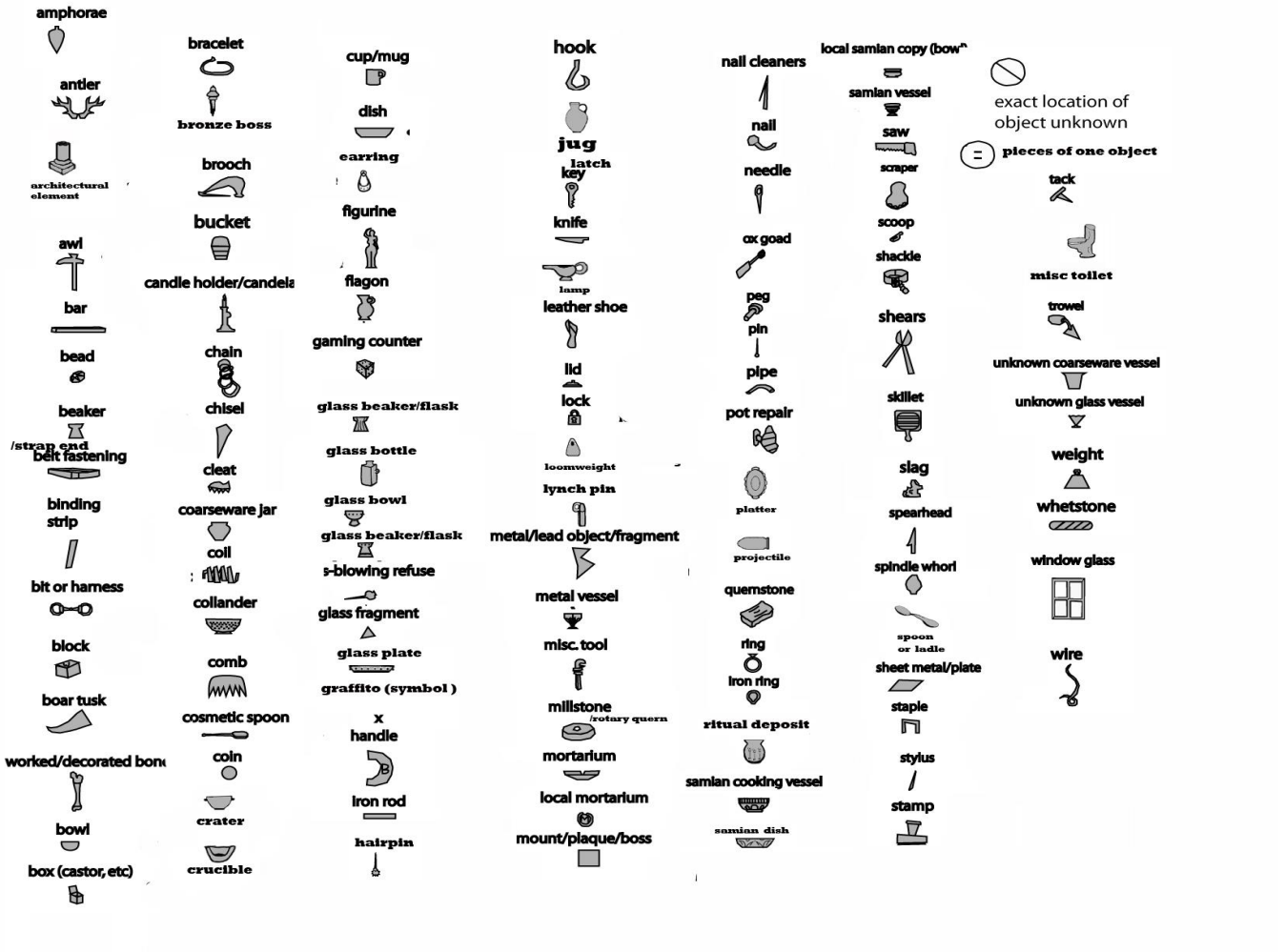

Figure 3.8 Symbols present on phase maps. Each of these symbols is colour-coded to signify date of manufacture/use.

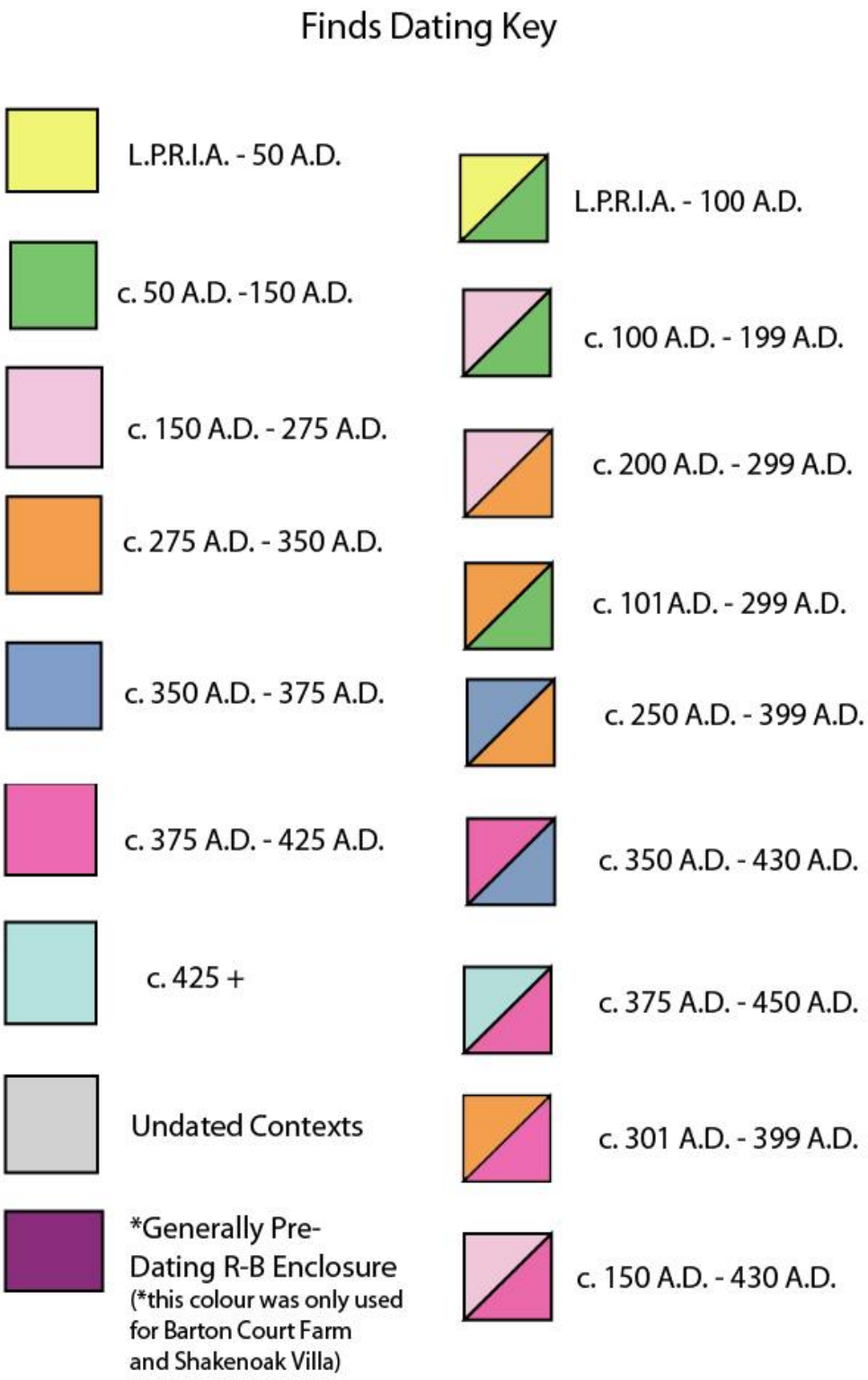

Figure 3.9 Colour key for finds to indicate their dates of manufacture and use.

Site Layout	Position, orientation, plan of main house including features, subsidiary buildings, enclosures and yards, fields, roads, and other features within all of these including floors, activity areas, pits and boundaries.
Construction	Details of walls, floors, roof, façade, doorways, boundaries, enclosures.
Building Materials	Quality of materials, sourcing
Decoration	Both within and outside of the house
Faunal Remains	Different species, body parts, food residue, distribution across the site.
Pottery	Fine/Table ratio, forms/uses, fragmentation, origins/distribution, quantity
Small Finds	Tools, utensils, toiletries, weapons, distributions

Figure 3.10 Rippengal's (1993) Categories. These categories, whilst providing a useful baseline of information, are not
as useful for 'lower status' rural sites.

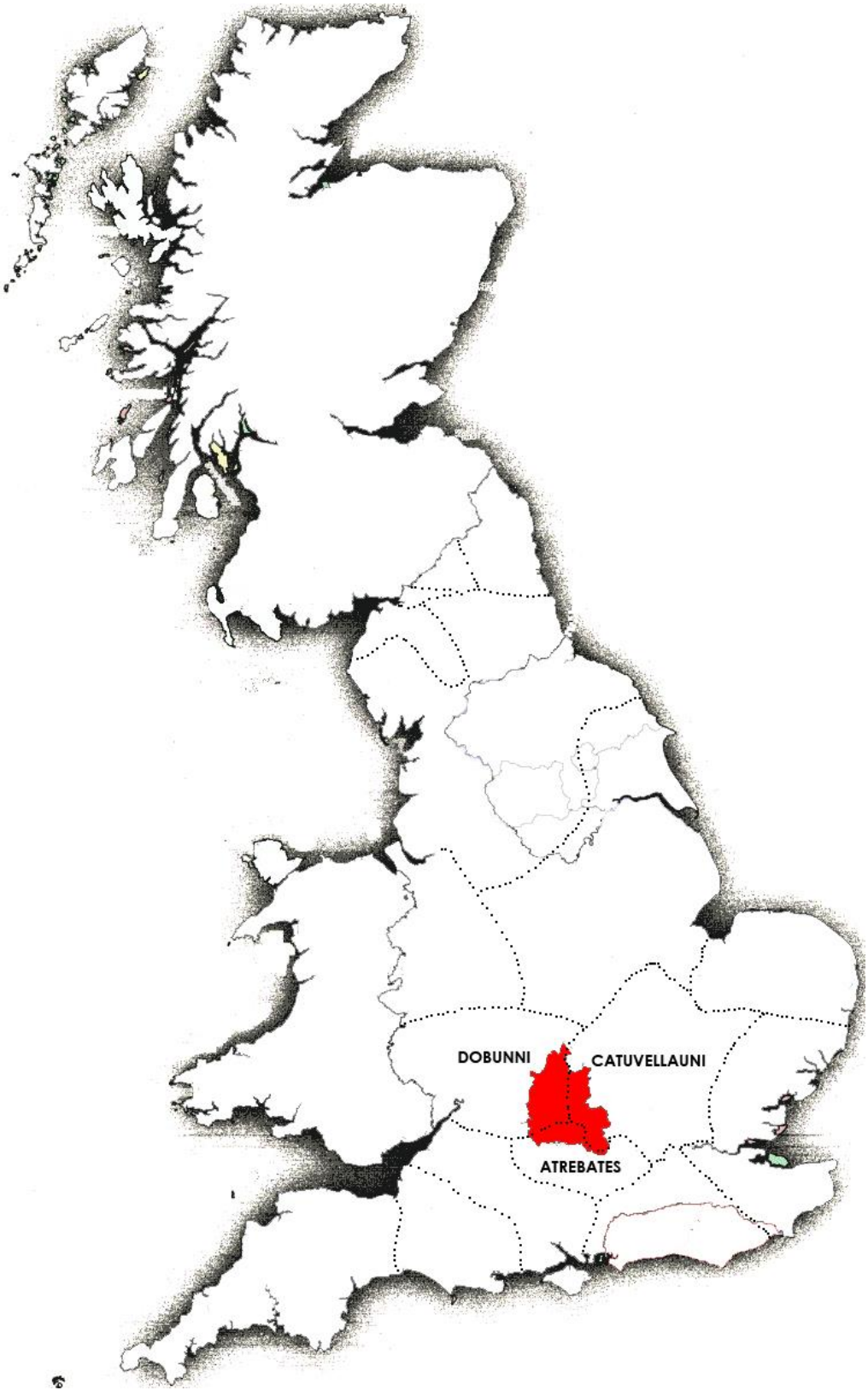

Figure 4.1 Map of supposed Romano-British ‘tribal’ boundaries. Modern Oxfordshire is shown in re

Figure 4.2 Four post structures have been interpreted as raised granaries (picture courtesy of Oxford Archaeology)

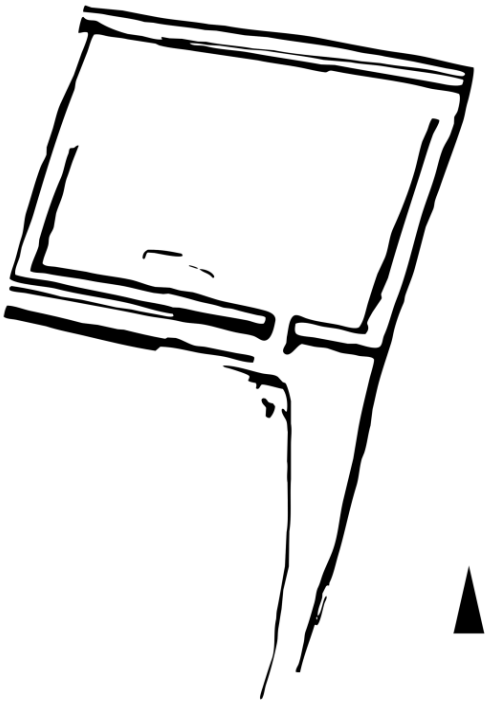

Figure 4.3 The site at Appleford Sidings. (After Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980). The ditched enclosure measures 75 x 55m.

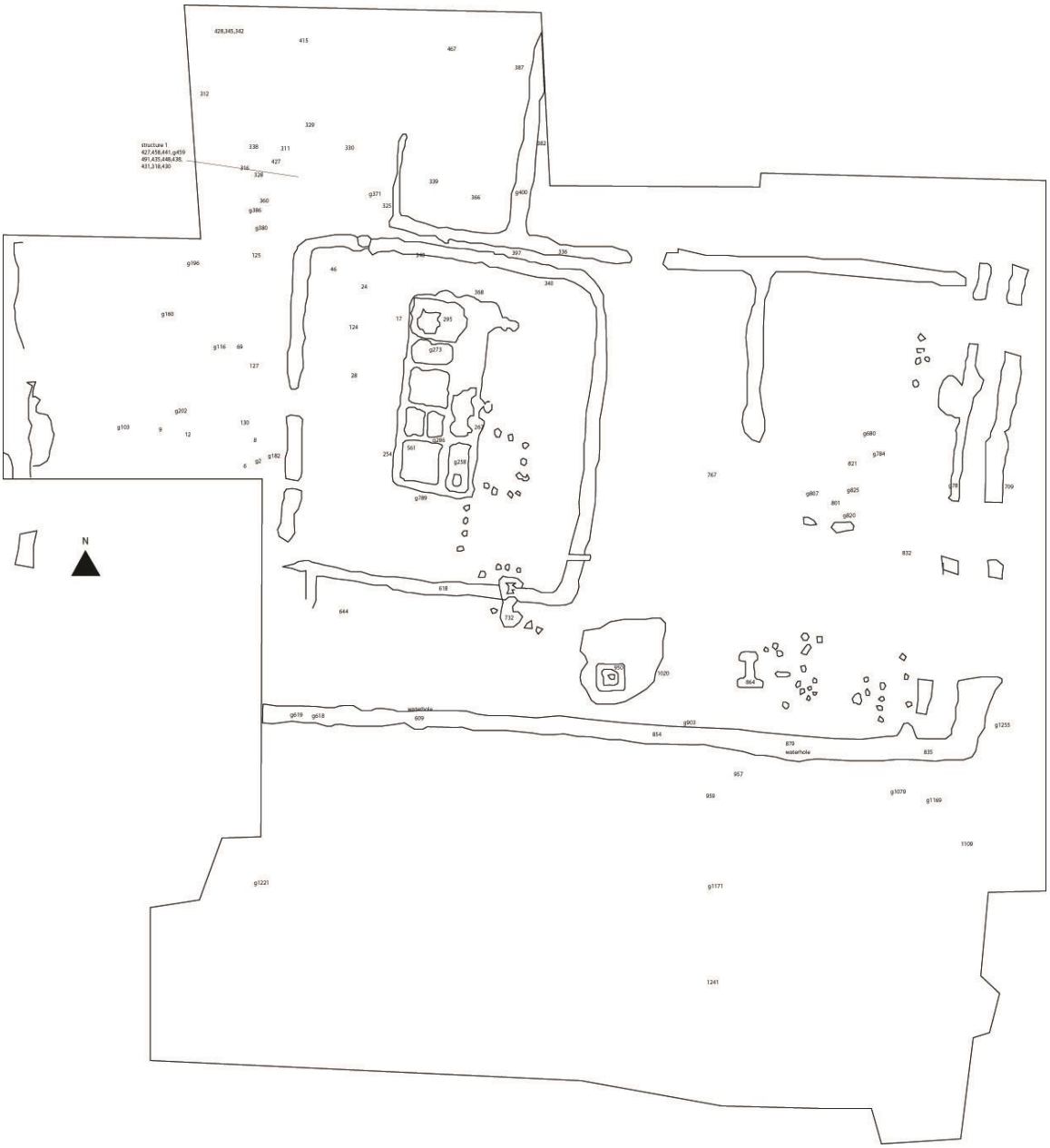

Figure 4.4 Barton Court Farm (after Miles 1986). The central enclosure is about 21x24 m.

Figure 4.5 A masonry footed building at Cotswold Community (after Miles et. al. 2007), measuring roughly 11m+ by 5.6m.

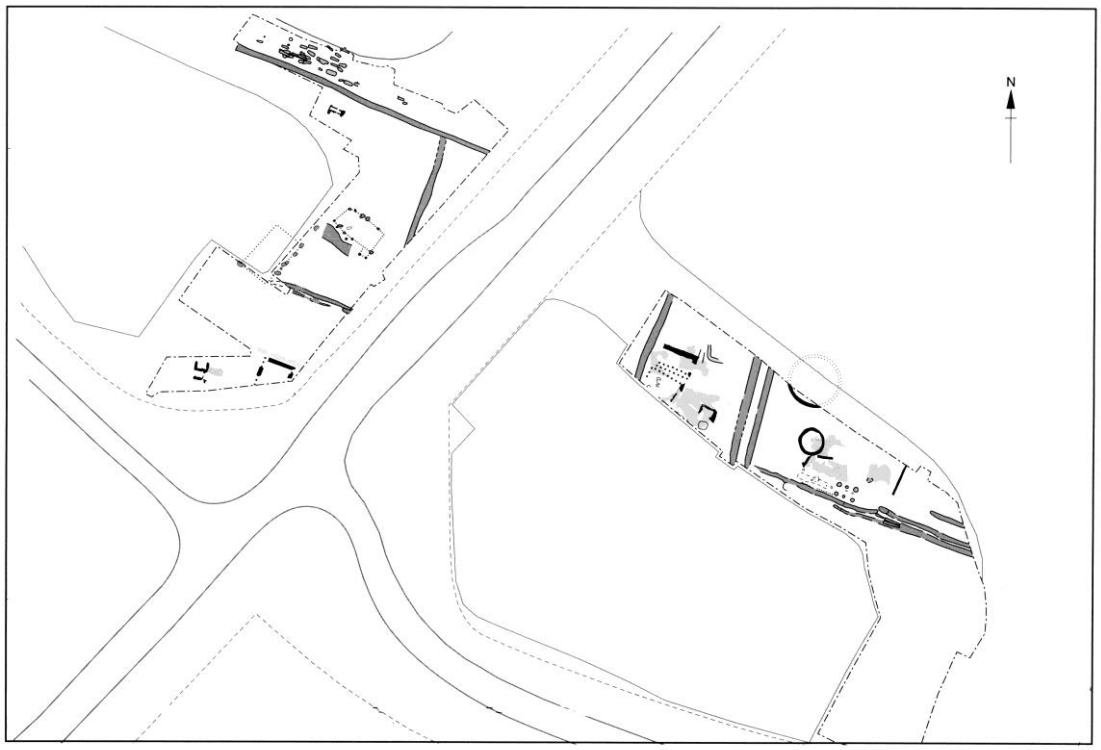

Figure 4.6 Extramural Alchester (reprinted from Booth and Hillier 2005). The larger of the circular ditches measures roughly 10m

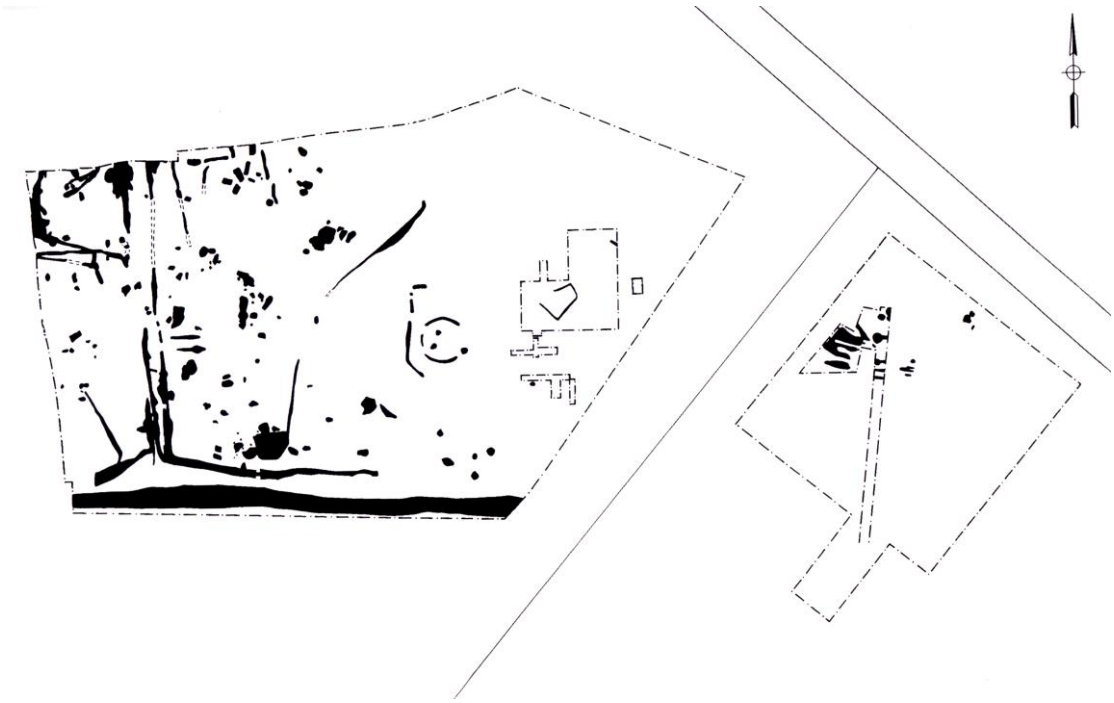

Figure 4.7 Hatford (reprinted from Zeepvat 1993). The left enclosure measures 115m x 60m at its widest points.

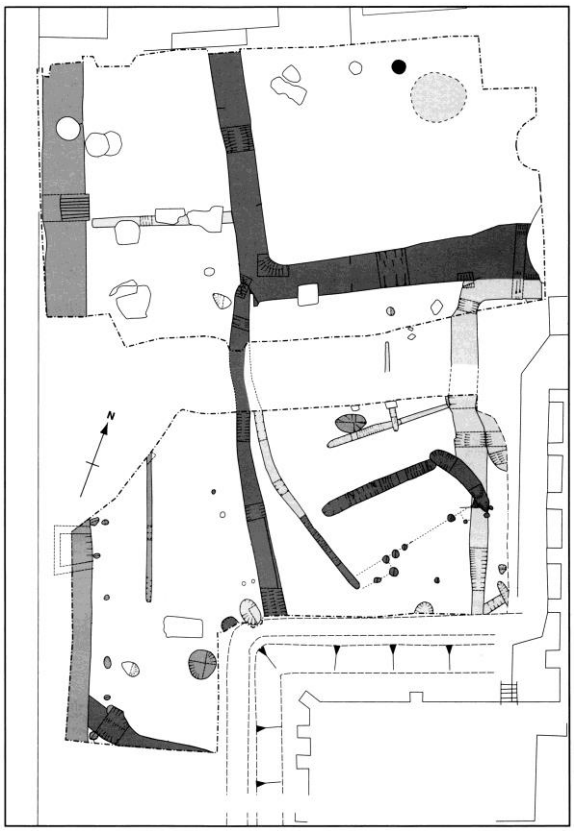

Figure 4.8 Mansfield College (reprinted from Booth and Hayden 2000). This picture shows an area of 31 x 24m.

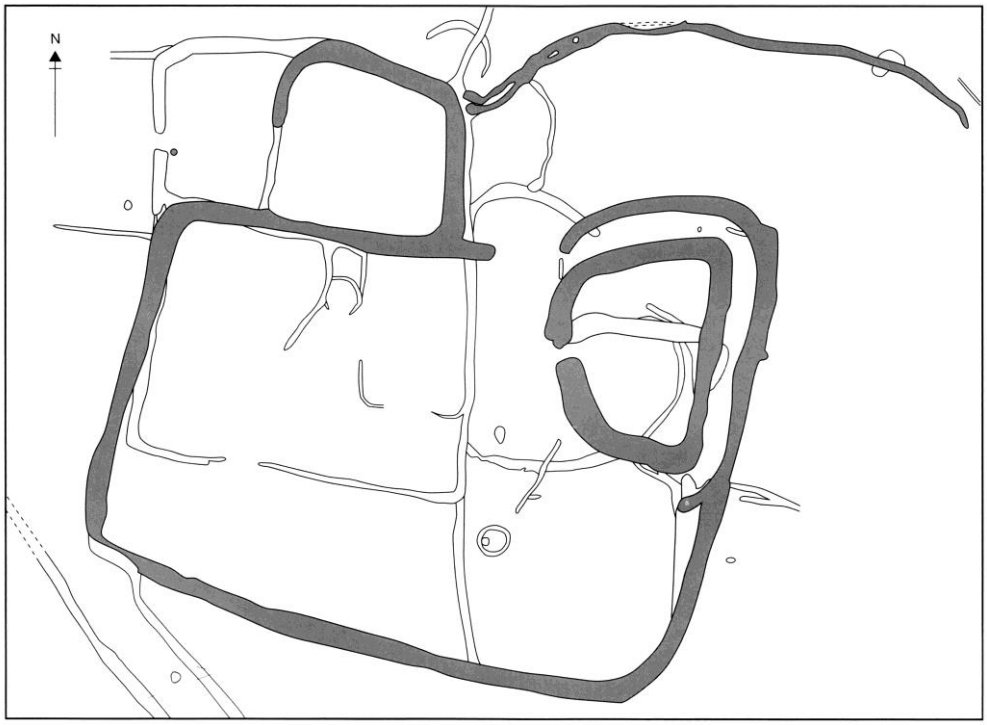

Figure 4.9 Old Shifford Farm (reprinted from Hey 1995). The enclosure measures roughly 64 x 60 m.

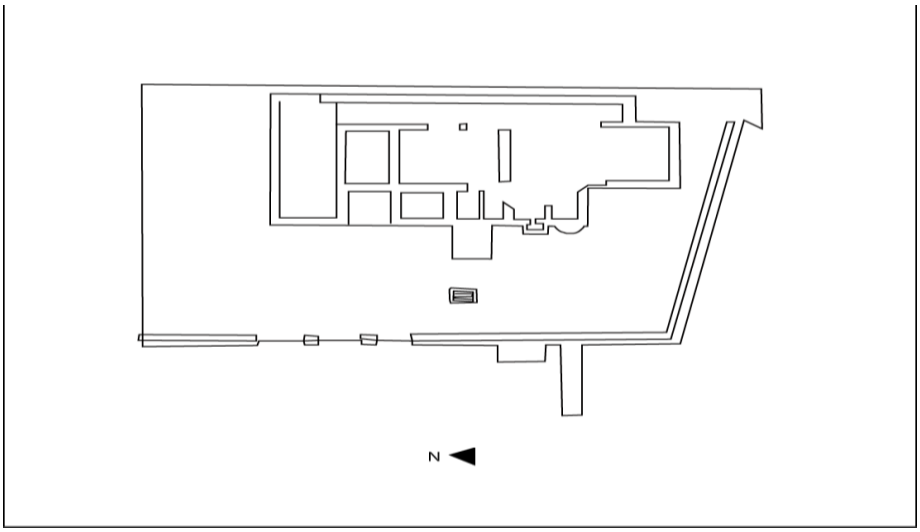

Figure 4.10 Shakenoak Villa Building A (after Brodribb et. al. 2005). The building measures roughly 20 x 40 metres.

Figure 4.11 Somerford Keynes (reprinted from Miles *et al.* 2007). The largest enclosure measures 100 x 110m.

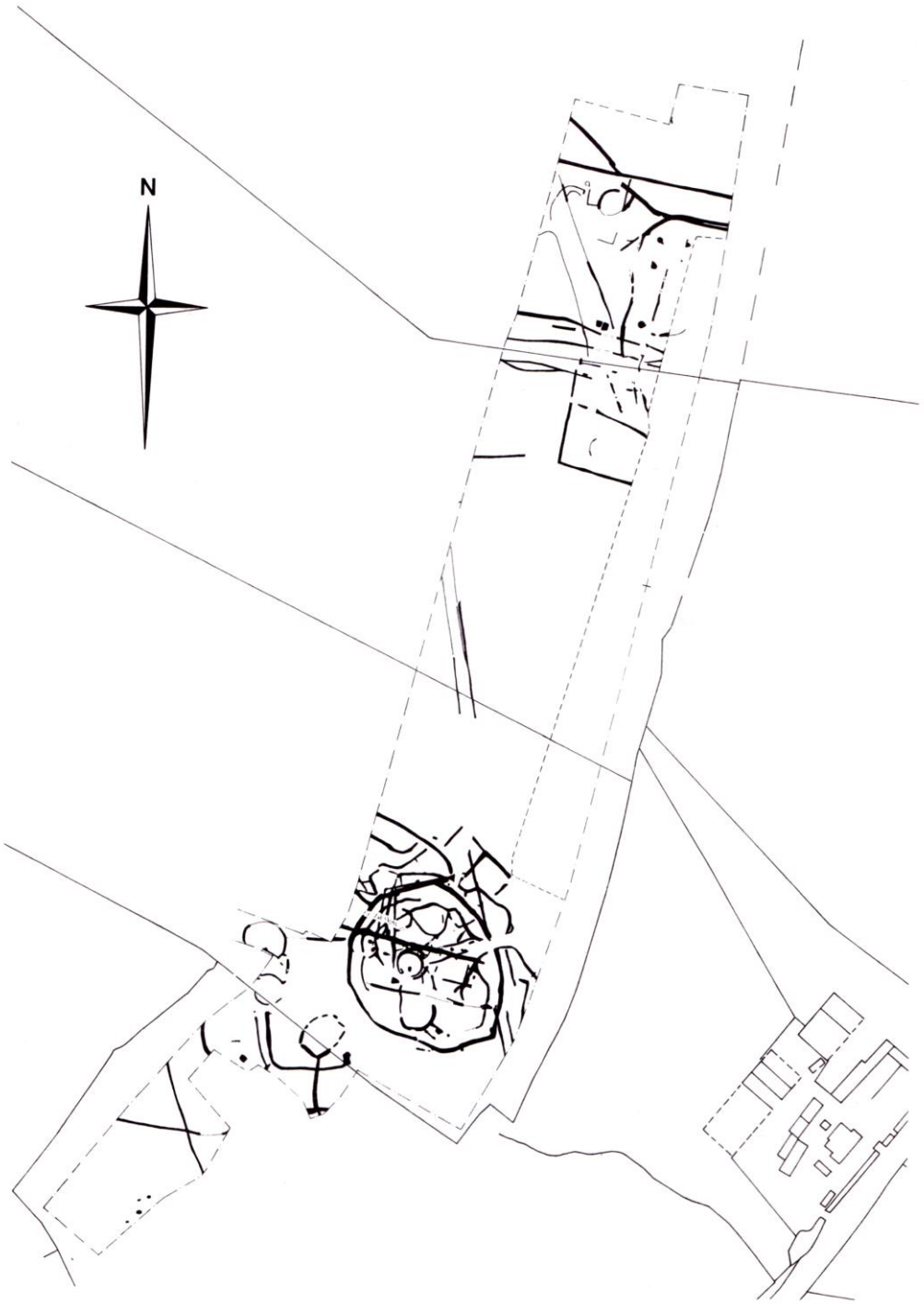

Figure 4.12 Watkins Farm (reprinted from Allen 1990). The circular enclosure to the south measures roughly 80m north to south.

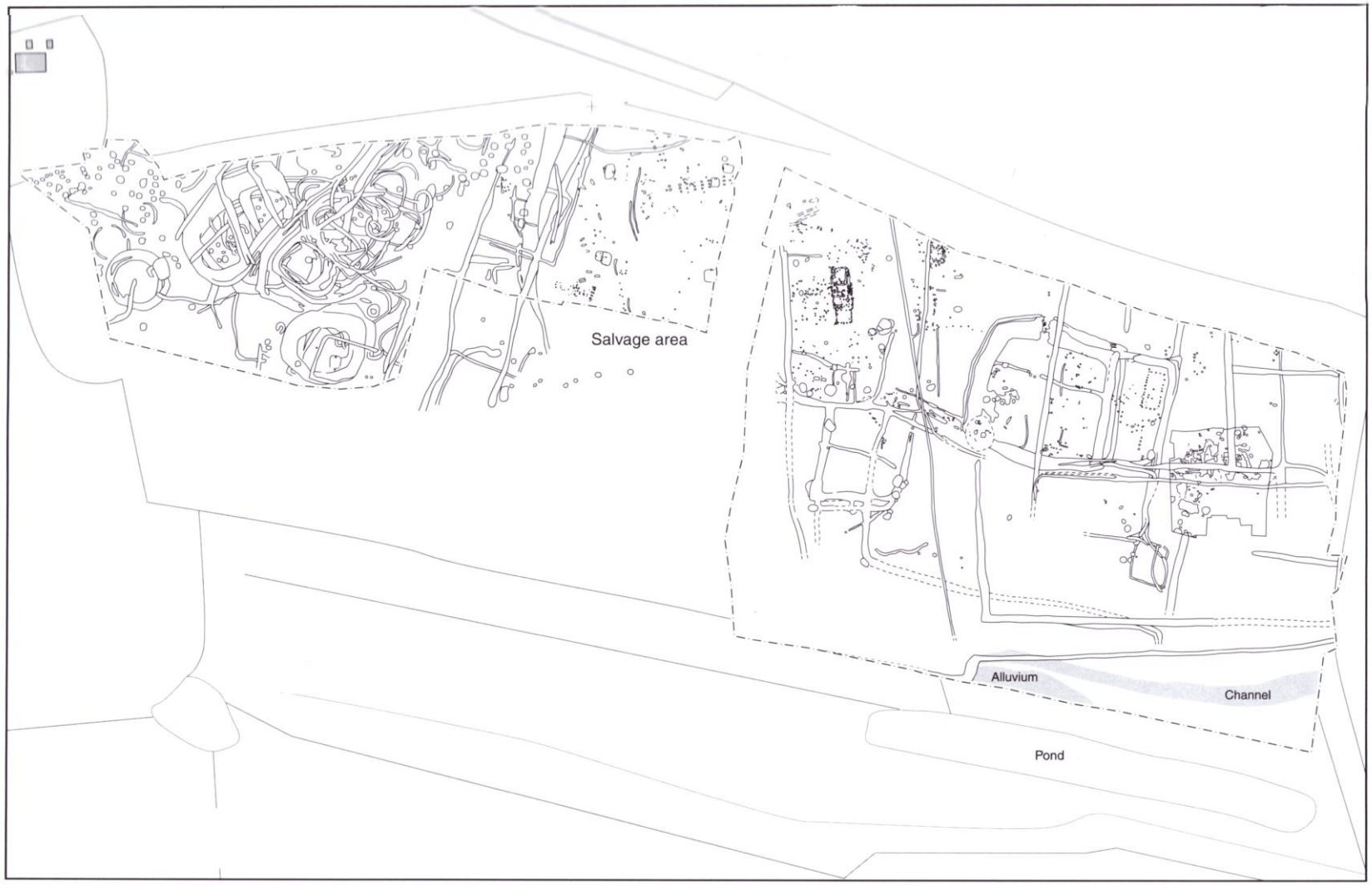

Figure 4.13 Yarnton (reprinted from Hey 2004). Enclosure 187 measures 36 x 22 metres.

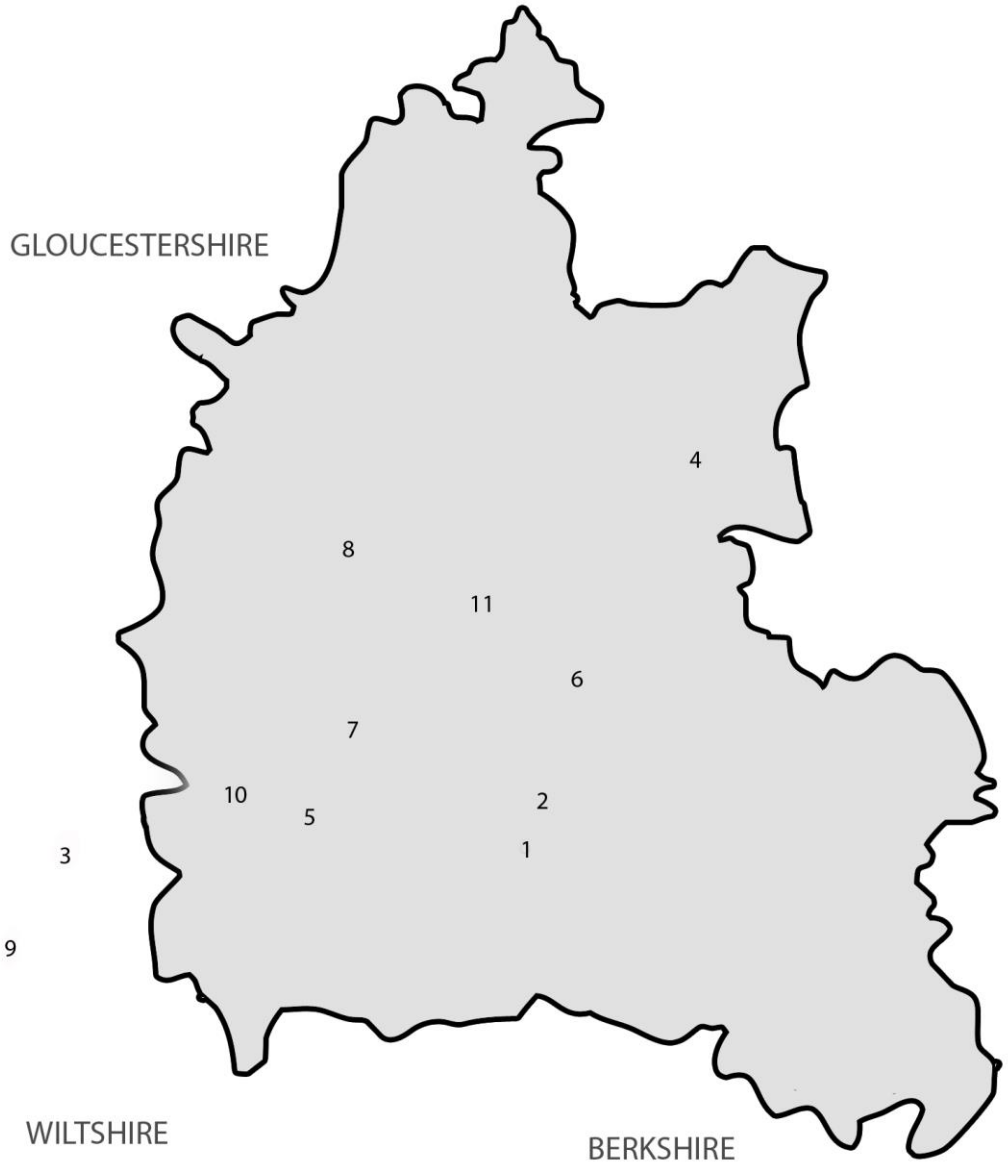

Figure 4.14 Sites investigated in the regional study of Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley. The numbers correspond with the alphabetical order of the sites in 4.3.

SITE NAME	SITE DATES	KILN	HEARTH	OVEN	CORNDRYER
APPLEFORD	c. 50-150				
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	I.A.-410		1		1?
YARNTON	50-410	2			3
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A)	100-430				
BARTON COURT FARM	50-425				2
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE	25-225				1
MANSFIELD COLLEGE	75-	YES ?			
OLD SHIFFORD FARM	I.A.-375			1	
HATFORD	I.A.-125				
WATKINS FARM	100-400				
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	45-400+		2+		1

Figure 4.15 Oxfordshire sites, with their occupation dates. Also, total numbers of kilns, hearths, ovens and corndryers excavated.

SITE NAME	I.A. CONTINUITY?	TOTAL CEREAL COUNT	PLANT 1	PLANT 2	PLANT 3
SOMERFORD KEYNES	NO	20 samples (10L)	WEED SEEDS	SPELT WHEAT	BARLEY
MANSFIELD COLLEGE	NO	4,611	SPELT WHEAT/EMMER	BARLEY	PEAS
OLD SHIFFORD (1)	YES	722	BARLEY	WHEAT	OATS
OLD SHIFFORD (2)	NO	‘’	WHEAT	BARLEY	FLAX?
WATKINS FARM	NO	n/a	WEED SEEDS	BARLEY	WHEAT
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	IRON AGE SETT, But NO CONTINUITY	1,458	WHEAT	BARLEY	OATS
APPLEFORD	NO	732	WHEAT	BARLEY	BLACKBERRY
SHAKENOAK VILLA	NO	511	WHEAT	OATS	-
BARTON COURT FARM	YES	3,621	WHEAT	BARLEY	-
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	YES	n/a (259 total samples)	WHEAT	BARLEY	OATS

Figure 4.16 Sites in Oxfordshire with agricultural evidence. Old Shifford Farm is represented twice in this table because of the long period of abandonment and considerable settlement shift. n/a refers to sites which where proportions were mentioned in the text without quantification. Somerford Keynes gave information about proportions, but only listed sample numbers, not grain counts.

SITE NAME	I.A. CONTINUITY?	TOTAL FRAGMENTS	ANIMAL 1 (COUNT/MNI)	ANIMAL 2 (COUNT/MNI)	ANIMAL 3 (COUNT/MNI)
HATFORD	YES	1,680	SHEEP (130/)	CATTLE (47/)	PIG (24/)
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	YES	3,089	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
YARNTON	YES	1,478	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A)	NO	14,500	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE	NO	7,882	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
MANSFIELD COLLEGE	NO	270	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG/HORSE
OLD SHIFFORD	YES	949	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
WATKINS FARM	NO	1000+	CATTLE (508/)	HORSE (246/)	SHEEP (163/)
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	NO	10,040 (frags) 2,519 (sieved)	CATTLE (732/48)	SHEEP (597/68)	HORSE (202/15)
APPLEFORD	NO	699	CATTLE (387/21)	SHEEP (152/10)	PIG (55/7)

Figure 4.17 Top 3 species of animal present on sites in Oxfordshire (using proportional analysis of the 'top 3' in the regional database). Counts and MNI were noted if given.

Oxford	Nearby Settlement	Nearby Site	Access to Water	Nearby Road	Also Nearby
APPLEFORD	Didcot	Barton Court	2 waterholes	Trackway	gravel extraction, communal land
YARNTON	Alchester/ Oxford	Worton	Thames + Evenlode	Dorchester-Silchester, Akeman	communal land, pottery kilns, cemetery
SOMERFORD KEYNES	Cirencester	Ashton Keynes	-	Fosse Way + Ermin Street	tile depot
SHAKENOAK VILLA	Wilcote	-	Evenlode (also spring)	-	-
OLD SHIFFORD (1)	-	Watkins Farm	Thames (near Windrush+Evenlode)	droveways and trackways	communal land
MANSFIELD ROAD	Oxford	"nearby rural settlements"	Thames	-	-
BARTON COURT	Abingdon	Appleford	Ock + Thames	Frilford road	-
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	Bicster	Alchester	Streams	Akeman Street	villas, cemetery
HATFORD	Farringdon	Hatford Down	Frogmere Brook	droveway/trackway	-
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	Cirencester	Somerford Keynes	-	droveways	cemetary, gravel
WATKINS FARM	Stanton Harcourt	Gravelly Guy/Old Shifford	Thames + Windrush	-	-

Figure 4.18 Shows access to resources and communications from the sites in Oxfordshire.

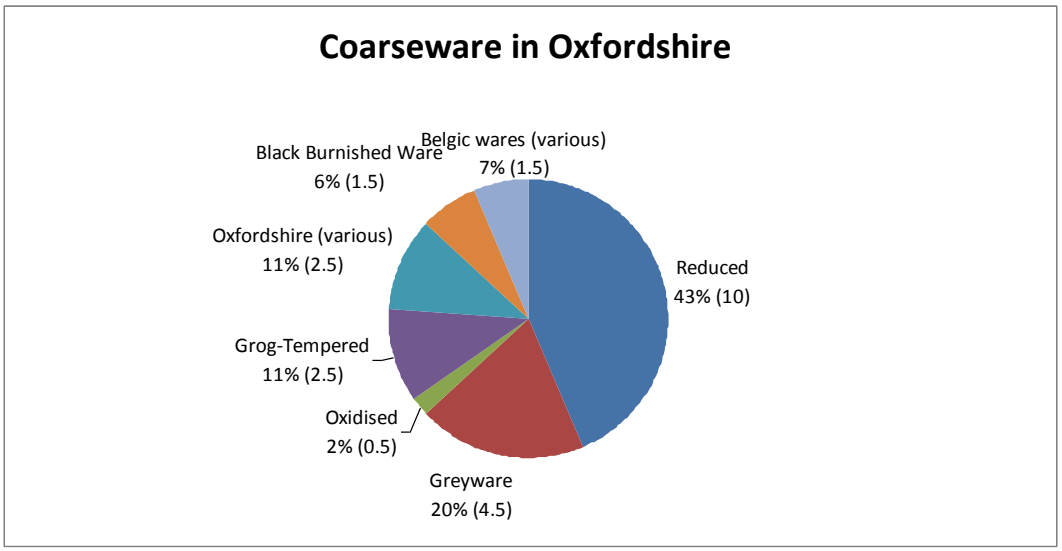

Figure 4.19 Coarseware types present at the sites in Oxfordshire through time. Half points represent publications that noted two most common coarseware fabrics. 32 incidences of coarse fabric type were noted (from a possible 38), from the eleven sites that gave information.

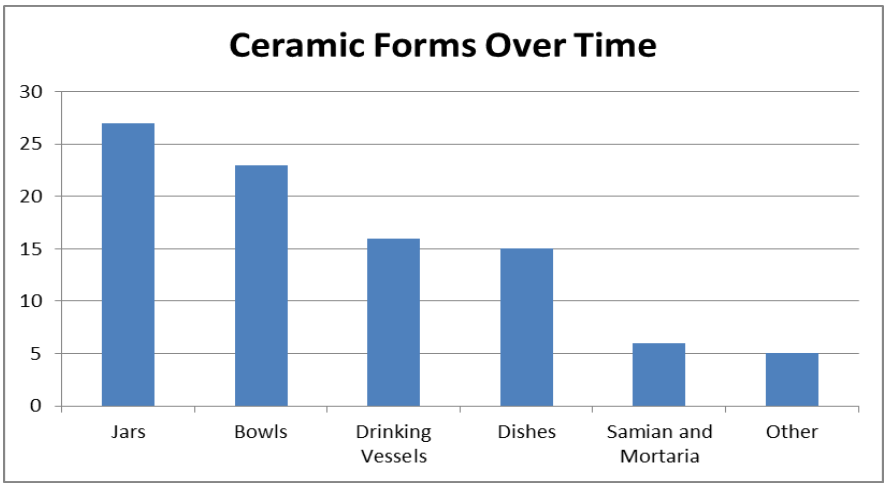

Figure 4.20 Form types from all Oxfordshire region sites, compared by presence or absence, using 'Top 3' data (ergo there are a maximum of 3 forms per site phase). Though jars were the most common form on most sites (27 out of a total 92 total counts), bowls were present on an equal number of sites through time.

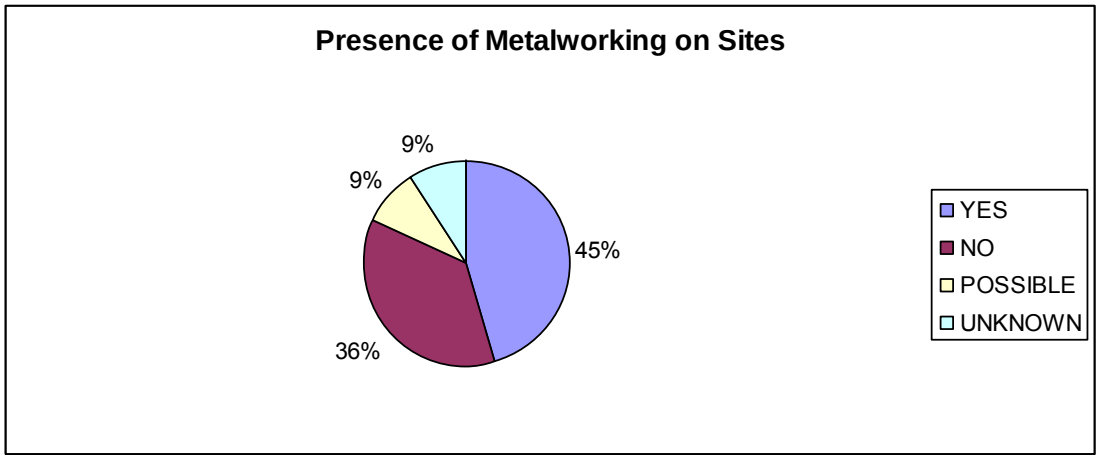

Figure 4.21 Metalworking on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley. All 11 sites are included in this sample.

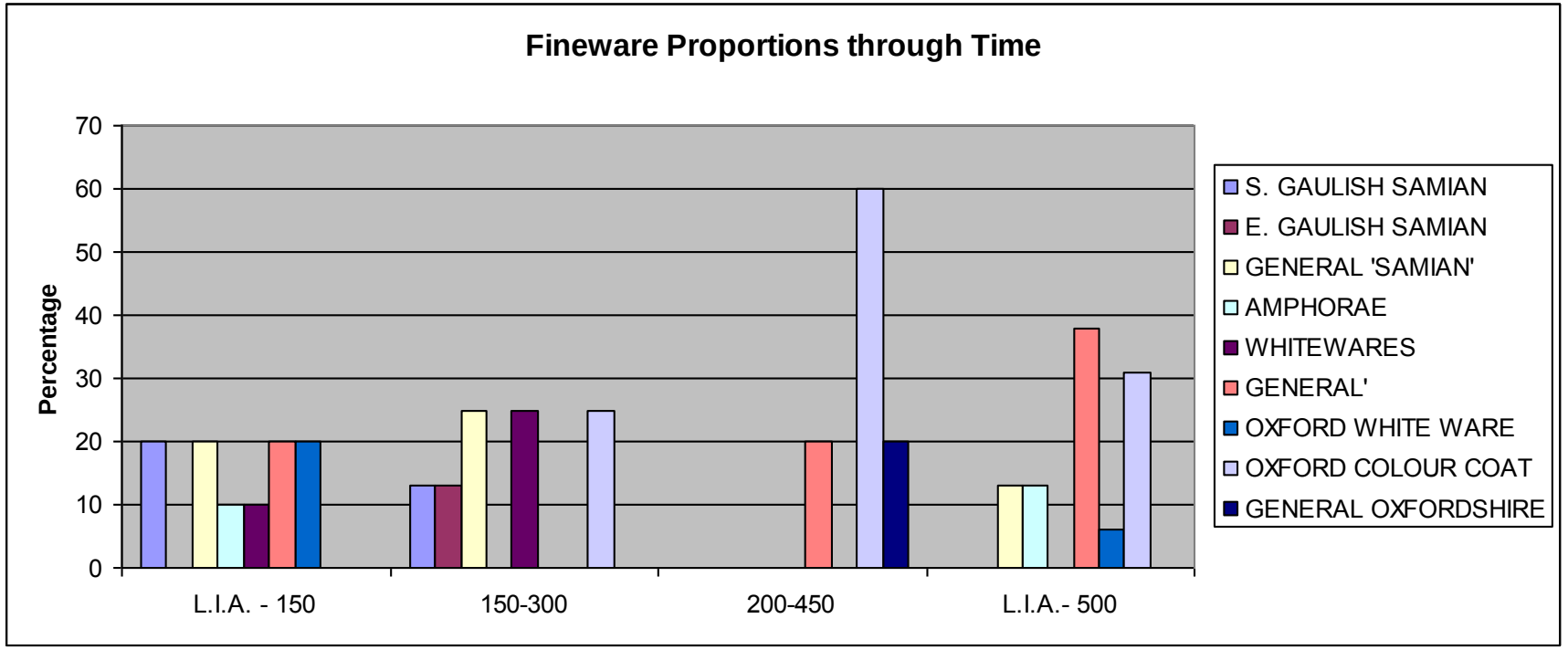

Figure 4.22 Proportions of fine/table wares and imported wares over time, by incidence in the Pilot Database, out of a total of 22 incidences through time.

SITE NAME (TOTAL COUNTS)	CONTINUITY?	PERIOD DATES	PLANT 1	PLANT 2	PLANT 3
APPLEFORD (699)	NO	c.50-150	WHEAT	BARLEY	-
YARNTON (n/a)	YES	50-80	WHEAT	WEED SEEDS	-
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE (20 samples)	NO	25-125/150	WHEAT	BARLEY	WEED SEEDS
OLD SHIFFORD (844)	YES	0-125	BARLEY	WHEAT	OATS
MANSFIELD COLLEGE	NO	75-125	-	-	-
BARTON COURT	YES	50-150	-	-	-
SHAKENOAK VILLA	NO	100-180	-	-	-
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	NO	45-140	-	-	-
HATFORD	YES	-125	-	-	-
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	YES	0-125	-	-	-

Figure 4.23 Late Iron Age – 150/200 A.D. – Floral Remains. Not many sites had (or collected) evidence of agriculture in this period. For total grain counts, see 4.16 above.

SITE NAME (TOTAL COUNT)	PERIOD DATES	ANIMAL 1 (MNI/COUNT)	ANIMAL 2 (MNI/COUNT)	ANIMAL 3 (MNI/COUNT)
APPLEFORD (699)	c.50-150	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
YARNTON (1,478)	50-80	CATTLE (INC HORSE)	SHEEP (INC POSS. GOAT/PIG)	PIG
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE (7,882)	25-125/150	CATTLE	SHEEP/GOAT	HORSE
OLD SHIFFORD (1) (949)	0-125	CATTLE (/102)	SHEEP (/59)	HORSE (/42)
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (270)	75-125	CATTLE (4/)	SHEEP (3/)	PIG (2/)
BARTON COURT (6,135)	50-150	CATTLE (/621)	SHEEP (/513)	HORSE(/138)
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (14,500)	100-180	SHEEP	PIG	CATTLE
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (2,519)	45-140	HORSE (/51)	SHEEP/GOAT (/5)	CATTLE (/44)
HATFORD (1680)	-125	SHEEP	CATTLE	PIG
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (3,089)	0-125	CATTLE (59/)	SHEEP (39/)	HORSE (15/)

Figure 4.24 Late Iron Age- 150/200 A.D. – Most common remains, captured from a proportional analysis of the 'top 3' from the regional database. Cattle is the most common animal, followed by sheep. 'n/a' refers to sites that gave proportional information without quantification.

SITE NAME (total sm. finds)	PERIOD DATES	CRUMMY 1	CRUMMY 2	CRUMMY 3
APPLEFORD (25+)	c.50-150	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	RITUAL	WRITING
YARNTON (109)	50-80	SPINNING AND WEAVING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURE
SOMERFORD KEYNES (1000+)	25-125/150	BUILDING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS/TOILET
OLD SHIFFORD (46)	0-125	TOOLS	UNKNOWN USE	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (11)	75-125	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	-	-
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (19,353, 220 in report)		PERSONAL ADORNMENT	UNKNOWN USE	-
BARTON COURT (185)	50-150	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	LOCKS AND KEYS	SPINNING AND WEAVING
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (432)	45-140	AGRICULTURE	TOOLS	DOMESTIC
HATFORD (23)	-125	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	DOMESTIC
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY(746 +)	0-125	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	UNKNOWN USE

Figure 4.25 L.I.A. – 150/200 A.D.– Top 3 Use-Types in the Thames Valley. Items of Personal Adornment, whilst not the most common object on all of the sites, are present on the most number.

SITE NAME (TOTAL SHERDS)	PERIOD DATES	POT FORM 1	POT FORM 2	POT FORM 3
APPLEFORD (103+)	c.50-150	JAR	BOWL	BEAKER
YARNTON (8,896)	50-80	JAR	BOWL	DISH
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE (10,182)	25-125/150	JAR /JARBOWL	BOWL	FLAGON/ TANKARD
OLD SHIFFORD (1,230)	0-125	JAR	BOWL	-
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (739)	75-125	JAR	BOWL	DISH?
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (58,202)	100-180	DISH	BOWL	JAR
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (36,112)	45-140	JAR	BOWL	DISH
HATFORD (1,756)	-125	JAR (90%)	BEAKER (4%)	DISH (2%)
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (15,430)	0-125	JAR	FLAGON /BEAKER	BOWL

Figure 4.26 L.I.A. – 150/200 A.D – Top 3 ceramic forms present on sites in the Thames Valley. Jars and bowl forms are present on the same number of sites, though jar forms are more common in general.

Figure 4.27 Sites abandoned in the 2nd century AD.

SITE NAME (TOTAL COUNT)	PERIOD DATES	ANIMAL 1	ANIMAL 2	ANIMAL 3
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (3089)	125-240	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (2519)	140-320	CATTLE	SHEEP/GOAT	HORSE
YARNTON (1478)	80-250	CATTLE (INC HORSE)	SHEEP (INC POSS GOAT/PIG)	PIG
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE (7.882)	125/50-225	CATTLE	SHEEP/GOAT	HORSE
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (14,500)	180-240	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
BARTON COURT (6135)	150-275 (ABANDONMENT)	-	-	-
OLD SHIFFORD (949)	125-275 (ABANDONMENT)	-	-	-
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (270)	125-250 (ABANDONMENT)	-	-	-

Figure 4.28 150-300 A.D. – Most numerous animal species present on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley, captured by querying 'top 3' data from the regional database.

SITE NAME (TOTAL FINDS)	PERIOD DATES	CRUMMY 1	CRUMMY 2	CRUMMY 3
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (746+)	125-240	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	UNKNOWN USE
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (432)	140-320	BUILDING	TOOLS	METALWORKING
YARNTON (109)	80-250	SPINNING AND WEAVING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURAL
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE (1000+)	125/50-225	BUILDING	PERSONAL	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (220)	180-240	SPINNING AND WEAVING	TRANSPORT (25%)	METALWORKING (25%)
BARTON COURT (185)	150-275 (ABANDONMENT)	-	-	-
OLD SHIFFORD (46+)	125-275 (ABANDONMENT	-	-	-
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (11+)	125-250 (ABANDONMENT)	-	-	-

Figure 4.29 150-300 A.D. Use-types found on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley. Barton Court Farm, Old Shifford and Mansfield College have all been abandoned at this time.

SITE NAME (TOTAL SHERDS)	PERIOD DATES	POT FORM 1	POT FORM 2	POT FORM 3
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (15,430)	125-240	JAR	DISH	BEAKER/TANKARD
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (36,112)	140-320	JAR	BOWL	DISH
YARNTON (8.896)	80-250	JAR	BOWL	JUG
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE (10,182)	125/50-225	JAR/JARBOWL	BOWL	FLAGON/TANKARD
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (58,202)	180-240	DISH	BOWL	LID
BARTON COURT	150-275 (ABANDONMENT)	-	-	-
OLD SHIFFORD (1,230)	125-275 (ABANDONMENT)	-	-	-
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (739)	125-250 (ABANDONMENT)	-	-	-

Figure 4.30 150-300 A.D. – Ceramic forms present on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley. Jars and bowl forms predominate, followed by drinking vessels.

Figure 4.31 250-450 A.D. – Sites with significant building work in progress in the 3rd and early 4th centuries.

SITE NAME (TOTAL COUNT)	PERIOD DATES	PLANT 1 (COUNT)	PLANT 2 (COUNT)	PLANT 3 (COUNT)
BARTON COURT (3,621)	275-375	WHEAT (1973)	BARLEY(884)	FLAX? (88)
BARTON COURT (3,621)	375-425	WHEAT	BARLEY	FLAX?
SHAKENOAK VILLA (511)	240-350	WHEAT (SPELT)	OAT	-
OLD SHIFFORD (722)	c. 275-375	WHEAT (59)	BARLEY (2)	FLAX (?)
YARNTON (n/a)	250-410	WHEAT	BARLEY	WEED SEEDS
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (1458)	300-400+	WHEAT (186)	BARLEY (184)	WEED SEEDS (n/a)
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (4611)	250-	WHEAT (1300)	BARLEY (1042)	PEAS (263)
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (n/a)	240-410	-	-	-
SHAKENOAK VILLA (511)	350-430	-	-	-

Figure 4.32 200-450 A.D. – Top 3 cultivated plant species from sites in the Thames Valley and Oxfordshire. Individual counts are given if known.

SITE NAME	PERIOD DATES	ANIMAL 1 (MNI/COUNT)	ANIMAL 2 (MNI/COUNT)	ANIMAL 3 (MNI/COUNT)
BARTON COURT (6,135)	275-375	-	-	-
BARTON COURT (6,135)	375-425	CATTLE	SHEEP	-
SHAKENOAK VILLA (14,500)	240-350	SHEEP	CATTLE	PIG
SHAKENOAK VILLA (14,500)	350-430	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
OLD SHIFFORD (949)	c. 275-375	CATTLE (37)	SHEEP (20)	HORSE (31)
YARNTON (1,478)	250-410	SHEEP	CATTLE	PIG
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (2519)	300-400+	CATTLE (38/1088)	SHEEP/GOAT (56/132)	PIG (18/231)
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (270)	250-	CATTLE (5)	SHEEP (3)	DOG (2)
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (3089)	240-410	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE

Figure 4.33 200-450 A.D. – Most common animal species present on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley, captured by querying ‘top 3’ from the regional database. MNI and individual counts are given if known.

SITE NAME	PERIOD DATES	CRUMMY 1	CRUMMY 2	CRUMMY 3
BARTON COURT (185)	275-375	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	UNKNOWN
BARTON COURT (185)	375-425	UNKNOWN	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
OLD SHIFFORD (46)	c.275-375	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	UNKNOWN	AGRICULTURAL
YARNTON (109)	250-410	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	TOOLS	AGRICULTURAL
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (432)	300-400+	BUILDING	AGRICULTURE	TOOLS
MANSFIELD ROAD (11+)	250-	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	DOMESTIC	-
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (746+)	240-410	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	UNKNOWN USE
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (220)	240-350	TOOLS	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (220)	350-430	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	UNKNOWN USE

Figure 4.34 200-450 A.D. – Top 3 use-type activities taking place on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley during this period.

SITE NAME (TOTAL SHERDS)	PERIOD DATES	POT FORM 1	POT FORM 2	POT FORM 3
BARTON COURT (285 kg)	275-375	SAMIAN FORMS	BOWL	JAR
BARTON COURT	375-425	BOWL	JAR	MORTARIA
OLD SHIFFORD (2,235)	c. 275-375	JAR	BOWL	-
YARNTON (8,896)	250-410	JAR	BOWL	JUG
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (36,112)	300-400+	JAR	BOWL	DISH
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (739)	250-	JAR	BOWL	MORTARIA
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (15,430)	240-410	JAR	DISH	FLAGON
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (58,202)	240-350	DISH	SAMIAN COPY	BEAKER
SHAKENOAK VILLA (58,202)	350-430	SAMIAN COPY	JAR	DISH

Figure 4.35 200-450 A.D. – Top 3 pottery forms present on sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley. Barton Court is shown by weight instead of sherd count because no sherd counts were given (see Miles et. al. 1986: Microfiche 7 for statistical analyses).

SITE NAME (TOTAL FINDS)	SITE DATES	CRUMMY 1	CRUMMY 2	CRUMMY 3
HATFORD (23)	L.I.A.-125	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	DOMESTIC
APPLEFORD (25+)	25-150	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	RITUAL	WRITING
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY (746+)	L.I.A.-410	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	ITEMS OF UNKNOWN USE
YARNTON (109)	50-410	SPINNING AND WEAVING	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	DOMESTIC
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A) (220+)	100-430	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	SPINNING AND WEAVING
BARTON COURT (185)	50-425	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	UNKNOWN	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE (1000+)	25-125/150	BUILDING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
MANSFIELD COLLEGE (11+)	75-125	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	DOMESTIC	-
OLD SHIFFORD (46)	L.I.A.-125	TOOLS	UNKNOWN	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
OLD SHIFFORD (")	c. 275-375	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	UNKNOWN	AGRICULTURAL
WATKINS FARM (19)	100-400	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	UNKNOWN	TOOLS
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER (432)	45-400+	BUILDING	TOOLS	METALWORK

Figure 4.36 Late Iron Age – 450 A.D. – Top 3 activities indicated by the finds from sites in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley

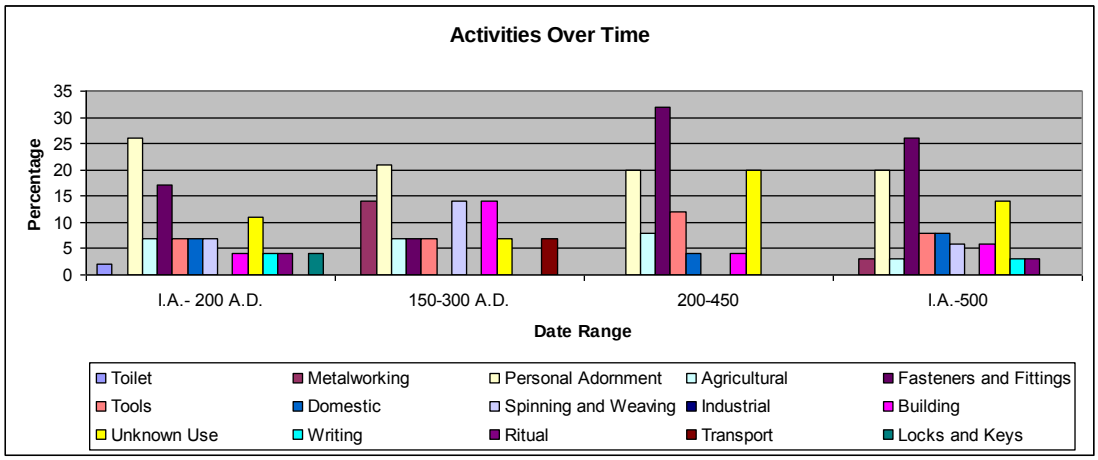

Figure 4.37 The amalgamation of the top 3 use-types through time by incidence in the Top 3. 37 out of a total of 44 incidences were reported.

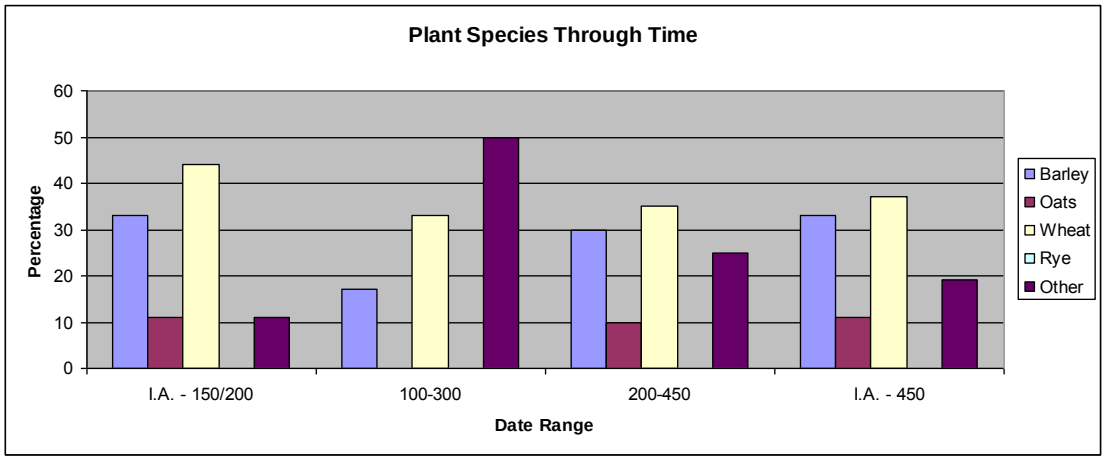

Figure 4.38 Most numerous plant species in Oxfordshire by date, by incidence of 'Top 3'. 57 out of 87 incidences were reported.

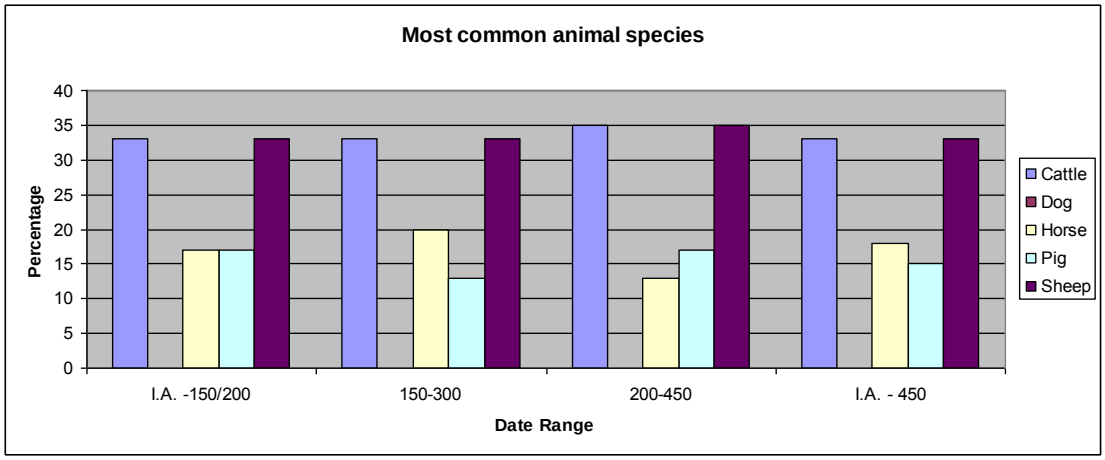

Figure 4.39 Most common animal species through time in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley, using the incidence of Top 3. 84 of 87 incidences are included.

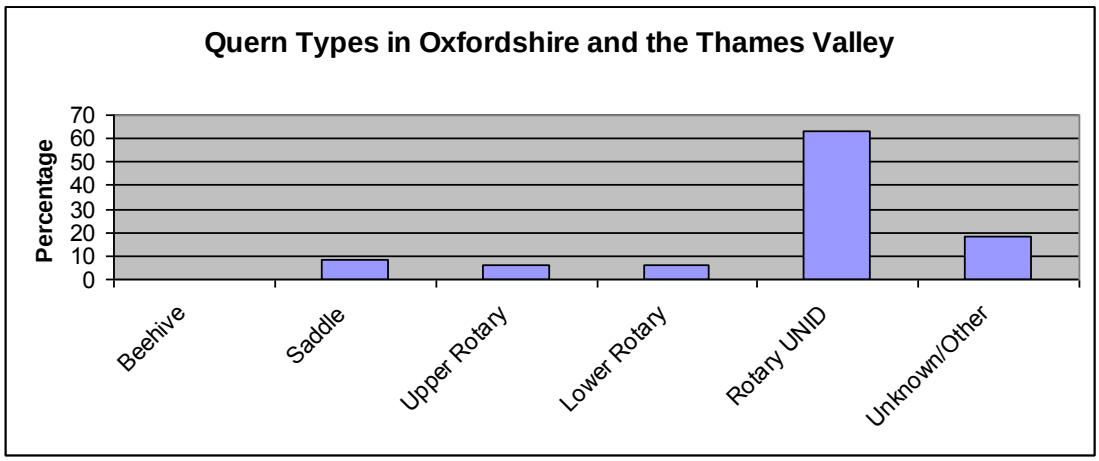

Figure 4.40 Quern Types present in Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley. 72 quernstones were found in total.

SITE NAME	DATE RANGE	TOTAL COUNT	WINDOW	VESSEL	MOST COMMON
APPLEFORD	25-150	4 (SAME VESS)	-	1	VESSEL
BARTON COURT	275-375	67 (1 BEAD) ("ALMOST ALL 4th c.")	7	58	VESSEL
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	0-410	46 (4UNID, 2 BEAD, 2 WASTE)	9	29	VESSEL
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	125-240	20 (1UNID, 1 BEAD, 1 WASTE)	4	13	VESSEL
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	240-410	22 (1 BEAD, 3 UNID, 1 WASTE)	4	13	VESSEL
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	45-400+	173 (14 BEAD, 2 COUNTER, 3 PASTE)	6	151	VESSEL
HATFORD	-125	-	-	-	-
MANSFIELD COLLEGE	75-250+	-	-	-	-
OLD SHIFFORD	APPROX 275-375	1		1	BOTTLE (?)
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A)	100-430	1933 (15+ BEAD, 6 OTHER, 2 WASTE)	1153	750+	WINDOW
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE	25-225	YES	-	BOTTLES	VESSEL
WATKINS FARM	100-400	2	0	2	VESSEL
YARNTON	50-410	-	-	-	-

Figure 4.41 Glass present on sites in Oxfordshire and Thames Valley. At least 1,020 vessels and 1183 window shards were found.

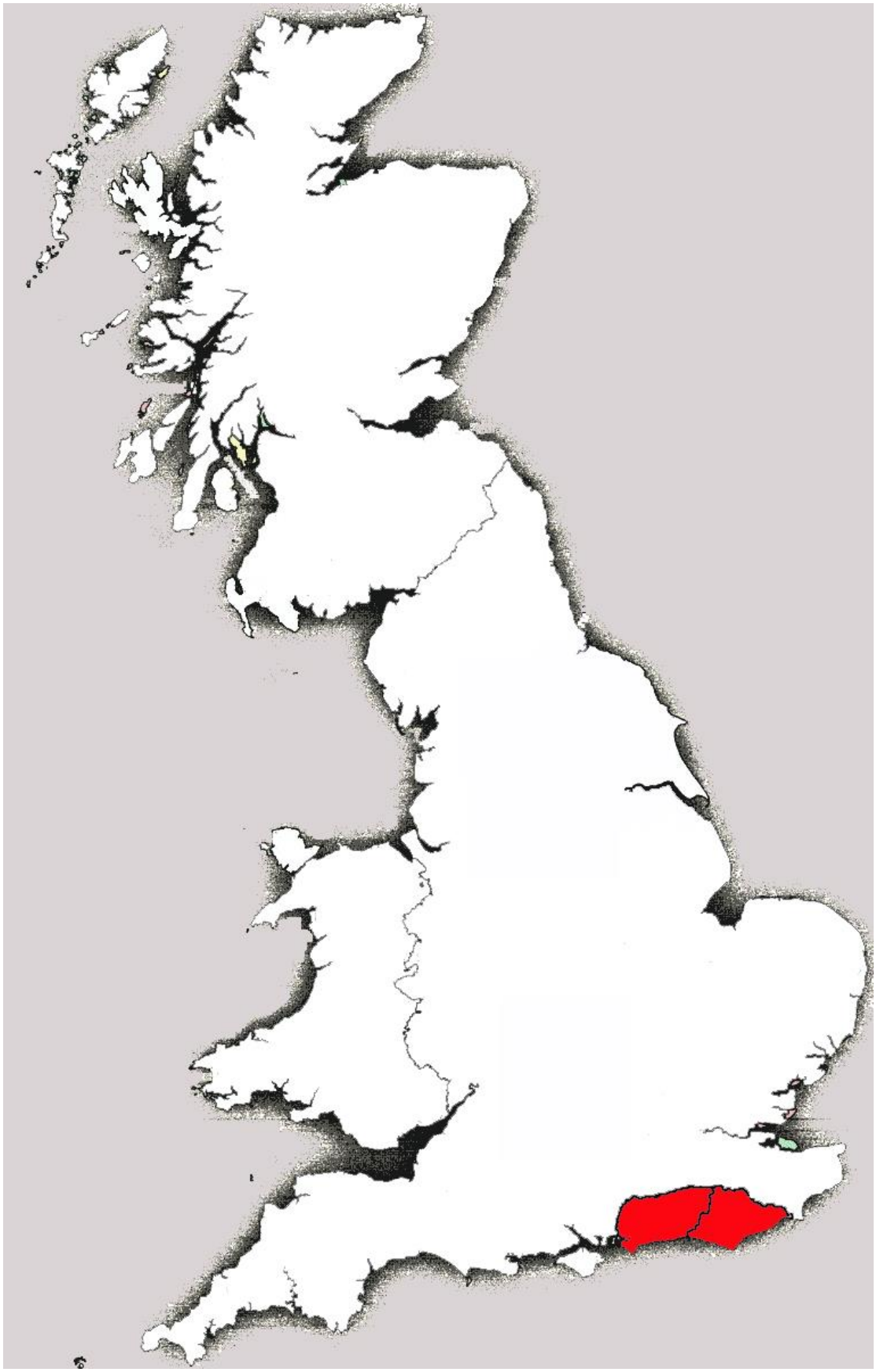

Figure 5.1 Map of the United Kingdom and the county of Sussex (in red)

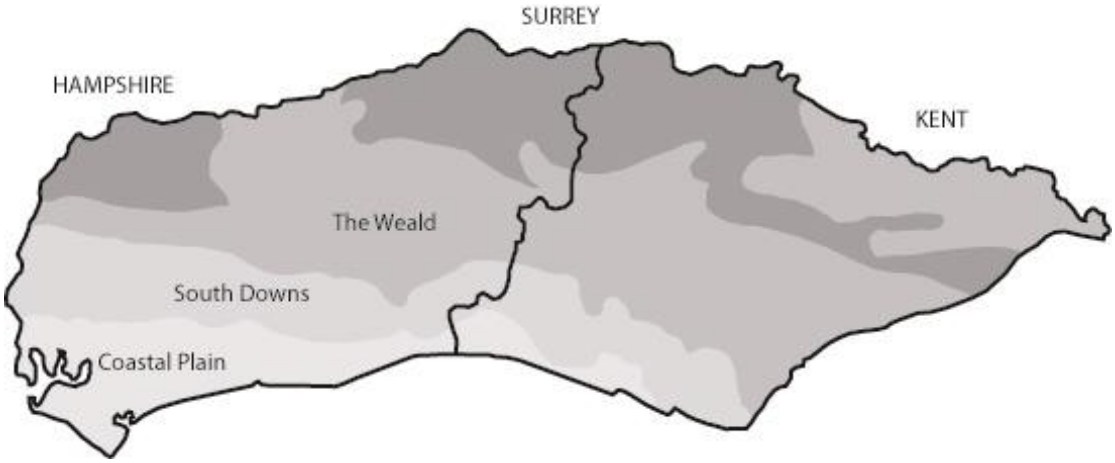

Figure 5.2 Map of Sussex


Figure 5.3 The Trundle, West Sussex.

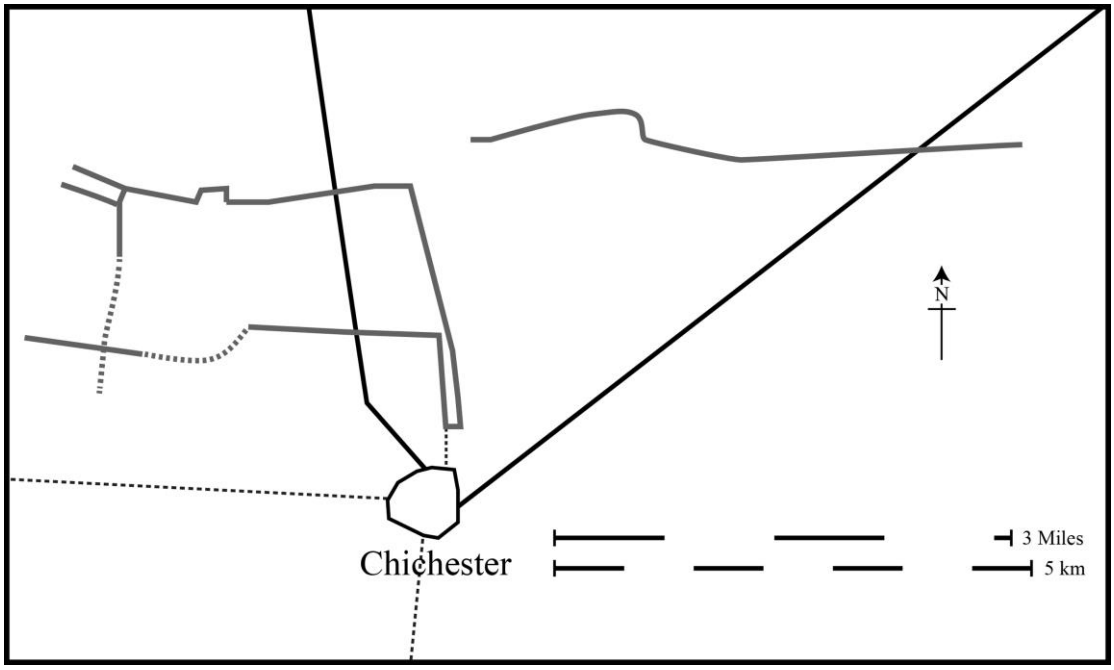

Figure 5.4 The Chichester Entrenchments

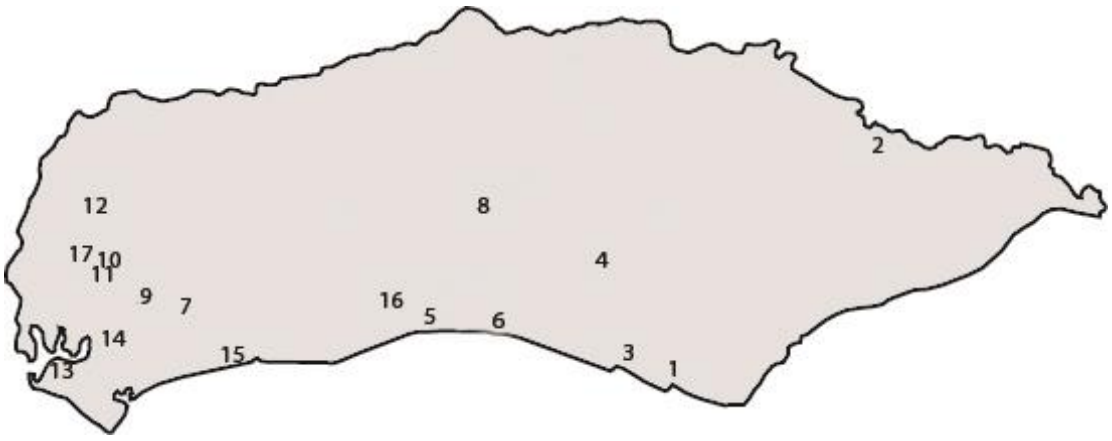

Figure 5.5 Sites included in the regional study of Sussex

Figure 5.6 Bishopstone, East Sussex (after Bell 1977). The enclosure measures 55 x 85m.

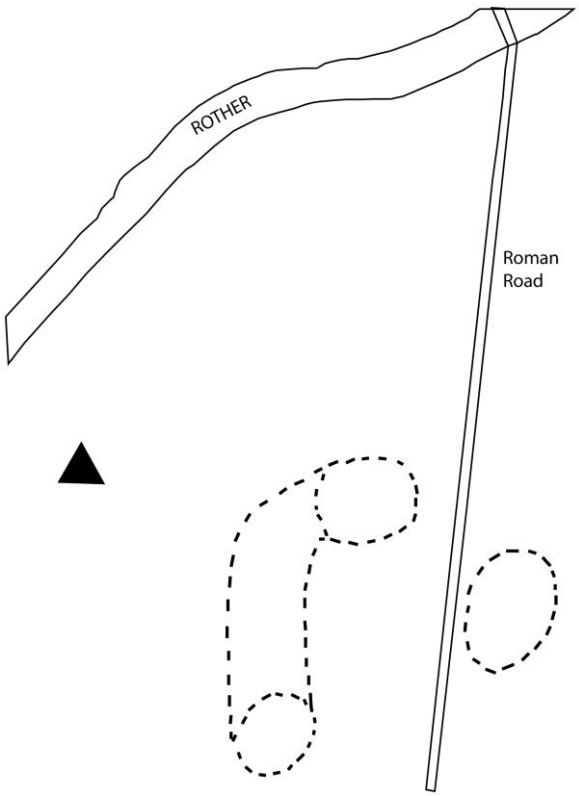

Figure 5.7 Bodiam, East Sussex (after Lemmon and Hill 1966). The dotted lines indicate the areas excavated. The oval area on the right measures roughly 41 x 46m.

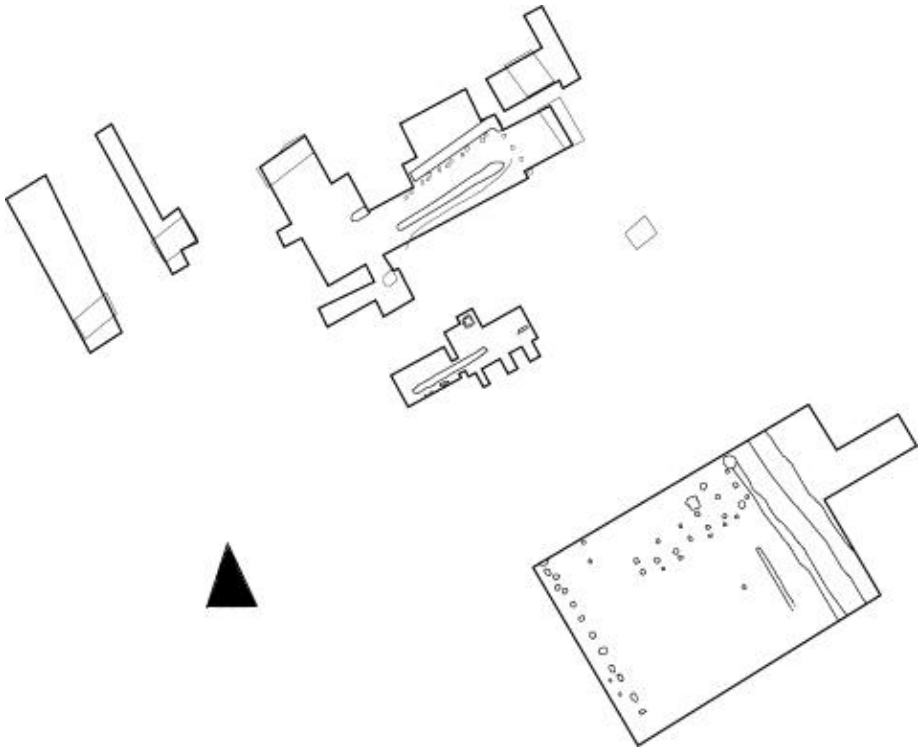

Figure 5.8 Newhaven, East Sussex (after Bell 1976). The bottom area measures 20 x 35m.

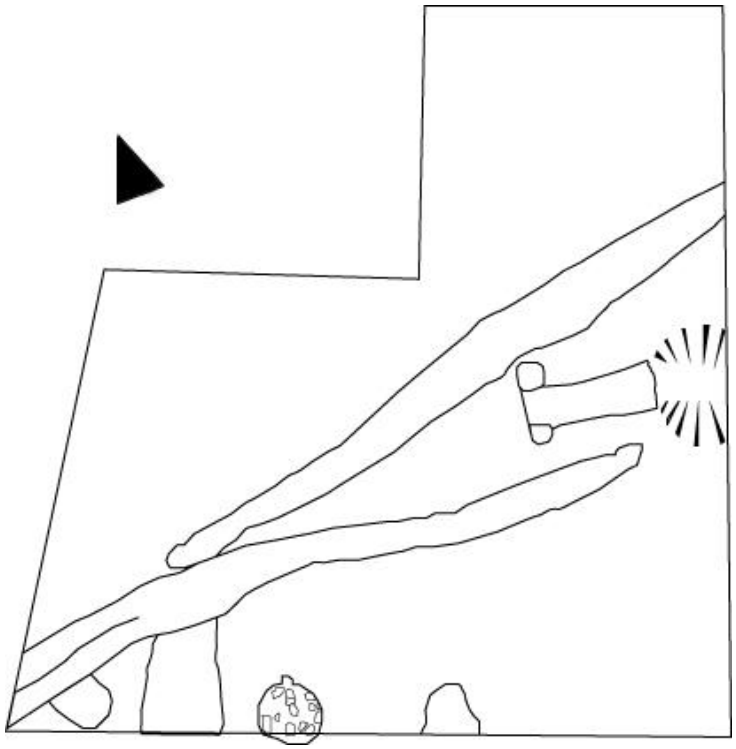

Figure 5.9 Ranscombe Hill, East Sussex. The area shown above is 15 x 15m.

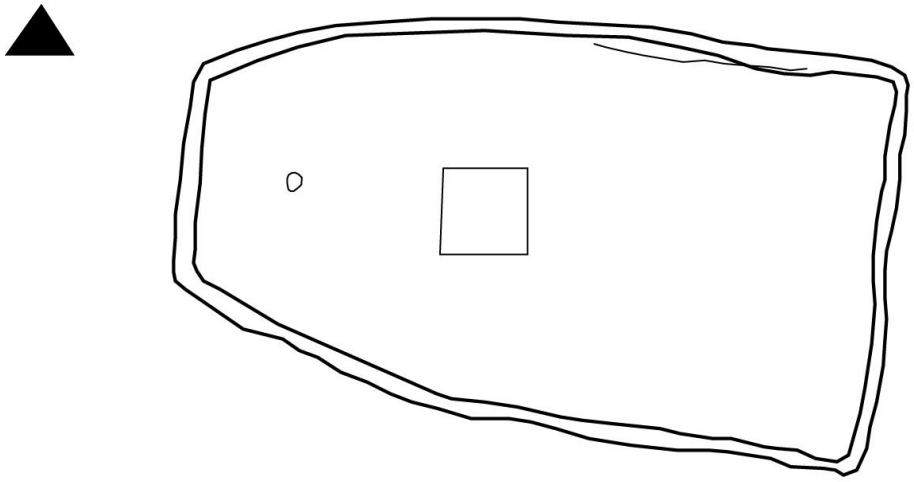

Figure 5.10 Slonk Hill, Shoreham (after Hartridge 1978). The square represents a fence in the Roman period built over a Bronze Age Barrow. The square measures 11.9 m.

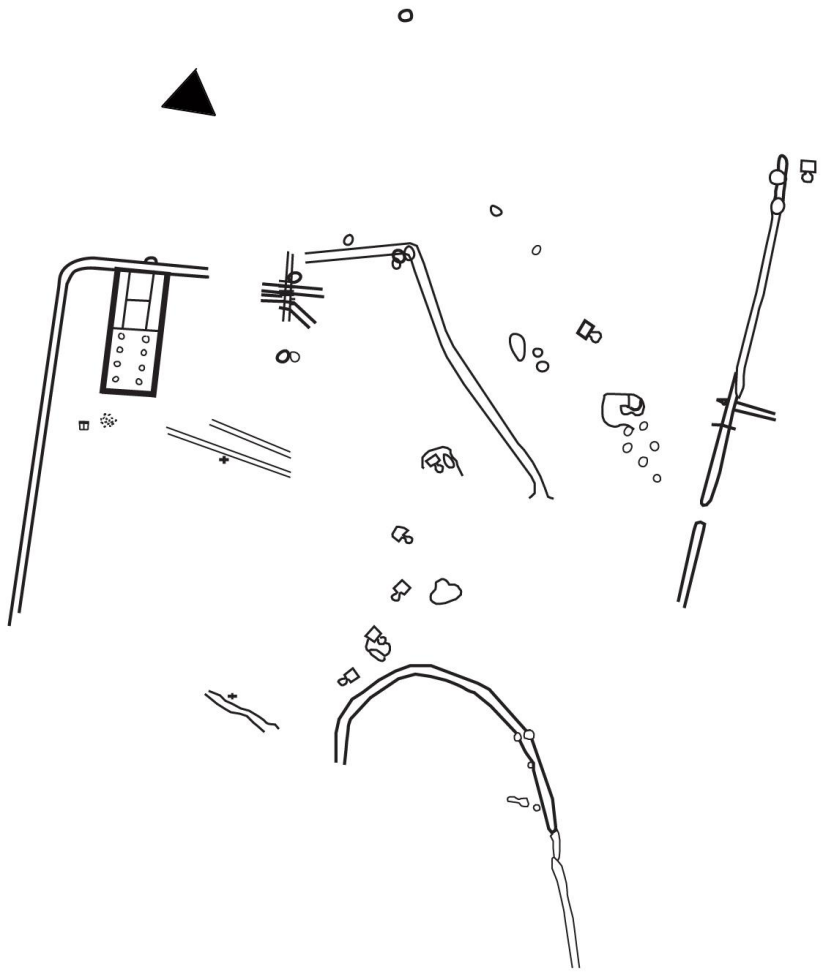

Figure 5.11 West Blatchington (after Norris and Burstow 1950), East Sussex. The villa measures 17 x 14m.

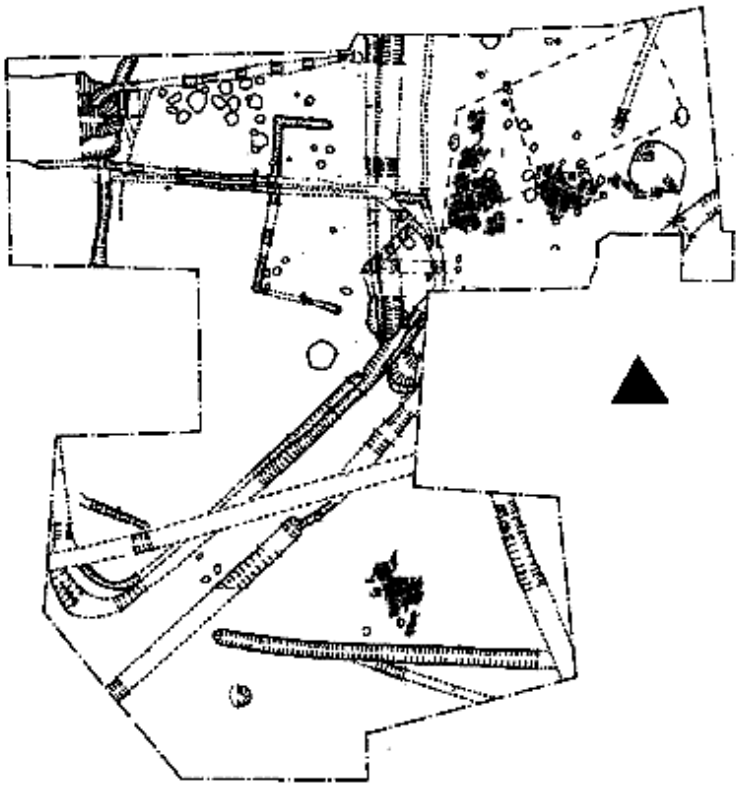

Figure 5.12 Boxgrove, West Sussex (reprinted from Bedwin and Place 1995). The area in the dotted line above measures 25 x 10m.

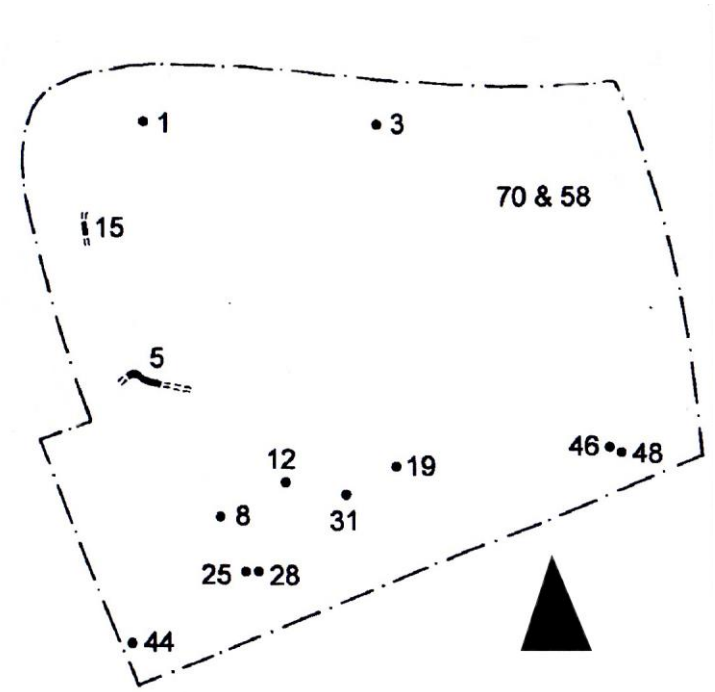

Figure 5.13 Burgess Hill. West Sussex (reprinted from Sawyer 1999). Each number represents an unillustrated feature described in the text. The area above measures 150 x 150 m. at the widest points.

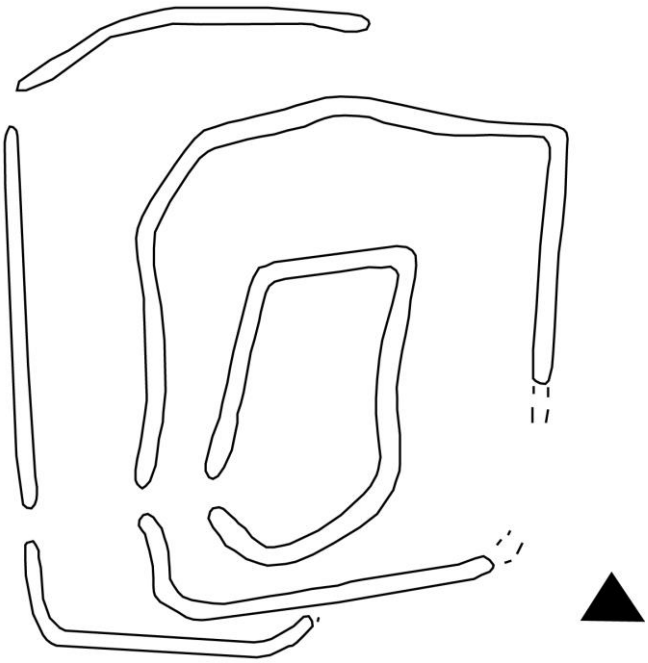

Figure 5.14 Carne's Seat, Goodwood. West Sussex (after Holgate 1986). The enclosure complex measures 140 x 150m.

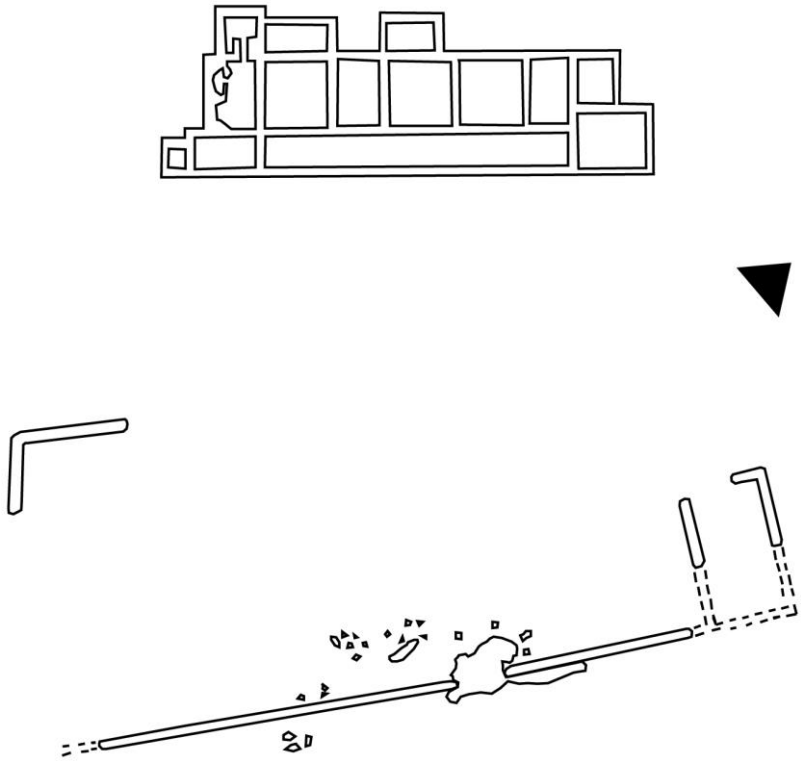

Figure 5.15 Chilgrove I, West Sussex (after Down 1979). The building measures 43 x 12m.

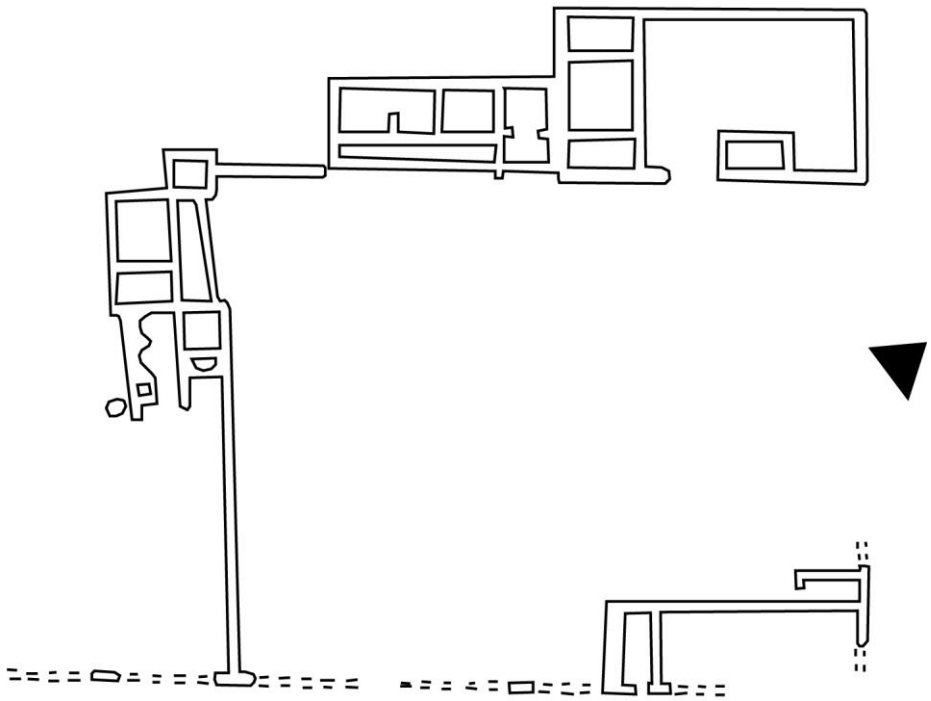

Figure 5.16 Chilgrove II, West Sussex (after Down 1979). The larger part of the villa measures roughly 15 m. in length.

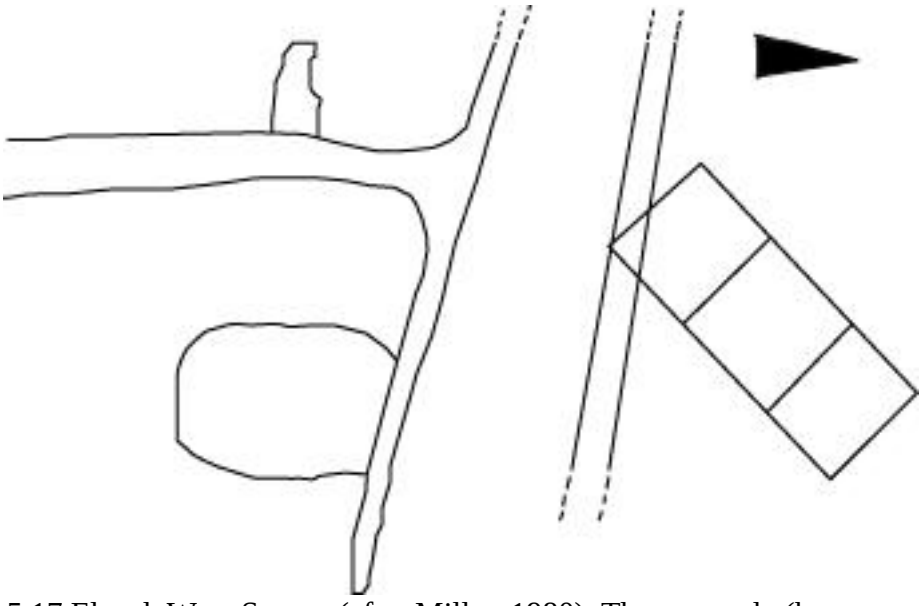

Figure 5.17 Elsted, West Sussex (after Millett 1980). The rectangle (here measuring 16x 6m.) is a presumed farmhouse located from aerial photographs but outside the area of investigation

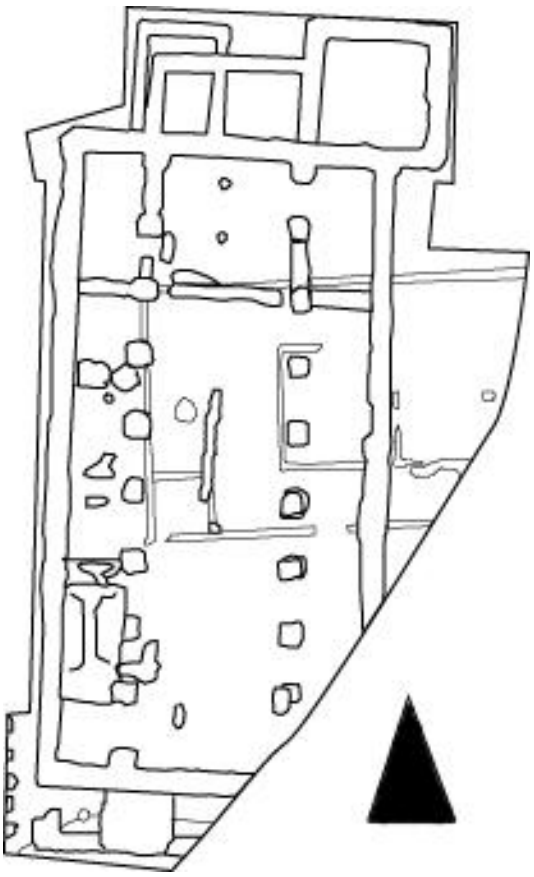

Figure 5.18 Fishbourne Creek (Chichester Harbour), West Sussex (after Rudkin 1986). The later building measures 18 x 39m.

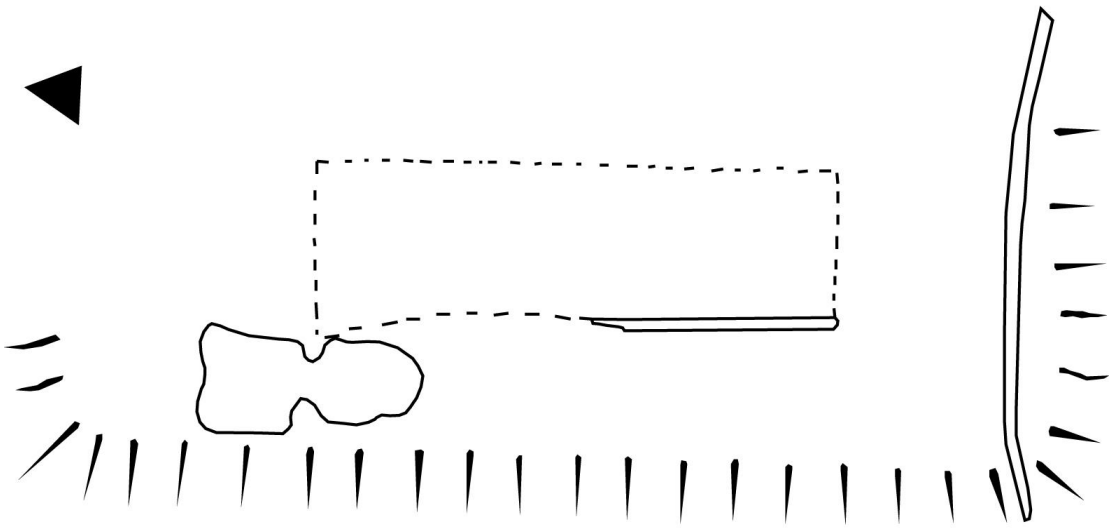

Figure 5.19 Lamb's Lea, West Sussex (after Gilkes 1990). The kiln measures roughly 5 x 4m.

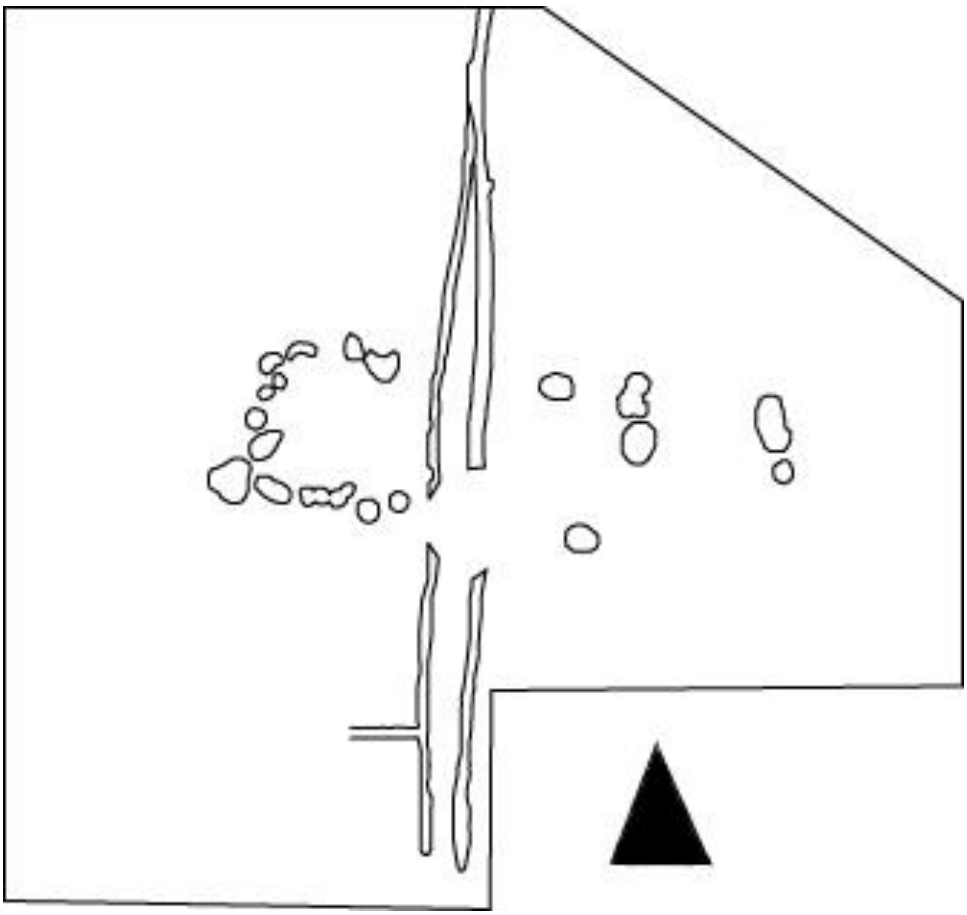

Figure 5.20 Middleton-on-Sea, West Sussex (after Barber 1994). The postholes measure an area roughly 3 x 9m.

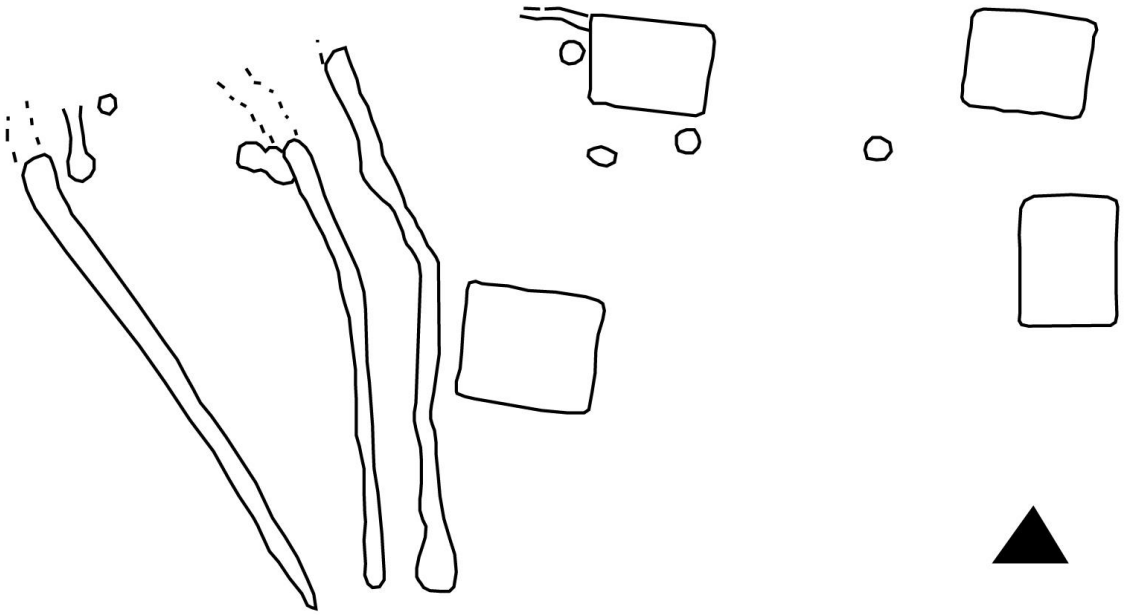

Figure 5.21 Park Brow, West Sussex (Wolsley et. al. 1927). The leftmost ditch is 40 m. in length.

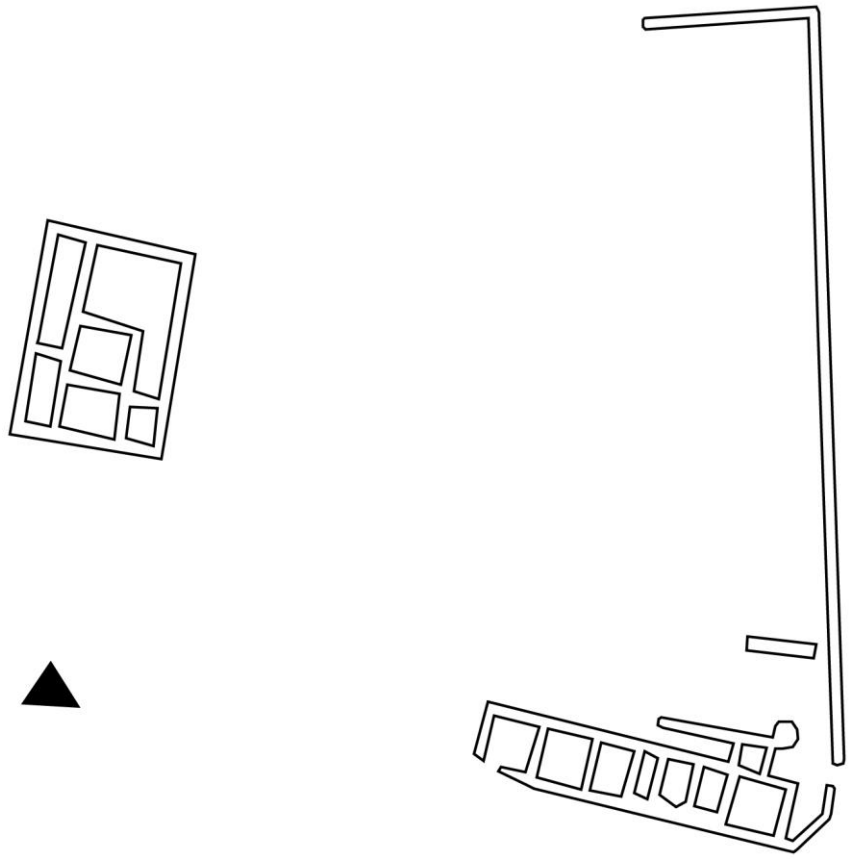

Figure 5.22 Upmarden, West Sussex. The distance from the farmhouse to the bathhouse measures 65m.

SITE NAME (REGION)	SITE DATES	HEARTH	OVEN	CORNDRYER
BISHOPSTONE (E)	>60-400	-	1	3
BODIAM (E)	50-250	0	1?	0
BOXGROVE (W)	-400	-	-	-
BURGESS HILL (W)	0-425	6		1
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD (W)	0-325			
CHILGROVE I (W)	0-425	2?	4	1
CHILGROVE II (W)	100-400	4	6?	1?
ELSTED (W)	-300	-	-	-
FISHBOURNE CREEK (W)	75-350	5	1	1
LAMBS LEA (W)	300-400	-	-	1
MIDDLETON ON SEA (W)	70-400	-	-	-
NEWHAVEN (E)	60-200	-	-	-
PARK BROW (W)	I.A.- 161+	-	-	-
RANSCOMBE HILL (E)	0-400	1	-	1
SLONK HILL (E)	125-400	-	-	-
UPMARDEN (W)	75-450	-	-	1?
WEST BLATCHINGTON (E)	-310	8	-	11+

Figure 5.23 Numbers of Hearths, Ovens, and Corn Dryers present on Sussex sites

SITE NAME (TOTAL IF KNOWN)	PLANT 1 (GRAINS)	PLANT 2 (GRAINS)	PLANT 3 (GRAINS)
LAMBS LEA (E.) (n/a)	WHEAT	BARLEY	OATS
BOXGROVE (W.) (343+)	WHEAT (214+)	BARLEY (24+)	-
BURGESS HILL (n/a)	WHEAT	BARLEY	OATS
MIDDLETON ON SEA (W.) (2292)	WHEAT (2075+)	BARLEY (133+)	PEA/BEAN (7+)
NEWHAVEN (E.) (n/a+)	WHEAT	SPELT	BARLEY
BISHOPSTONE (E.) (67+)	SPELT (45+)	BARLEY (14)	FAT HEN (GATHERED, 8)

Figure 5.24 Top 3 most common grains found on Sussex sites. 'n/a' refers to reports that indicate proportions without quantification.

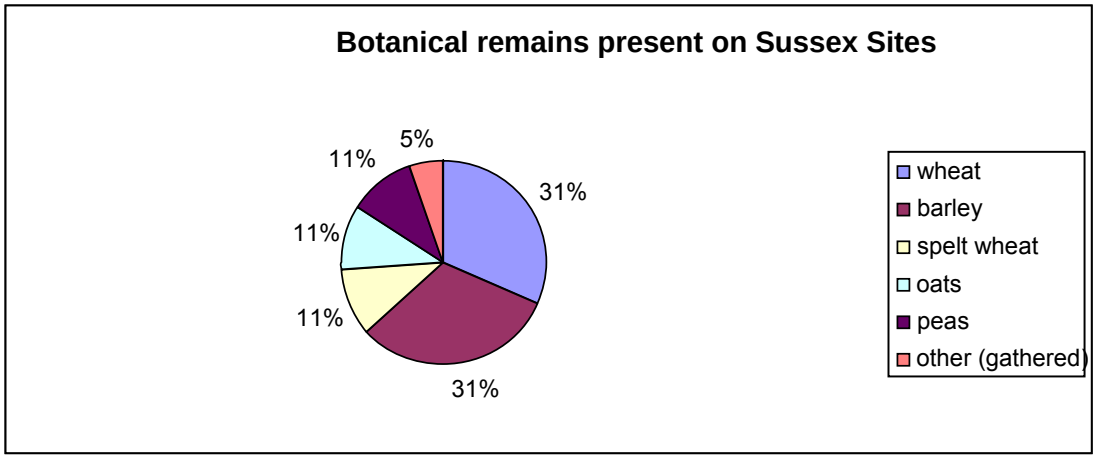

Figure 5.25 Proportions of botanical remains on Sussex sites. This chart was calculated by tabulating the numbers in the 'Top 3' from a total of 6 sites with botanical evidence (see above)

SITE NAME (TOTAL FRAGMENTS)	ANIMAL 1	ANIMAL 2	ANIMAL 3
PARK BROW (n/a+)	SHEEP/PIG	MARINE MOLLUSCS/SNAILS	'DOMESTIC'
LAMBS LEA			
BOXGROVE (162)	CATTLE (114/)	SHEEP (27/)	PIG (11/)
FISHBOURNE CREEK (500+)	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
BURGESS HILL			
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD (985)	SHEEP(117/18)	CATTLE(85/18)	PIG (32/15)
MIDDLETON ON SEA (151)	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
SLONK HILL (994)	SHEEP	PIG	CATTLE
NEWHAVEN (66 (MNI))	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
BISHOPSTONE (427)	SHEEP	CATTLE	HORSE
CHILGROVE I (681)	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
CHILGROVE II (5000)	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
UPMARDEN			
ELSTED (1261)	SHEEP	CATTLE	PIG
RANSCOMBE HILL (180+)	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
BODIAM			
WEST BLATCHINGTON (80)	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE

Figure 5.26 Top 3 most common species on all of the sites in Sussex. 'n/a' refers to sites that give indications of proportions without quantification.

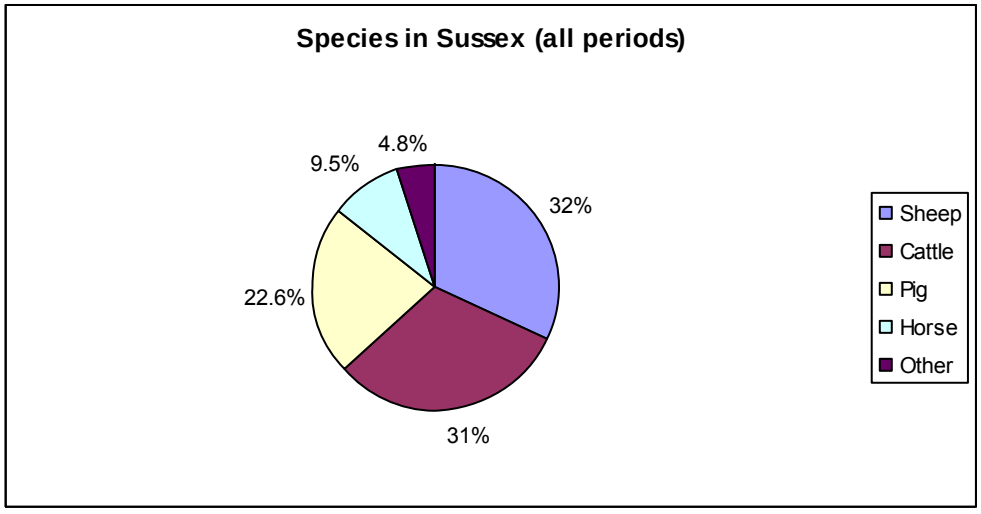

Figure 5.27 Proportions of different 'Top 3' species at all of the sites in Sussex (see text). A total of 14 sites recorded animal bone.

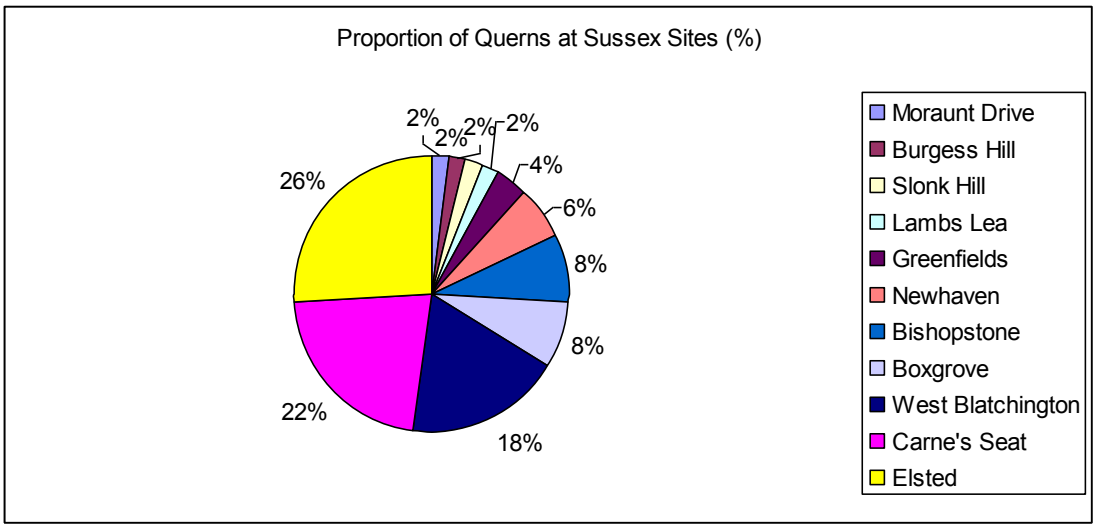

Figure 5.28 Percentages of querns present at Sussex sites (total count: 40 quernstones)

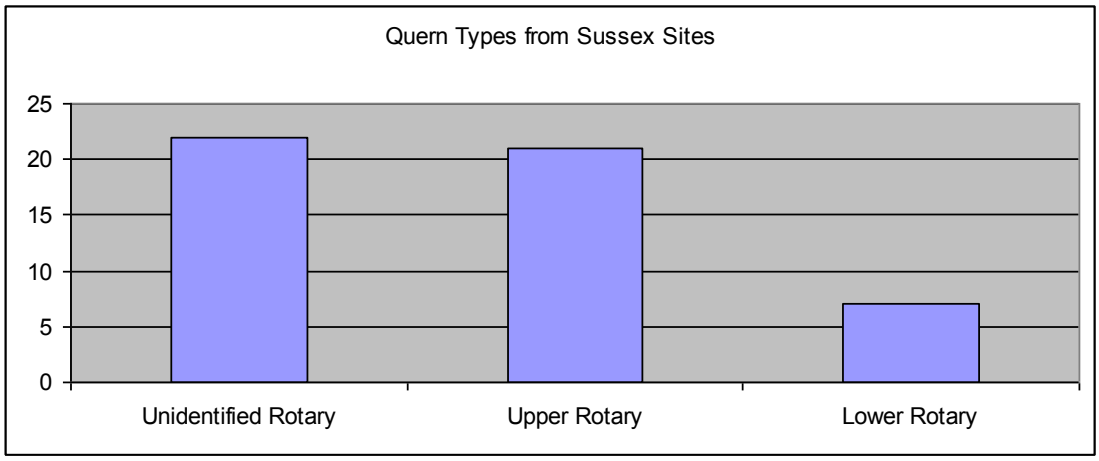

Figure 5.29 Types of querns present in the Sussex sample (total count: 40 quernstones)

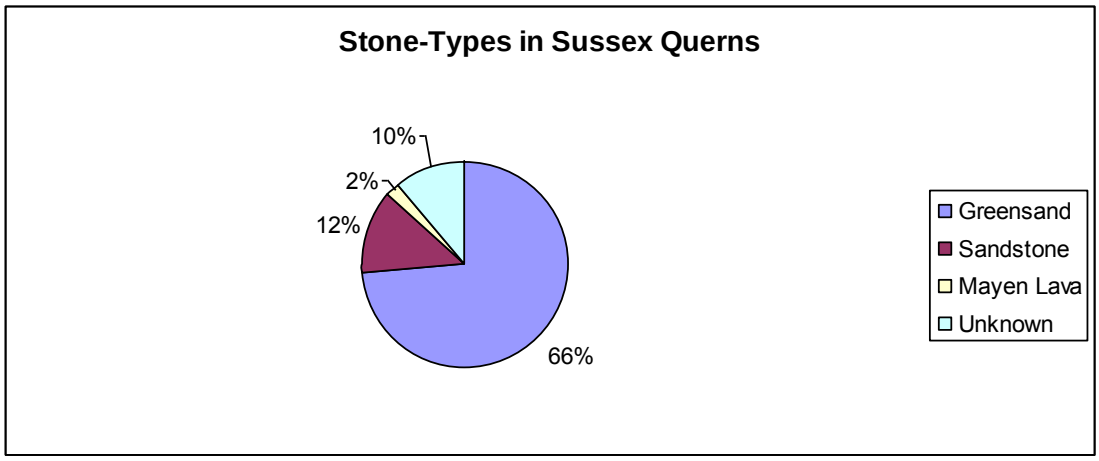

Figure 5.30 Stone types used in Sussex querns. 40 querns were counted in total.

Sussex	Nearby Settlement	Nearby Site	Access to Water	Nearby Road	Also Nearby
BISHOPSTONE	-	Seaford/Newhaven	English Channel	-	-
BODIAM	Durobrive (Rochester)	-	Rother	(proposed)	Ironfields
NEWHAVEN	-	-	Ouse	Newhaven to Dicker	bath house
RANSCOMBE HILL	-	Ranscombe Camp, Mount Caburn	English Channel	-	-
SLONK HILL	-	Thundersbarrow Hill	Adur	-	bronze age barrow
WEST BLATCHINGTON	-	-	Adur (old mouth)	(proposed)	burial groups
BOXGROVE	-	-	-	Stane Street	Chichester Entrenchments
BURGESS HILL	-	-	-	London-Brighton	Burgess Hill
CARNE'S SEAT	Chichester	-	-	Stane Street	Chichester Entrenchments
CHILGROVE I	Chichester	Chilgrove II	-	Silchester-Chichester Road	Roman temple and I.A. settlement
CHILGROVE II	Chichester	Chilgrove I	-	Silchester-Chichester Road	Roman temple and I.A. settlement
ELSTED	-	-	-	Greensand Way	-
FISHBOURNE CREEK	Chichester	Fishbourne Palace	Fishboune Channel/Chichester Harbor	modern ?"Roman Way"	-
LAMB'S LEA	Chichester	Boxgrove/Carne's Seat	-	-	-
MIDDLETON-ON-SEA	-	Morant Drive, Nalgo Lodge	English Channel	-	-
PARK BROW	-	Cissbury Ring (Roman period sites)	English Channel	-	Cissbury Ring
UPMARDEN	-	Chilgrove I/ West Marden	-	-	-

Figure 5.31 Nearest towns, rural settlements, water sources, roads and other places of interest to Sussex sites.

Site Name (MNV/COUNT)	Most Common form through time	2nd	3rd
BISHOPSTONE (E.) (148+/)	JAR	BOWL	BEAKER
BODIAM (E.) (52/)	BOWL	MORTARIUM	JAR
BOXGROVE (W.) (24,940)	JAR	BEAKER	PLATTER
BURGESS HILL (W.) (n/a)	JAR	BOWL	VESSEL
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD (W.) (46/)	JAR	LID	STRAINER
CHILGROVE I (AD 200+?) (W.) (100/)	BOWL	JAR	ENCLOSED'
CHILGROVE II (W.) (124/)	BOWL	JAR	TABLEWARE'
ELSTED (W.) (580+)	JAR	DISH	BOWL
FISHBOURNE CREEK (W.) (25kg)	-	-	-
LAMBS LEA (W.) (n/a+)	-	-	-
MIDDLETON ON SEA (W.) (/968)	JAR	DISH	BOWL
NEWHAVEN (E.) (316/)	JAR	BOWL	BEAKER
PARK BROW (W.) (n/a)	JAR	BOWL/DISH	URN
RANSCOMBE HILL (175/)	JAR	BOWL	JAR/BOWL
SLONK HILL (W.) (181/)	AMPHORAE	JAR	BOWL
UPMARDEN (W.) (none)	-	-	-
WEST BLATCHINGTON (E.) (246/)	JAR	PLATTER	DISH

Figure 5.32 Top 3 most common forms on sites in Sussex. ‘n/a’ refers to sites where proportions are given without quantification.

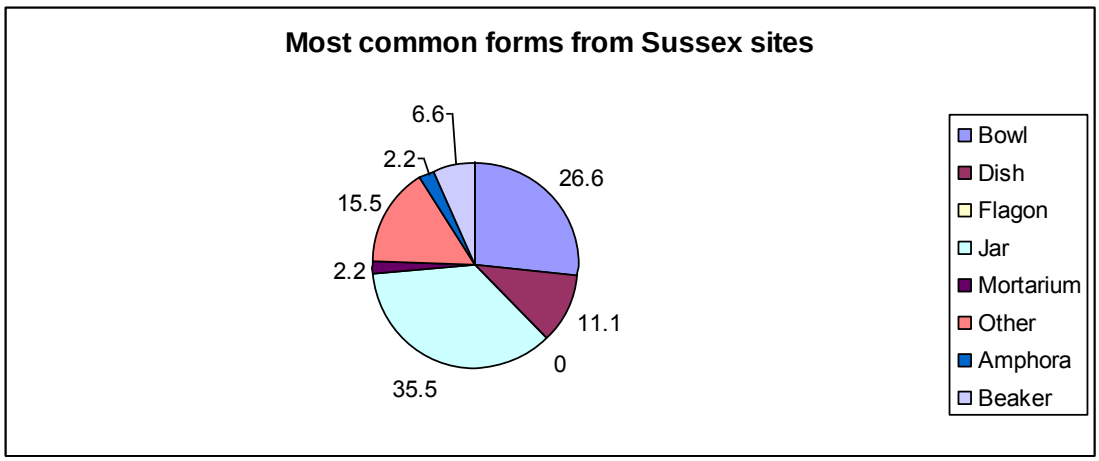

Figure 5.33 Percentage comparison of most common forms from the sites in Sussex. A total of 41 incidences of 'Top 3' counts were compared from all 17 sites.

SITE NAME	WINDOW	VESSEL	MOST COMMON GLASS
BODIAM (E.)	2+	8+	BOTTLE
BOXGROVE (W.)	0	9	BOWL
CHILGROVE I (W.)	-	3	VESSEL
CHILGROVE II (W.)	-	9	BOWL
ELSTED (W.)	-	8	VESSEL
FISHBOURNE CREEK (W.)	-	62	VESSEL
NEWHAVEN (E.)	13	7	BOTTLE
PARK BROW (W.)	PRESENT	-	WINDOW
SLONK HILL (W.)	0	4	BOWL
WEST BLATCHINGTON (E.)	0	4	BOTTLE

Figure 5.34 Glass present at Sites in Sussex. 116 vessels and 16 window shards were found from all of the sites.

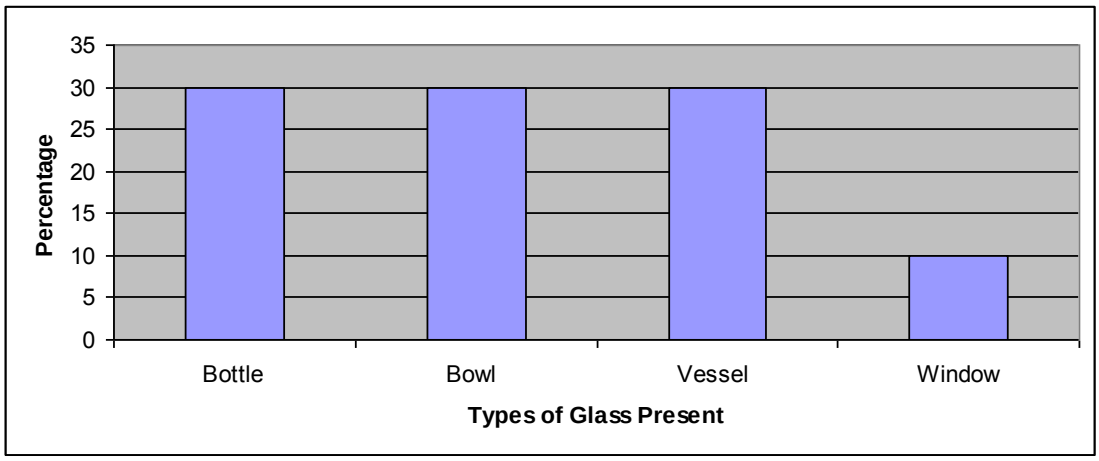

Figure 5.35 Percentage of all forms of glass from sites in Sussex (116 vessels and 16 window shards were found on all of the sites)

SITE NAME	CONTINUITY FROM I.A.	METALWORKING EVIDENT?
PARK BROW (W.)	YES	NO
CARNE'S SEAT (W.)	YES	NO
ELSTED (W.)	PROBABLE	NO
RANSCOMBE HILL (E.)	PROBABLE	NO
BODIAM (E.)	YES	NO
SLONK HILL (W.)	NO	POSSIBLE
BISHOPSTONE (E.)	YES	POSSIBLE
CHILGROVE II (W.)	NO	POSSIBLE
WEST BLATCHINGTON (E.)	YES	POSSIBLE
LAMBS (W.)	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
MIDDLETON ON SEA (W.)	NO	UNKNOWN
BOXGROVE (W.)	PROBABLE	YES
FISHBOURNE CREEK (W.)	NO	YES
BURGESS HILL (W.)	NO	YES
NEWHAVEN (E.)	NO	YES
CHILGROVE I (W.)	PROBABLE	YES
UPMARDEN (W.)	POSSIBLE	YES

Figure 5.36 Evidence for metalworking on sites in Sussex

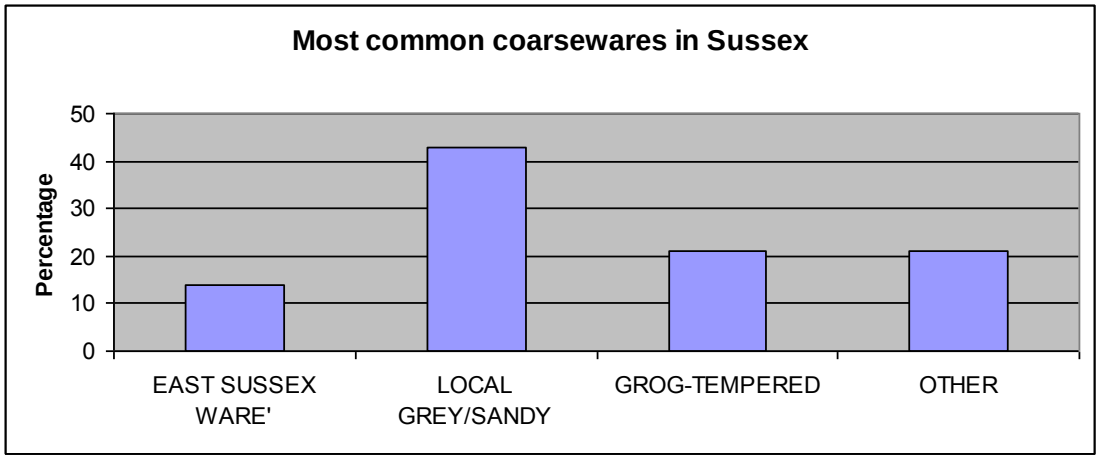

Figure 5.37 Proportion of most common coarsewares from Sussex sites, calculated by querying 'most common coarseware' in the regional database. 14 sites gave information about the most common coarseware.

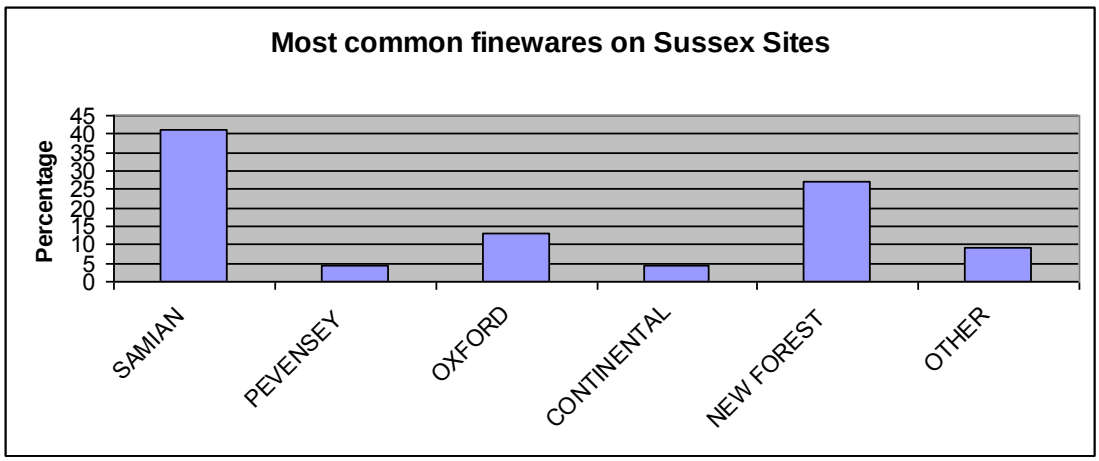

Figure 5.38 Fineware proportions in Sussex. Calculated by querying 'most common fineware' in the regional database. 11 sites gave information about the most common fineware.

SITE NAME	SITE DATE	CONTINUITY FROM I.A.?	RITUAL DEPOSIT?
PARK BROW	I.A.- 161+	YES	POSSIBLE
LAMBS LEA	300-400	UNKNOWN	POSSIBLE
BOXGROVE	50-175	POSSIBLE	NO
FISHBOURNE CREEK	75-350	NO	YES
BURGESS HILL	0-425	NO	NO
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD	0-325	POSSIBLE	NO
MIDDLETON ON SEA	70-400	NO	NO
SLONK HILL	125-400	NO	YES
NEWHAVEN	60-200	NO	POSSIBLE
BISHOPSTONE	200-400	YES	YES
CHILGROVE I	0-425	YES	PROBABLE
CHILGROVE II	100-400	NO	PROBABLE
UPMARDEN	75-450	POSSIBLE	NO
ELSTED	-300	LIKELY	NO
RANSCOMBE HILL	0-400	LIKELY	NO
BODIAM	50-250	YES	POSSIBLE
WEST BLATCHINGTON	200-310	YES	NO

Figure 5.39 'Ritual Activity' on Sussex sites

SITE NAME	I.A. CONTINUITY?	PERIOD DATES
BISHOPSTONE (E)	PROBABLE	>60-200
BOXGROVE (W)	POSSIBLE	50-175
NEWHAVEN (E)	NO	60-200
PARK BROW (W)	YES	I.A.- 161+
FISHBOURNE CREEK (W)	NO	75-150
BODIAM (E)	YES	50-250
WEST BLATCHINGTON (E)	YES	I.A. -100

Figure 5.40 Sites in Sussex with phasing between the L.P.R.I.A. and 150/200 A.D.

SITE NAME (Grain Count)	CONTINUOUS SETTLEMENT FROM IA?	DATES	PLANT 1	PLANT 2	PLANT 3
BISHOPSTONE (E.) (67+)	YES?	>60-200	SPELT	BARLEY	FAT HEN (GATHERED)
BOXGROVE (W.) (343)	POSSIBLE	50-175	WHEAT	BARLEY	OATS
NEWHAVEN (E.) (n/a+)	NO	60-200	WHEAT	SPELT	BARLEY

Figure 5.41 L.I.A.- 150/200 A.D. Top 3 cultivated plant species found on site (by grain count). 'n/a' refers to sites that give proportions without quantification.

SITE NAME (COUNT)	I.A. CONTINUITY	PERIOD DATES	ANIMAL 1	ANIMAL 2	ANIMAL 3
BISHOPSTONE (427)	PROBABLE	>60-200	SHEEP	CATTLE	HORSE
WEST BLATCHINGTON (80)	YES	I.A. -200	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
BOXGROVE (162)	POSSIBLE	50-175	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
NEWHAVEN (66 MNI)	NO	60-200	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
PARK BROW (n/a)	YES	I.A.- 161+	SHEEP	PIG	MOLLUSCS/SNAILS

Figure 5.42 L.I.A.- 150/200 A.D. –Most common animal species recorded from sites in Sussex, captured by querying 'top 3' in the regional database. 'n/a' refers to sites that give proportions without quantifications.

SITE NAME (total finds)	PERIOD DATES	CRUMMY 1	CRUMMY 2	CRUMMY 3
BISHOPSTONE (41+)	>60-200	TOOLS	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	METALWORKING
BOXGROVE (57+)	- 70	INDUSTRIAL	-	-
NEWHAVEN (38+)	60-200	METALWORKING	AGRICULTURAL	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
NEWHAVEN	60-80/100	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	METALWORKING	SPINNING AND WEAVING
NEWHAVEN	80/100-200	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	METALWORKING	AGRICULTURAL
PARK BROW (n/a)	I.A.-161+	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	LOCKS AND KEYS	METALWORKING
WEST BLATCHINGTON (28+)	100-200	AGRICULTURE	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	BUILDING

Figure 5.43 L.I.A. – 150/200 A.D. – Top 3 use type categories from sites in Sussex, by incidence of 'Top 3'. A '+' refers to mention of more items in the report which were not quantified with the finds.

SITE NAME (SHERD COUNT/MNV)	DATES	POT FORM 1	POT FORM 2	POT FORM 3
BOXGROVE (W.) (24,940)	L.I.A.-70	JAR	AMPHORA	STRAINER
BOXGROVE (W.) (24,940)	50-175	JAR	PLATTER	BEAKER
BISHOPSTONE (E.) (/148+)	>60-200	JAR	BOWL	BEAKER
W. BLATCHINGTON (E.) (246+)	L.I.A. -100	-	-	-
W. BLATCHINGTON (E.) (246+)	100-200	JAR	BOWL/DISH	CUP/MORTARIA/PLATTER
BODIAM (E.) (/52)	50-250	BOWL	MORTARIA	JAR
NEWHAVEN (E.) (/316)	60-200	JAR	BOWL	BEAKER
NEWHAVEN (E.) (‘’)	60-80/100	JAR	BOWL	FLAGON
NEWHAVEN (E.) (‘’)	80/100-200	JAR	BOWL	BEAKER
PARK BROW (W.) (n/a)	L.I.A.-161+	JAR	BOWL/DISH	URN
FISHBOURNE CREEK (W.) (25kg)	75-150	BOWL	JAR	BEAKER

Figure 5.44 L.I.A. -150/200 A.D. – Top 3 pottery forms from sites in Sussex. ‘n/a refers to sites where proportions are mentioned in the text, but unquantified.

SITE NAME	PERIOD DATES	HEARTH	OVEN
FISHBOURNE CREEK	75-150	1	-
BISHOPSTONE	>60-200	-	1
WEST BLATCHINGTON	100-200	4+	-

Figure 5.45 L.I.A.- 150/200 A.D. – Sites with hearths or ovens

SITE NAME	PERIOD DATES	WINDOW	VESSEL	MOST COMMON
PARK BROW	I.A.- 161+	PRESENT	-	WINDOW
BOXGROVE	- 70	-	-	-
BOXGROVE	50-175	-	1	BEAKER OR BOWL
FISHBOURNE CREEK	75-150	-	-	-
NEWHAVEN	60-80/100	-	1	BOWL
NEWHAVEN	80/100-200	13	7	BOTTLE
BISHOPSTONE	>60-200	-	-	-
BODIAM	50-250	2+	8+	BOTTLE
WEST BLATCHINGTON	-100	-	-	-
WEST BLATCHINGTON	100-200	-	4	BOTTLE

Figure 5.46 I.A.- 150/200 A.D. – Glass in Sussex (by fragment count)

SITE NAME (TOTAL)	DATES	COARSEWARE	POT FORM 1	POT FORM 2	POT FORM 3	FINEWARE
BOXGROVE (24,940)	150-400	-	JAR	BEAKER	SERVING	-
FISHBOURNE CREEK (25kg)	175-350	GREY SANDY	JAR	BOWL	DISH	NEW FOREST
SLONK HILL (181 MNV)	125-400	GREY SANDY	AMPHORAE	JAR	BOWL	SAMIAN

Figure 5.47 A.D. 150-350/400 – Top ceramic forms and fabrics at this time (by sherd count)

SITE NAME (TOTAL GRAINS)	DATES	PLANT 1	PLANT 2	PLANT 3
WEST BLATCHINGTON	200-310	-	-	-
BISHOPSTONE (67+)	200-400	BARLEY	SPELT	FAT HEN (GATHERED)
LAMBS LEA (n/a)	300-400	WHEAT	BARLEY	OATS
BURGESS HILL	350-425	-	-	-

Figure 5.48 A.D. 200-450 – Plant species present. ‘n/a’ refers to proportions mentioned in the text but left unquantified.

SITE NAME (COUNT/MNI)	DATES	ANIMAL 1	ANIMAL 2	ANIMAL 3
WEST BLATCHINGTON (80/)	200-310	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
BISHOPSTONE (/246)	200-400	SHEEP	CATTLE	HORSE
LAMBS LEA	300-400	-	-	-
BURGESS HILL	350-425	-	-	-

Figure 5.49 200-450 A.D. – Animal Species present in this period. The number in brackets represents the entire number of fragments, MNI or percentage calculated in the report.

SITE NAME	DATES	CORNDRYER
WEST BLATCHINGTON	200-310	4+
BISHOPSTONE	200-400	2
LAMBS LEA	300-400	1
BURGESS HILL	350-425	1?

Figure 5.50 A.D. 200-450 – Corn-dryers present on site

SITE NAME	DATES	CRUMMY 1	CRUMMY 2	CRUMMY 3
WEST BLATCHINGTON (28+)	200-310	AGRICULTURE	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	-
BISHOPSTONE (41+)	200-400	TOOL	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	METALWORK
LAMBS LEA (+)	300-400	AGRICULTURAL	-	-
BURGESS HILL (n/a)	350-425	AGRICULTURAL	METALWORKING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Figure 5.51 A.D. 200-450 – Use-type activities found in Sussex. '+' refers to more items mentioned in the text, but left unquantified in the report.

SITE NAME	DATES
BISHOPSTONE	>60-400
BODIAM	50-250
BOXGROVE	-400
BURGESS HILL	0-425
BURGESS HILL	0-350
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD	0-325
CHILGROVE I	0-425
CHILGROVE II	100-400
ELSTED	-300
FISHBOURNE CREEK	75-350
LAMBS LEA	300-400
MIDDLETON ON SEA	70-400
NEWHAVEN	60-200
RANSCOMBE HILL	0-400
SLONK HILL	125-400
UPMARDEN	75-450
WEST BLATCHINGTON	-310

Figure 5.52 Overall date ranges for sites in Sussex. The highlighted sites are those without any more detailed phasing

SITE NAME	CRUMMY 1	CRUMMY 2	CRUMMY 3
BISHOPSTONE (41+)	TOOLS	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
BODIAM	-	-	-
BOXGROVE (57+)	AGRICULTURAL	METALWORKING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
BURGESS HILL (n/a)	AGRICULTURAL	METALWORKING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD	-	-	-
CHILGROVE I (77)	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	TOOLS	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
CHILGROVE II (95)	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	TOOLS	UNKNOWN USE / FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
ELSTED (67+)	AGRICULTURAL	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	UNKNOWN USE/ TOOL
FISHBOURNE CREEK (41)	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	METALWORK	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
LAMBS LEA (n/a)	AGRICULTURAL	-	-
MIDDLETON ON SEA (11+)	AGRICULTURAL	BUILDING	UNKNOWN
NEWHAVEN (38+)	METALWORK	AGRICULTURE	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
PARK BROW (n/a)	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	LOCKS AND KEYS	METALWORKING
RANSCOMBE HILL	-	-	-
SLONK HILL (35)	UNKNOWN USE	TOOLS	ARICULTURAL
UPMARDEN (11+)	UNKNOWN USE	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	MILITARY
WEST BLATCHINGTON (28+)	BUILDING	AGRICULTURE	PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Figure 5.53 The top 3 use-type proportions on Sussex sites. '+' refers to sites where more items were mentioned in the text, but left unquantified in the report.

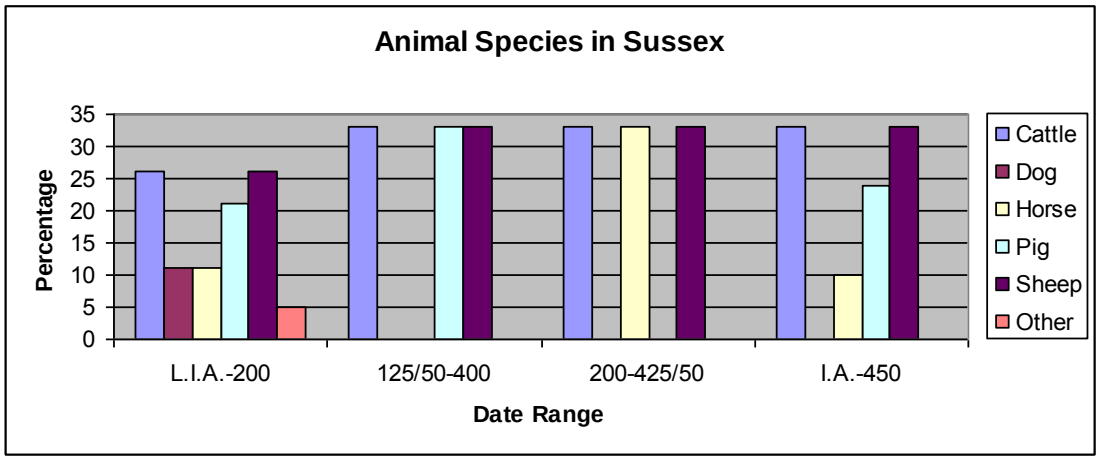

Figure 5.54 Most numerous animal species in Sussex through time, using proportional analysis of the the 'top 3' from the regional database. 5 sites gave information in the first phase, 1 in the second, 2 in the third, and 13 in total, for all the phases.

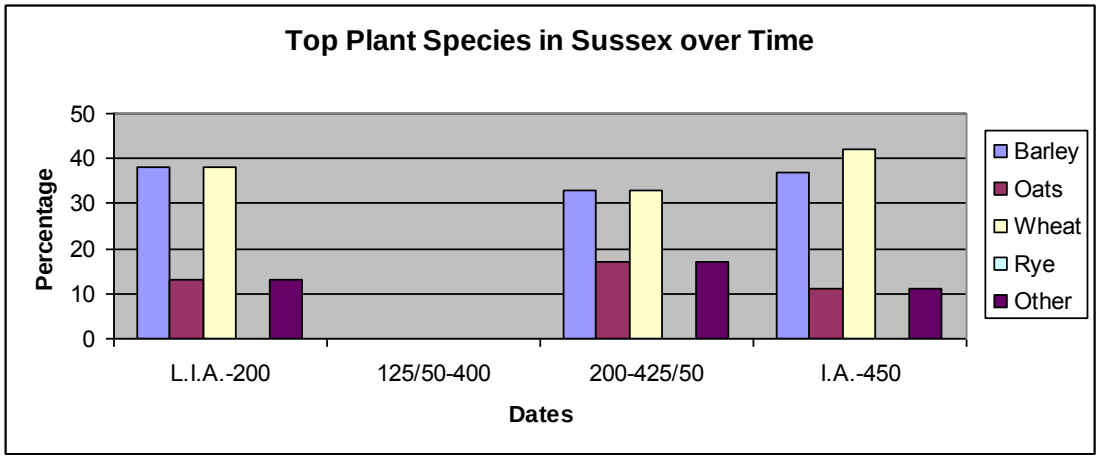

Figure 5.55 Most numerous plant species in Sussex through time. 4 sites gave information in the first phase, 0 in the second, 2 in the third, and 9 total for all phases in Sussex.

W. Sussex	Use-Type Activity 1	Use-Type Activity 2	Use-Type Activity 3
BOXGROVE	AGRICULTURE	METALWORKING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
BURGESS HILL	AGRICULTURAL	METALWORKING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD	-	-	-
CHILGROVE I	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	TOOLS	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
CHILGROVE II	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	TOOLS	UNKNOWN USE / FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
ELSTED	AGRICULTURAL	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	UNKNOWN USE/ TOOL
FISHBOURNE CREEK	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	METALWORK	FIXTURES AND FITTINGS
LAMBS LEA (N/A)	AGRICULTURAL	-	-
MIDDLETON ON SEA	AGRICULTURAL	BUILDING	UNIDENTIFIED
PARK BROW	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	LOCKS AND KEYS	METALWORKING
UPMARDEN	UNKNOWN	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	MILITARY
E. Sussex			
BISHOPSTONE	TOOL	FIXTURES AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
BODIAM	RELIGIOUS	CONSTRUCTION/MILITARY	-
NEWHAVEN	METALWORK	AGRICULTURE	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
RANSCOMBE HILL	-	-	-
SLONK HILL	UNIDENTIFIED	TOOL	AGICULTURAL
WEST BLATCHINGTON	BUILDING	AGRICULTURE	PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Figure 5.56 Top 3 activities from all periods in East and West Sussex. For finds totals, see above.

Site Name	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Most Common Fineware
West Sussex				
BOXGROVE	JAR	BEAKER	PLATTER	-
BURGESS HILL	JAR	BOWL	VESSEL	-
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD	JAR	LID	STRAINER	-
CHILGROVE I (200+ A.D.?)	BOWL	JAR	ENCLOSED'	RHENISH UNTIL PERIOD 4, THEN NEW FOREST
CHILGROVE II	BOWL	JAR	TABLEWARE'	OXFORD PRODUCTS
ELSTED	JAR	DISH	BOWL	SAM. AD 70-150, THEN N. FOREST + SUSSEX RED SLIP
FISHBOURNE CREEK	-	-	-	NEW FOREST/ FISHBOURNE PRODUCTS/GLASS VESSELS
LAMBS LEA	-	-	-	-
MIDDLETON ON SEA	JAR	DISH	BOWL	-
PARK BROW	JAR	BOWL/DISH	-	-
UPMARDEN	-	-	-	NEW FOREST WARE
East Sussex				
BISHOPSTONE	JAR	BOWL	BEAKER	PEVENSEY WARE/OXFORD COLOUR COATED
BODIAM	BOWL	MORTARIUM	JAR	SAMIAN
NEWHAVEN	JAR	BOWL	BEAKER	-
RANSCOMBE HILL	JAR	BOWL	JAR/BOWL	SAMIAN
SLONK HILL	AMPHORAE	JAR	BOWL	SAMIAN
WEST BLATCHINGTON	JAR	PLATTER	DISH	SAMIAN

Figure 5.57 Top 3 ceramic forms and common finewares from Sussex. For pottery totals, see above.

Figure 6.1 Yorkshire County map. North, South, East and West Yorkshire are delineated.

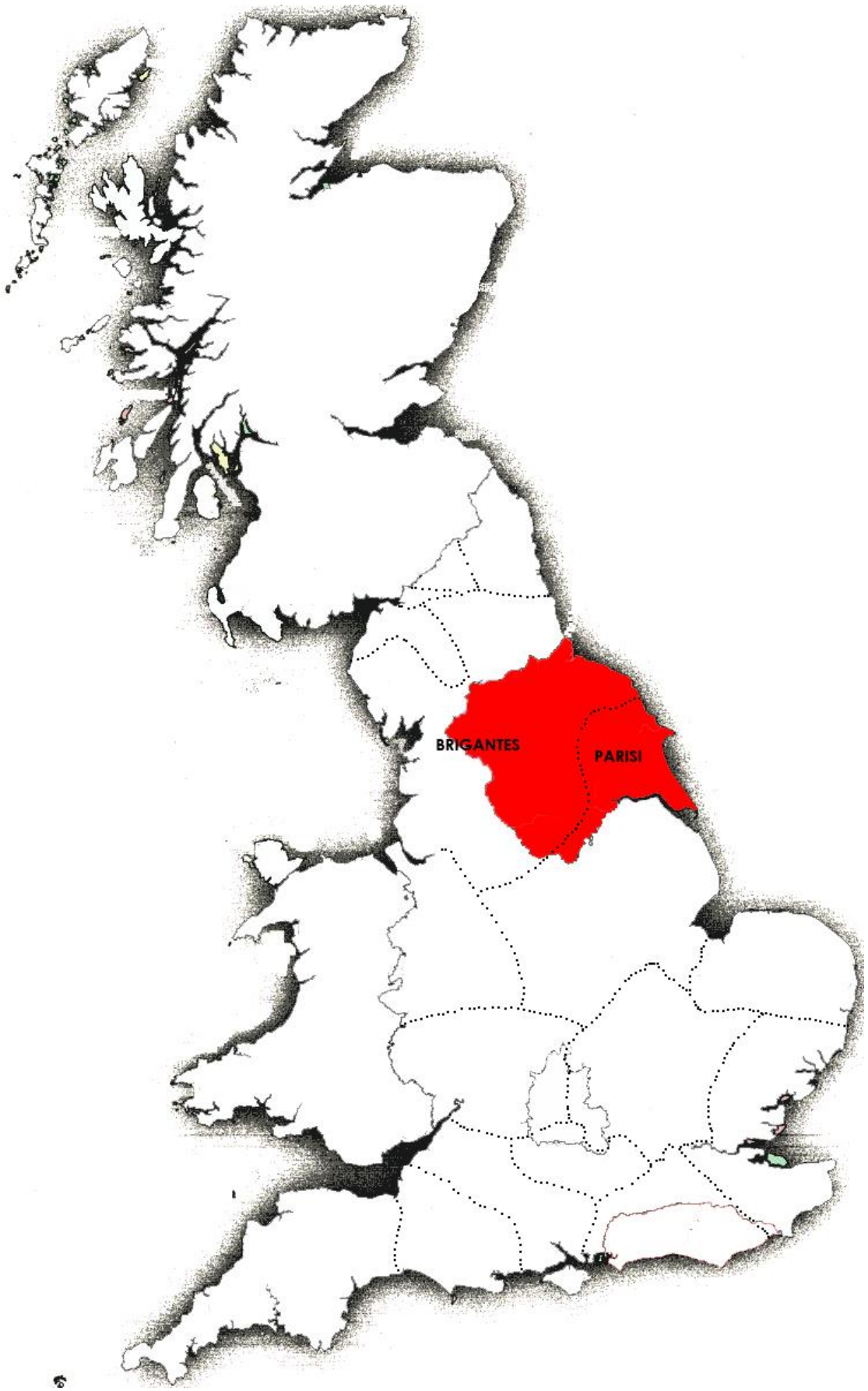

Figure 6.2 Map of Great Britain with tribal boundaries. Yorkshire is coloured in red

SITE NAME	AREA/COUNTY	# OF STRUCTURES	SITE DATES
BIRDSALL HIGH BARN	E. YORKSHIRE	1+?	I.A.-350
BLANSBY PARK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	1+?	201-399+
BONNEY GROVE	N.E. YORKSHIRE	-	I.A. – 350
CRAB LANE	N. YORKSHIRE	2	L.I.A.- 192
DALTON ON TEES	N. YORKSHIRE	4	150 - 500
DIXON'S BANK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	-	I.A.- 350
HAWLING ROAD	E. YORKSHIRE	-	I.A.-399
HIGH WOLD	E. YORKSHIRE	15+	I.A.-250
INGLEBY BARWICK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	5+	I.A- 400
MELTON	E. YORKSHIRE	3+	I.A.- 150
OLD WINTERINGHAM	E. YORKSHIRE (LINCS.)	2+?	201-399
SANDTOFT	S. YORKSHIRE	2+	-399
STAMFORD BRIDGE	E. YORKSHIRE	-	50-299
STONYGATE+	N.E. YORKSHIRE	-	300-425
THURNSCOE	S. YORKSHIRE	6+?	150-350
WHARRAM GRANGE	E. YORKSHIRE	2+	150-399
WHARRAM LE STREET	E. YORKSHIRE	1+	201-399
WHELDRAKE	N. YORKSHIRE	4+	L.I.A.-399
WINTERTON	E. YORKSHIRE (LINCS.)	13	C.50-385
WOMERSLEY	N. YORKSHIRE	1?	I.A.?-350

Figure 6.3 List of the sites in Yorkshire region along with their overall dates of Roman occupation and the number of structures uncovered

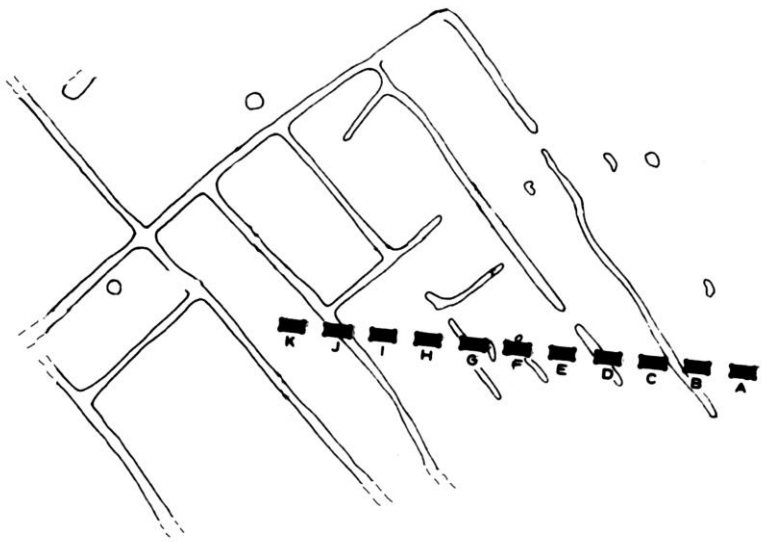

Figure 6.4 Birdsall High Barn Farmstead (reprinted from Hayfield 1987). The trenches above measure 5m in length.

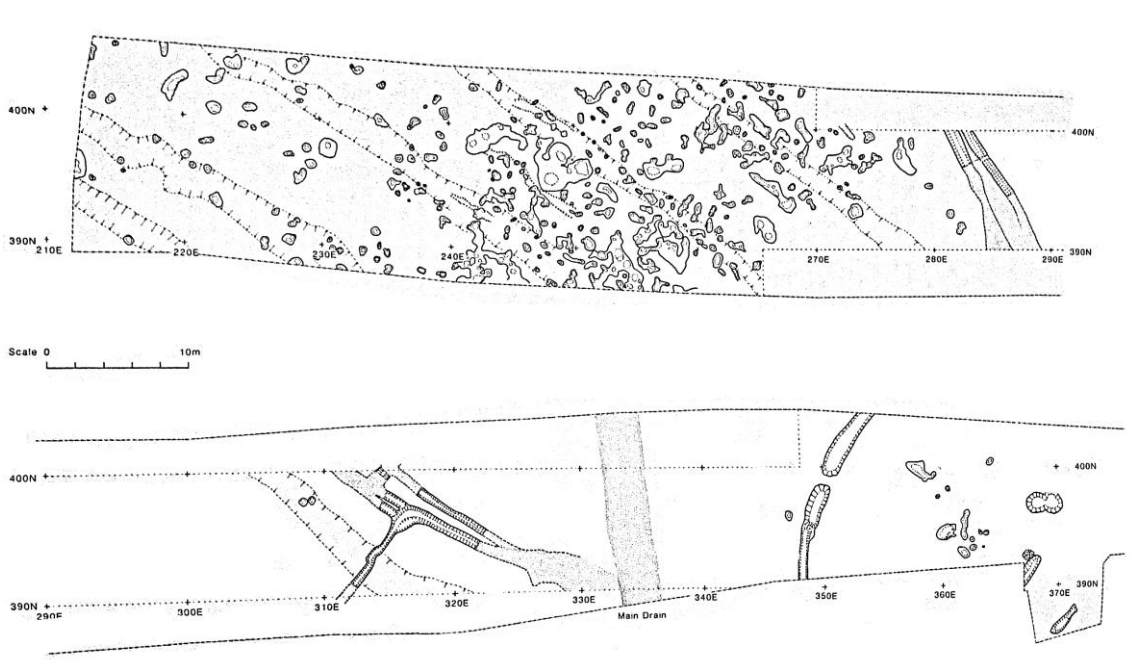

Figure 6.5 Hawling Road (reprinted from Creighton 1999)

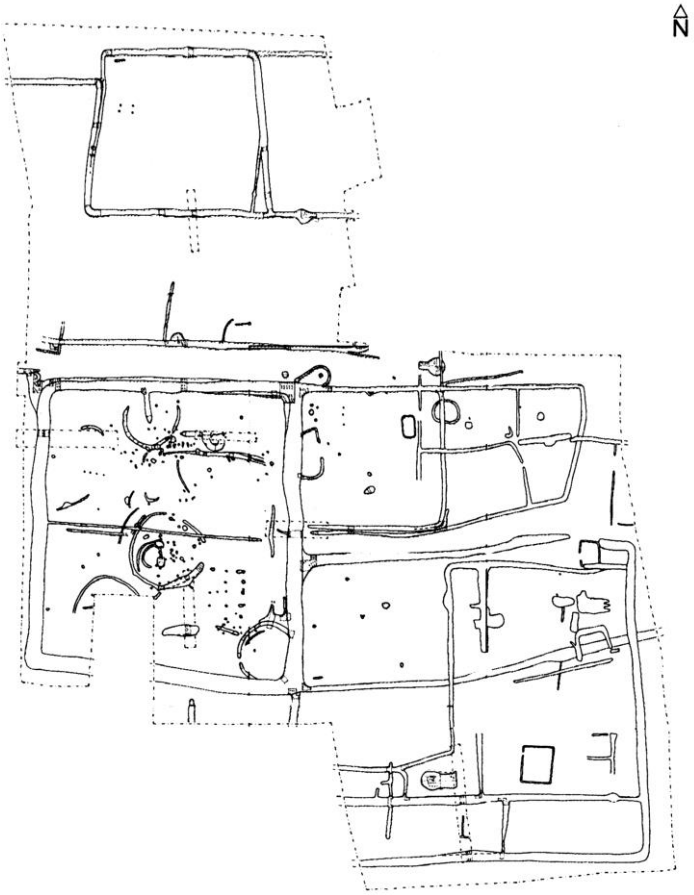

Figure 6.6 High Wold (reprinted from Roberts *et al.* 2009). The left enclosure measures roughly 50x48m.

Figure 6.7 Melton (reprinted from Bishop *et al.* 1999). The central square enclosure measures roughly 53x49m.

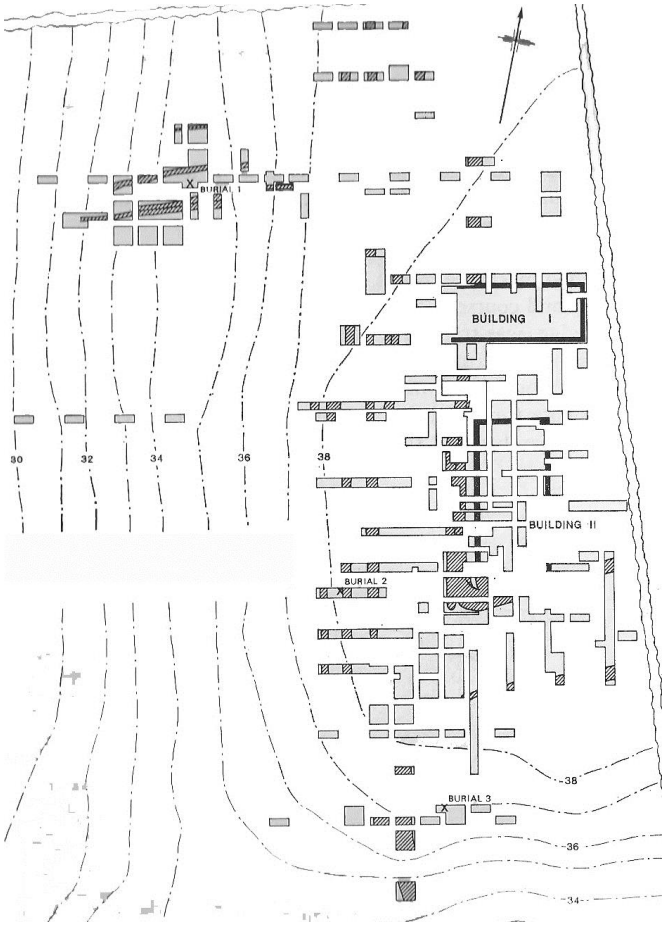

Figure 6.8 Old Winteringham (reprinted from Stead 1976)

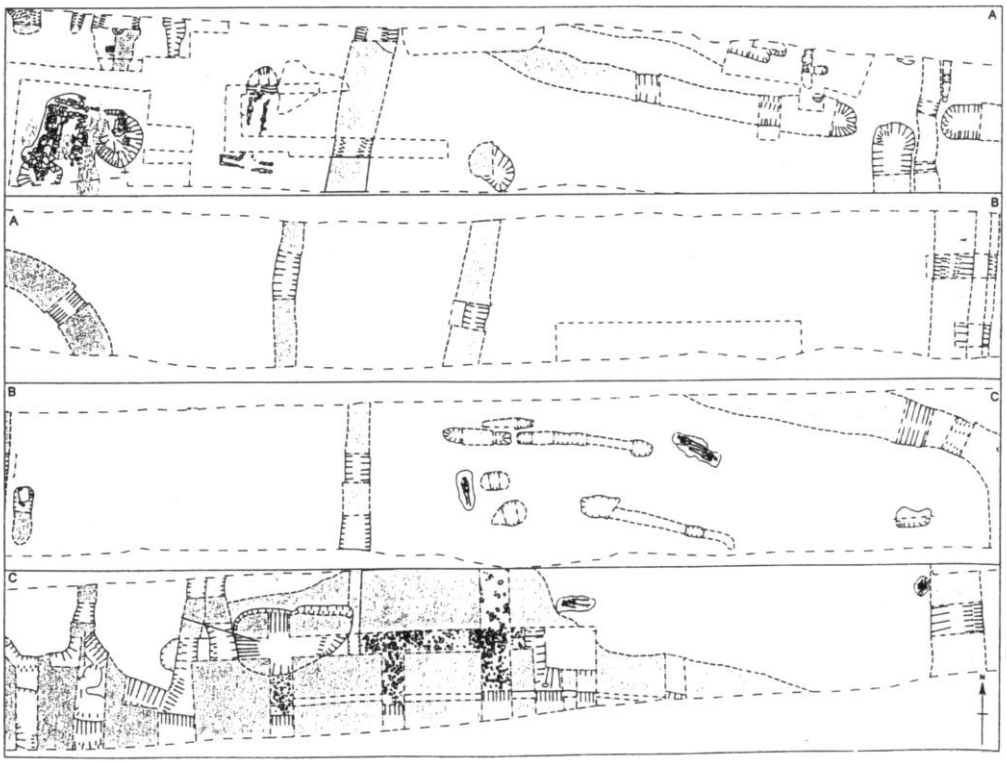

Figure 6.9 Stamford Bridge (reprinted from Yorkshire Archaeological Society 2004). Each of the panels above shows an area of 10x50m.

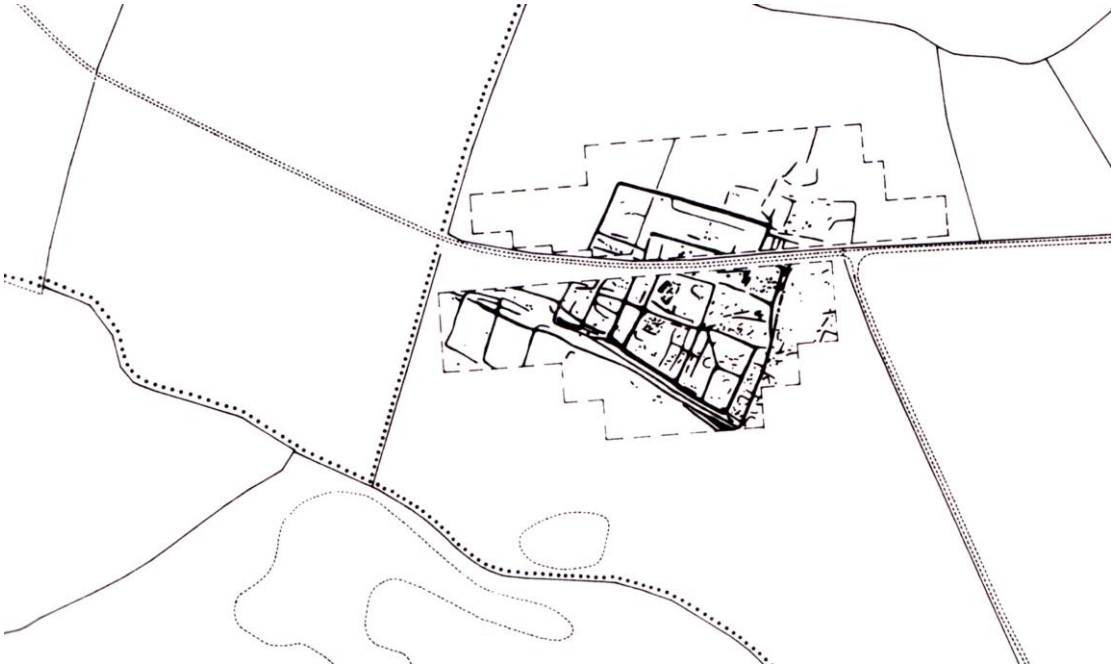

Figure 6.10 Wharram Grange (reprinted from Hayfield 1987). The area examined (inside the dotted lines above) measured 24,000 square metres.

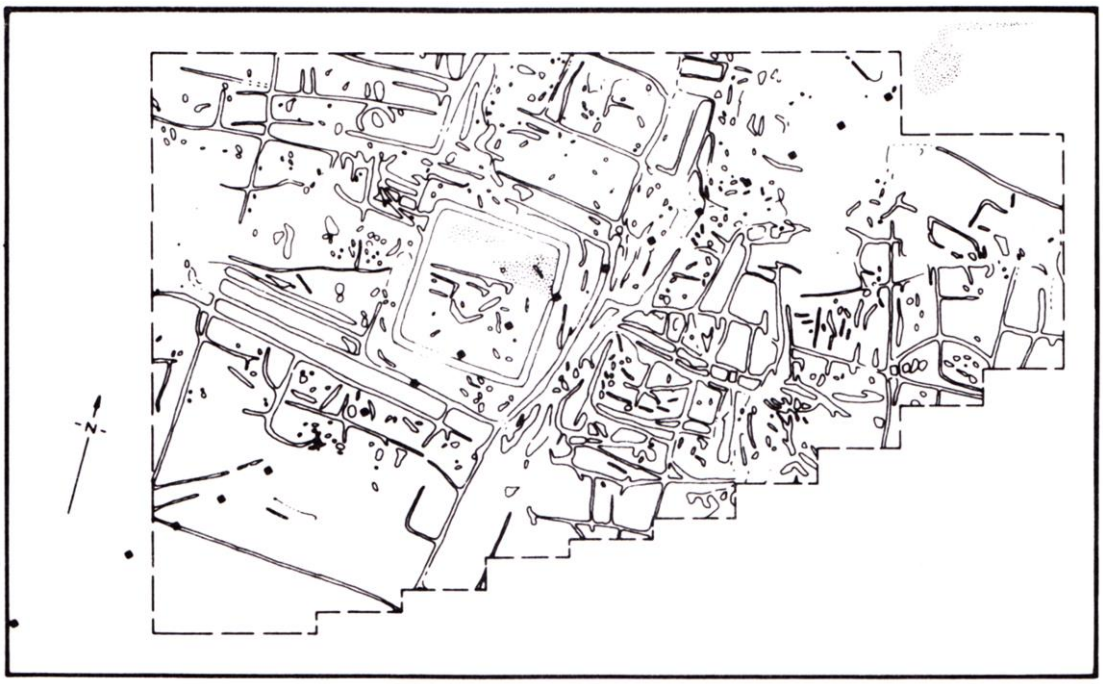

Figure 6.11 Wharram Le Street (reprinted from Hayfield 1987). The main rectangular enclosure measured roughly 50x55m.

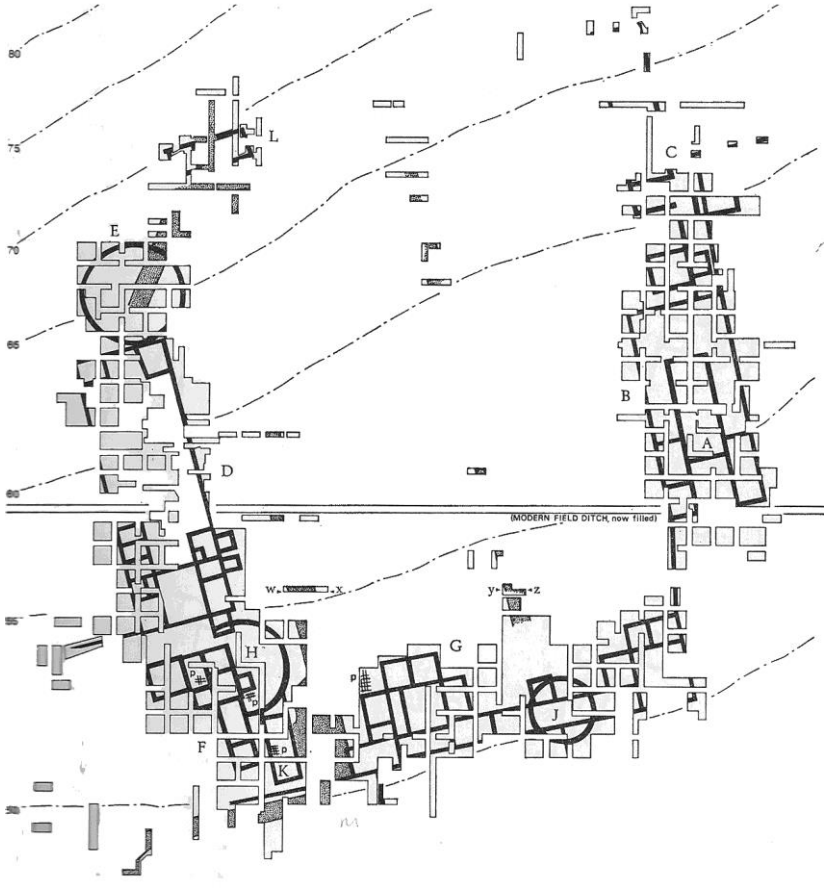

Figure 6.12 Winterton Villa (reprinted from Stead 1976)

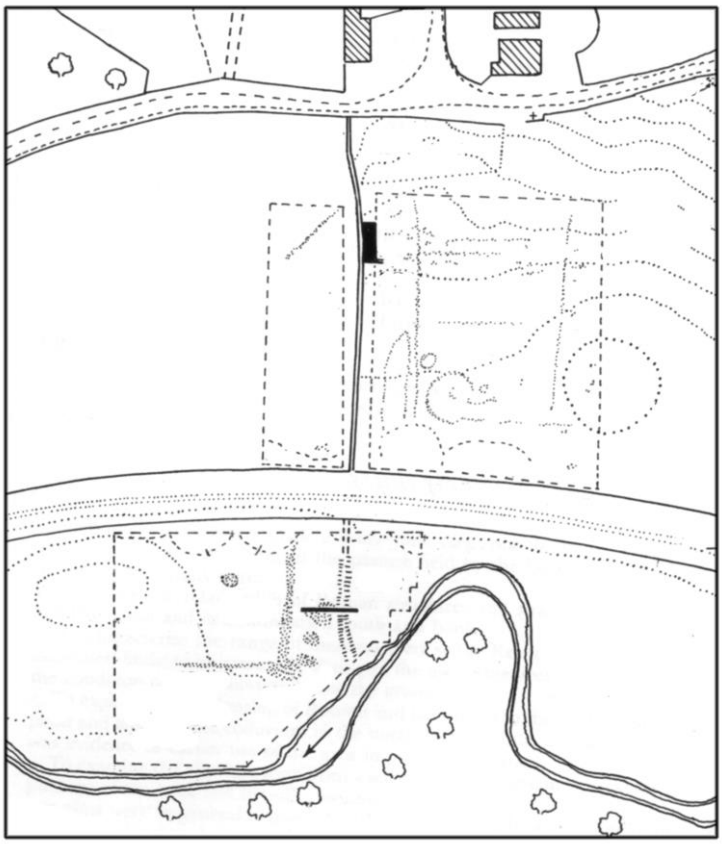

Figure 6.13 Blansby Park, Park Gate (reprinted from Watts *et al.* 2003)

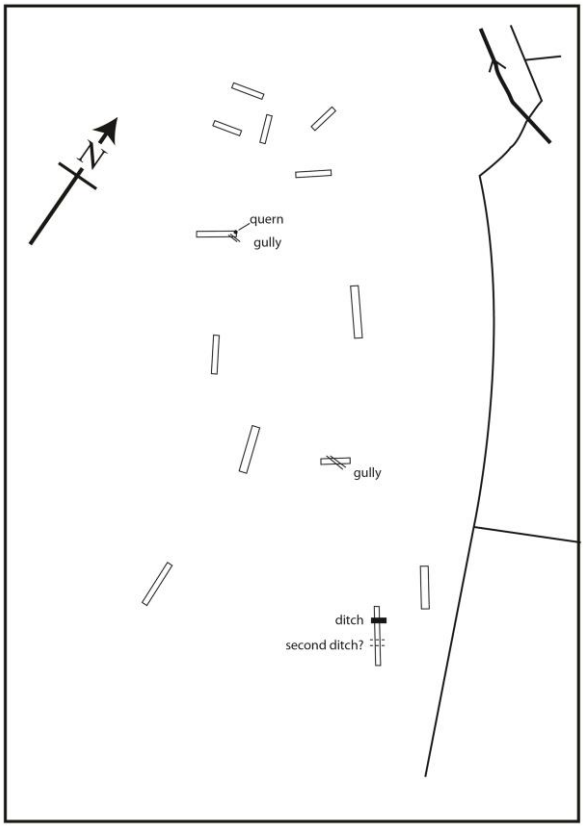

Figure 6.14 Bonney Grove Farm (reprinted from Annis 1992), The distance between the trenches farthest to the north and those at the south measures roughly 200m.

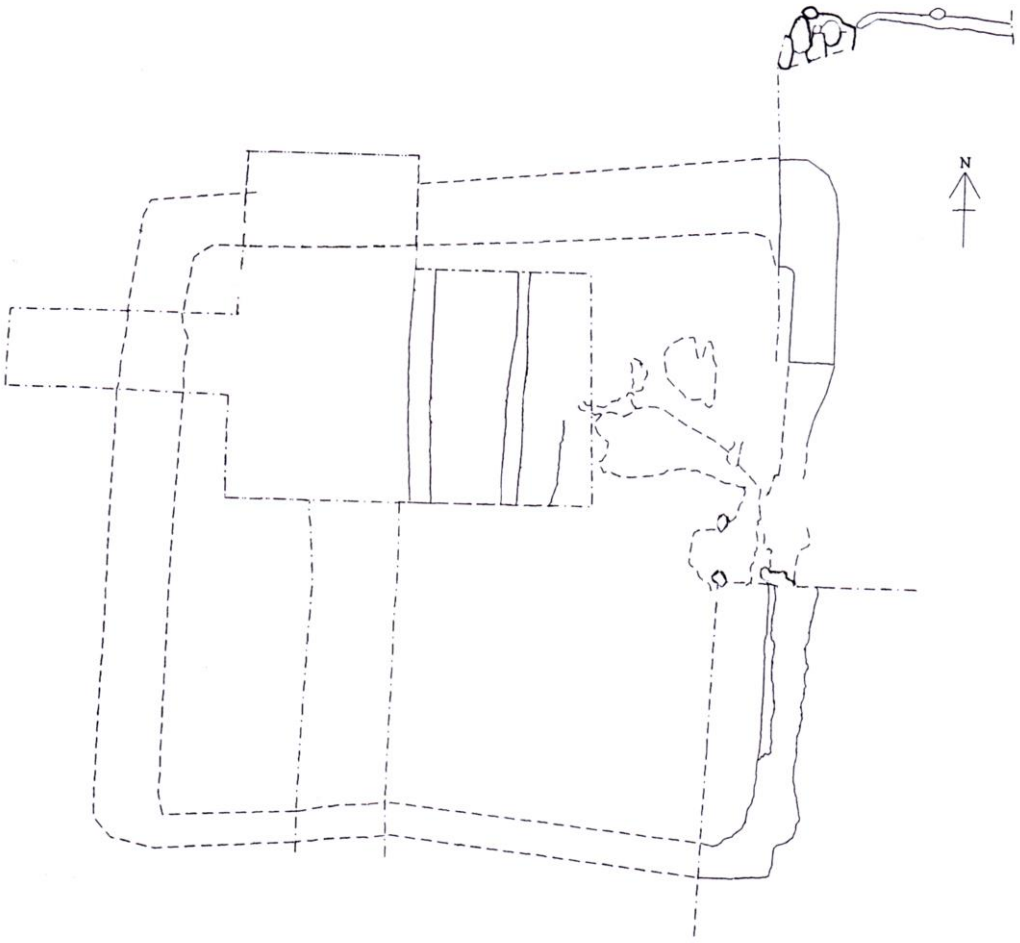

Figure 6.15 Crab Lane, Crossgates (after Stephens 2000). The enclosure is 43m wide.

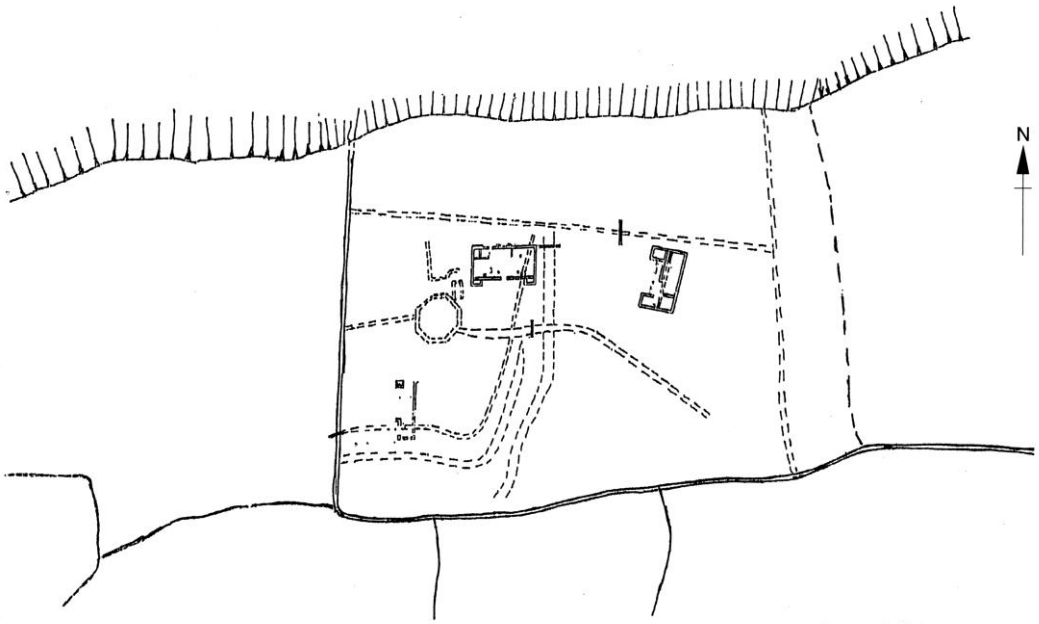

Figure 6.16 Dalton on Tees, Chapel House Farm (reprinted from Brown 1999). Building B (top left) measures 20x40m.

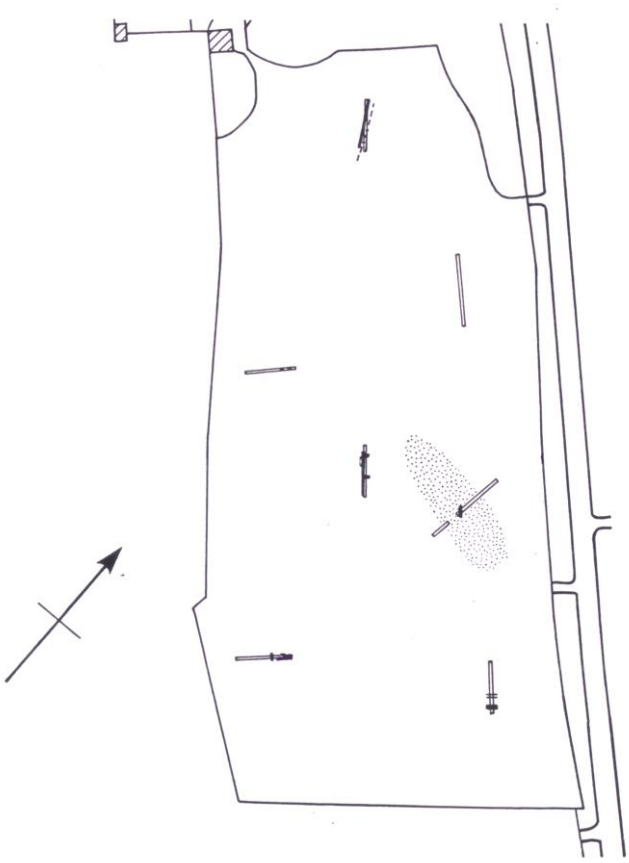

Figure 6.17 Dixon's Bank (after Stephens 2000). The area shown above measures 120x300m.

Figure 6.18 Ingleby Barwick (reprinted from Carne 2001). The circular ditch on the right measures roughly 18m in length.

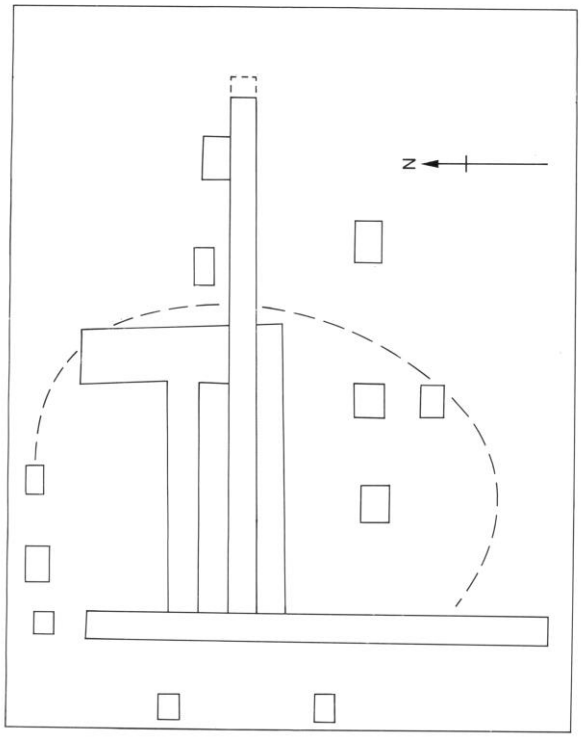

Figure 6.19 Stonygate (reprinted from Hayes 1988)

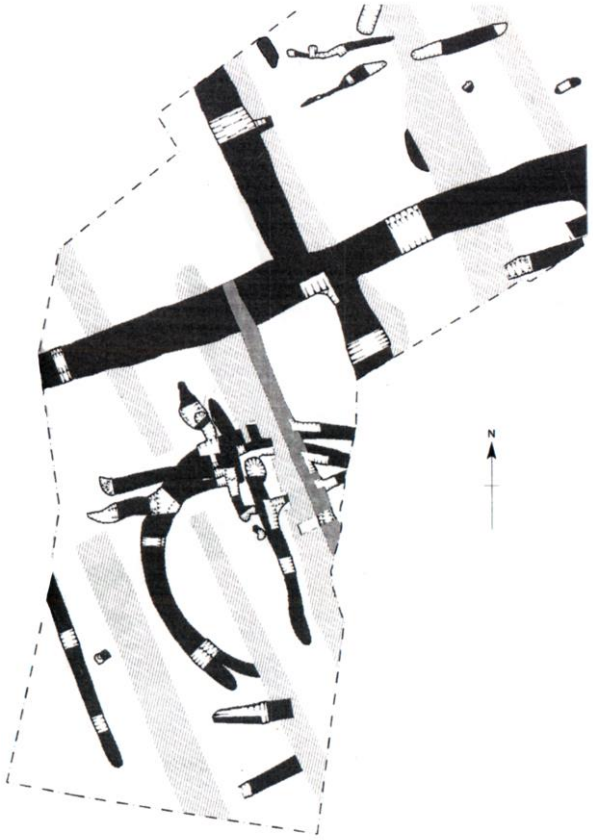

Figure 6.20 Wheldrake (reprinted from Robinson 2009). The intercutting ring ditches measure roughly 16m in diameter.

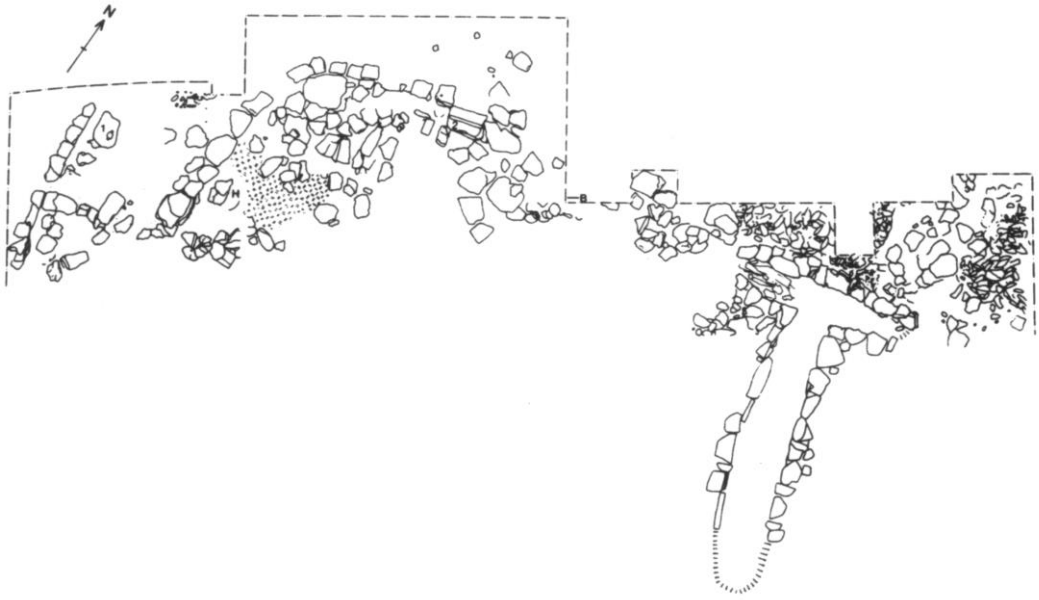

Figure 6.21 Womersley (Buckland *et al.* 1987). The kiln measures almost 3x6m at the widest points.

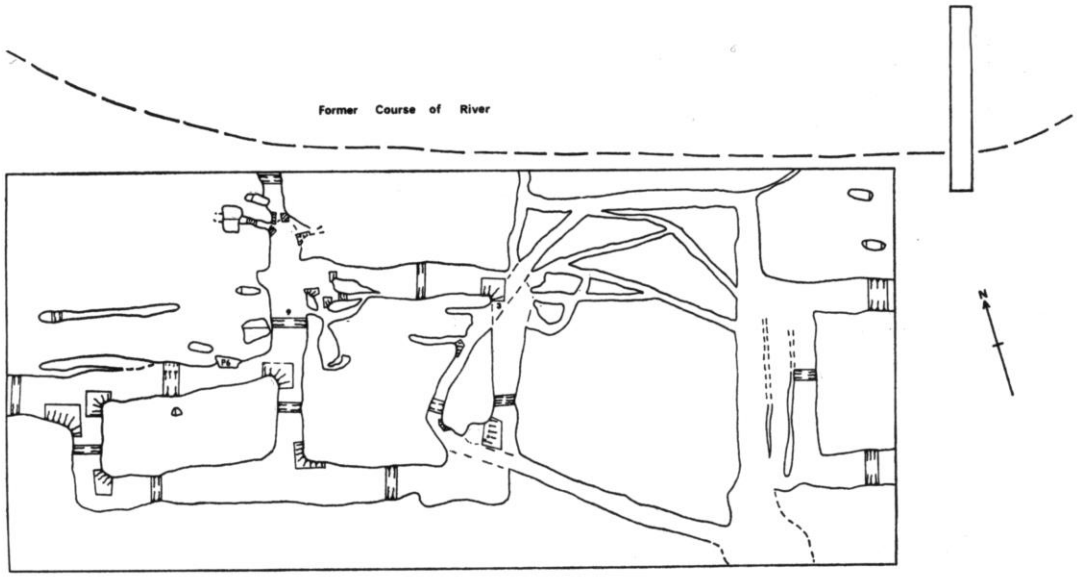

Figure 6.22 Sandtoft (reprinted from Samuels and Buckland 1978). The interior of the central square enclosure measures 15x15m.

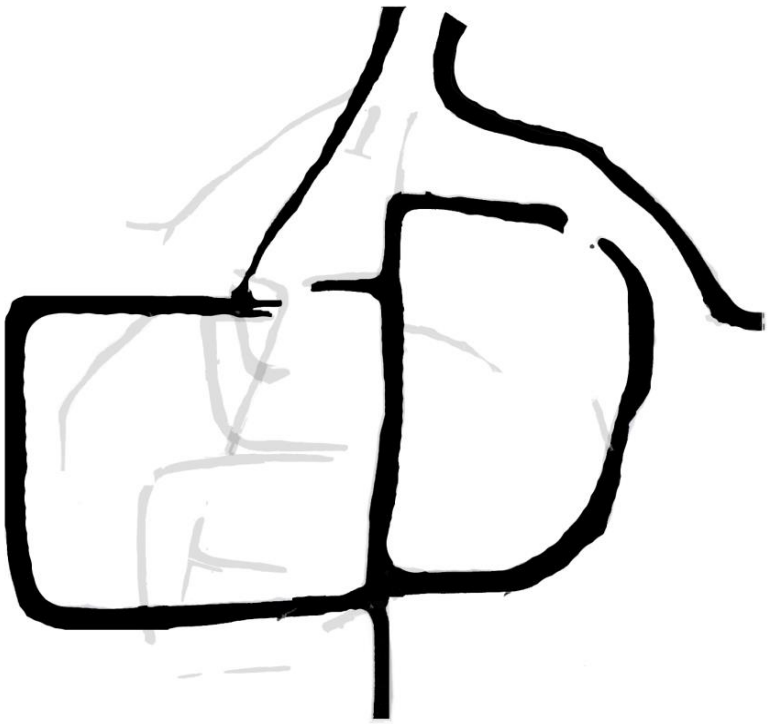

Figure 6.23 Thurnscoe (after Neal and Fraser 2004).

SITE NAME	COUNTY	SITE DATES	KILN	HEARTH	OVEN	CORNDRYER
BIRDSALL HIGH BARN	E. YORKSHIRE	I.A.-350	-	-	-	-
BLANSBY PARK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	201-399+	-	-	-	-
BONNEY GROVE FARM	N.E. YORKSHIRE	I.A. -350	-	-	-	-
CRAB LANE	N. YORKSHIRE	L.I.A.-192	-	-	-	-
DALTON ON TEES	N. YORKSHIRE	150 -500	-	2	-	1
DIXON'S BANK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	I.A.-350	-	-	-	1
HAWLING ROAD	E. YORKSHIRE	I.A.-399	-	1	-	-
HIGH WOLD	E. YORKSHIRE	I.A.-250	-	-	1	1
INGLEBY BARWICK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	I.A-400	-	-	-	-
MELTON	E. YORKSHIRE	I.A.-150	-	-	-	-
OLD WINTERINGHAM	E. YORKSHIRE	201-399	-	1	3	-
SANDTOFT	S. YORKSHIRE	-399	-	2	-	7?
STAMFORD BRIDGE	E. YORKSHIRE	50-299	-	-	-	3
STONYGATE	N.E. YORKSHIRE	300-425	-	-	-	-
THURNSCOE	S. YORKSHIRE	150-350	-	-	4?	1
WHARRAM GRANGE VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	150-399	-	-	-	-
WHARRAM LE STREET VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	201-399	3+	-	1?	1?
WHELDRAKE	N. YORKSHIRE	L.I.A.-399	-	-	-	-
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	C.50-385	-	4	20	1+
WOMERSLEY	N. YORKSHIRE	I.A.?-350	-	1	-	1

Figure 6.24 Corn-dryers, kilns, hearths, and ovens on all Yorkshire sites

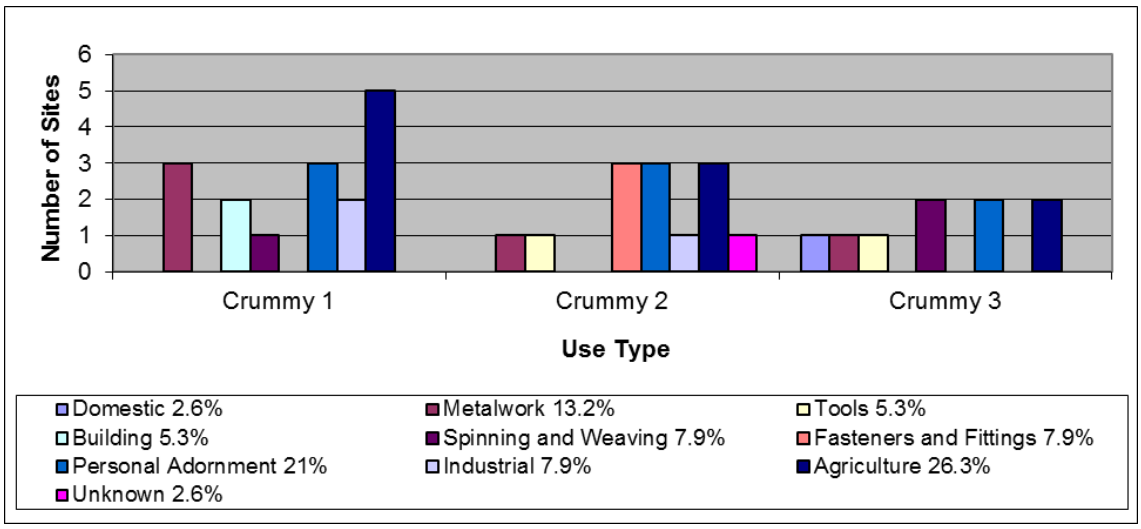

Figure 6.25 Representation of the incidence of Top 3 use-types on all of the Yorkshire sites, 38 reported through time.

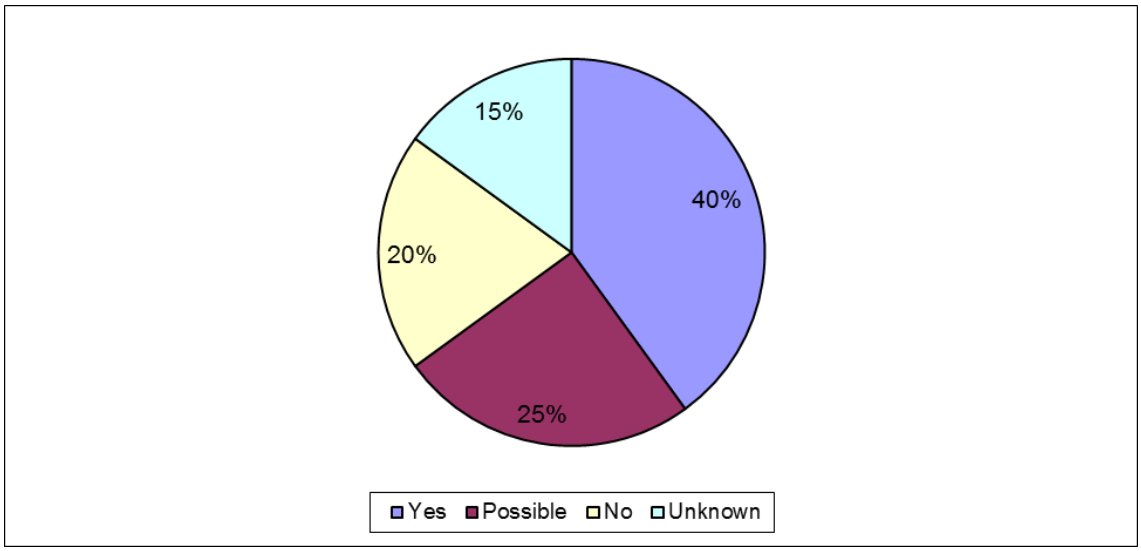

Figure 6.26 Proportions of sites having continuity from the Iron Age into the Roman Period. 20 sites in total.

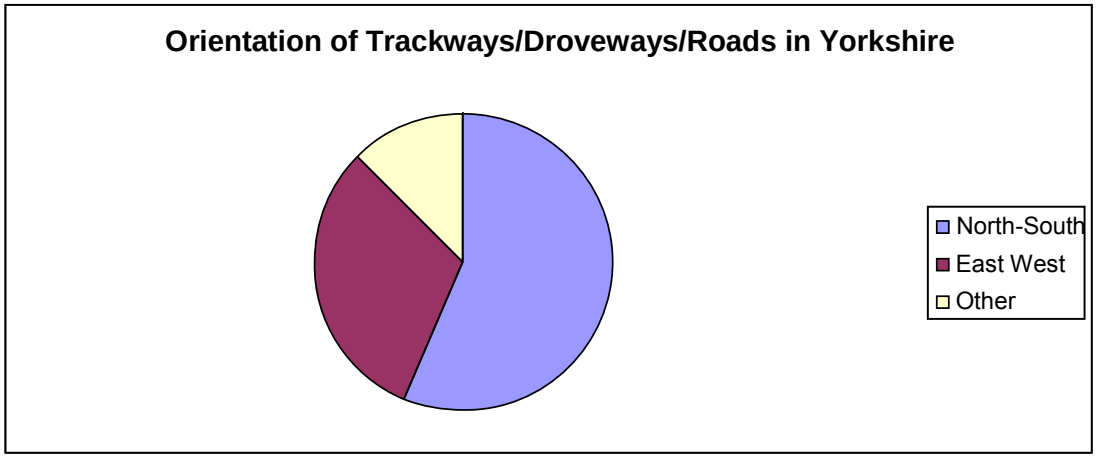

Figure 6.27 Pie graph showing the orientations of trackways/droveways/roads in Yorkshire (56.25%, 31.25%, 12.5%). 16 sites gave enough information to determine orientation.

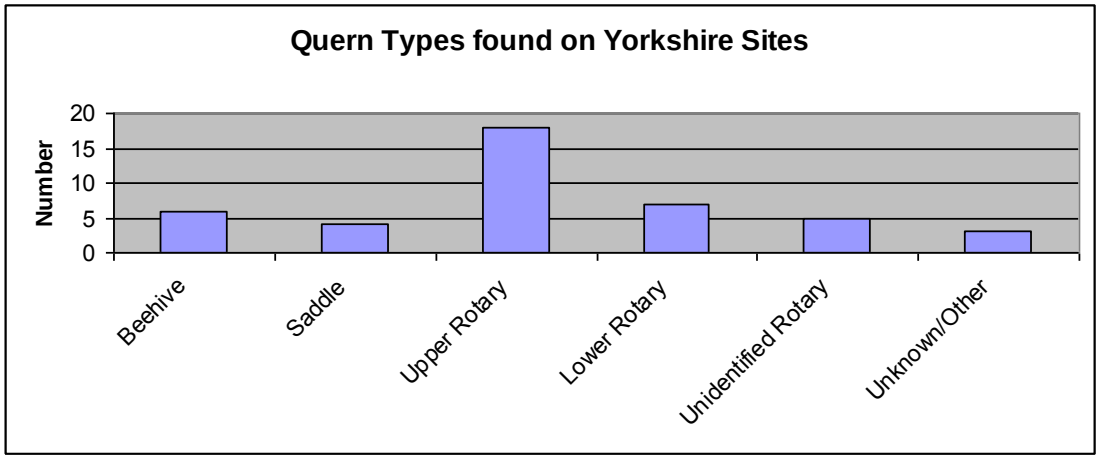

Figure 6.28 The proportions of different types of quernstone found on sites in Yorkshire. There were 43 querns found in total.

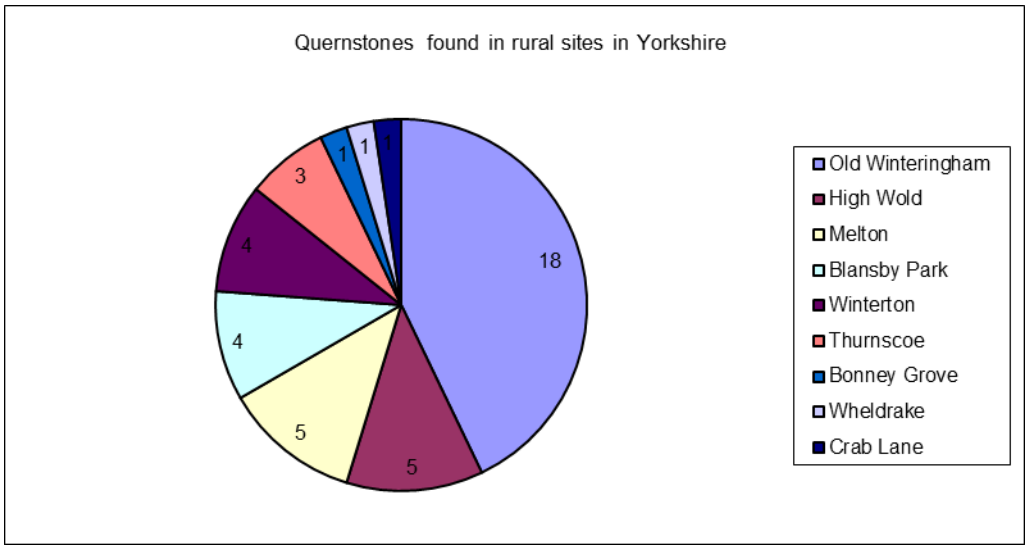

Figure 6.29 Pie graph showing the different proportions of quernstones found on sites in Yorkshire. 43 querns in total.

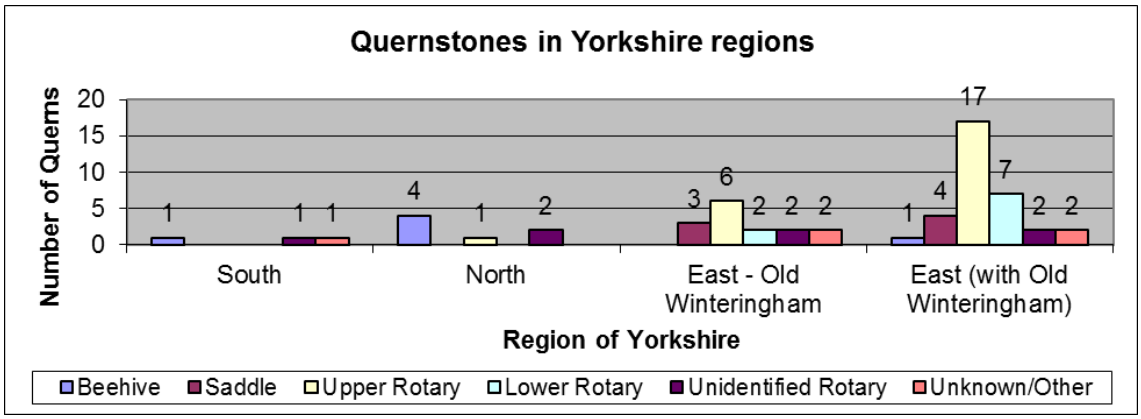

Figure 6.30 Regional variation in quern types (43 from Yorkshire in total). As Old Winterington may skew the dataset, I have shown East Yorkshire both with and without it.

Yorkshire	Nearby Settlement	Nearby Site	Access to Water	Nearby Road	Also Nearby	Notes
BIRDSALL HIGH BARN	Malton	Wharram Le Street/Wharram Grange	-	Birdsall Brow Linear System	Norton ceramic centre	-
HAWLING ROAD	Shiptonthorpe	-	-	-	Bog ore extraction and smelting (Creighton 1999:168)/ Norton ceramic centre	-
HIGH WOLD	-	Sewerby Cottage Farm	North Sea	-	-	-
MELTON	Brough on Humber	Welton Wold	Humber	Trackway (proposed)	Iron Age cemetary	-
OLD WINTERINGHAM	-	Winterton	Humber, Ancholme/Trent	connecting to Ermine	-	local market centre?
STAMFORD BRIDGE	(propsed) Derventio	-	Derwent	Stamford Bridge to Market Weighton (proposed)	-	-
WHARRAM GRANGE	Malton	Wharram Le Street/Hawling Road	two springs	Wharram Le Street Road (proposed)	Norton ceramic centre	-
WHARRAM LE STREET	Malton	Wharram Grange/Hawling Road	Spring	Wharram Le Street Road	Norton ceramic centre	-
WINTERTON VILLA	-	Old Winteringham	Ancholme/Trent	paved road on site/Ermin street	Thealby and Roxby ceramic centres	-

Figure 6.31 Yorkshire sites in relation to nearby settlements, sites, rivers, roads, and other places of interest (1 of 2)

Yorkshire	Nearby Settlement	Nearby Site	Access to Water	Nearby Road	Also Nearby	Notes
BLANSBY PARK	-	-	Pickering Beck	-	-	-
BONNEY GROVE	-	Dixon's Bank	Marton Westbeck Tributary	-	-	-
CRAB LANE, CROSSGATES	-	-	-	-	-	No tile
DALTON ON TEES	-	-	Tees	Dere Street	-	Stone tile
DIXON'S BANK	-	Bonney Grove	Marton Westbeck Tributary	-	-	similar crops to Ingleby Barwick
INGLEBY BARWICK	-	-	Tees	-	-	No tile
STONYGATE	-	Blansby Park	Crossdale Spring/Pickering Beck	-	-	-
WHELDRAKE	York	Sutton Hall	-	Road linking York-Holme on Spalding Moor Potteries	Holme-on Spalindg Moor Potteries	no pot from york, only holme on spalding moor
WOMERSLEY	-	-	-	-	-	-
SANDTOFT	Doncaster/Axholme	-	Idle	(proposed) Doncaster road	-	-
THURNSCOE	Doncaster	-	-	(proposed) Doncaster road	-	-

Figure 6.32 Yorkshire sites in relation to nearby settlements, sites, rivers, roads, and other places of interest (2 of 2)

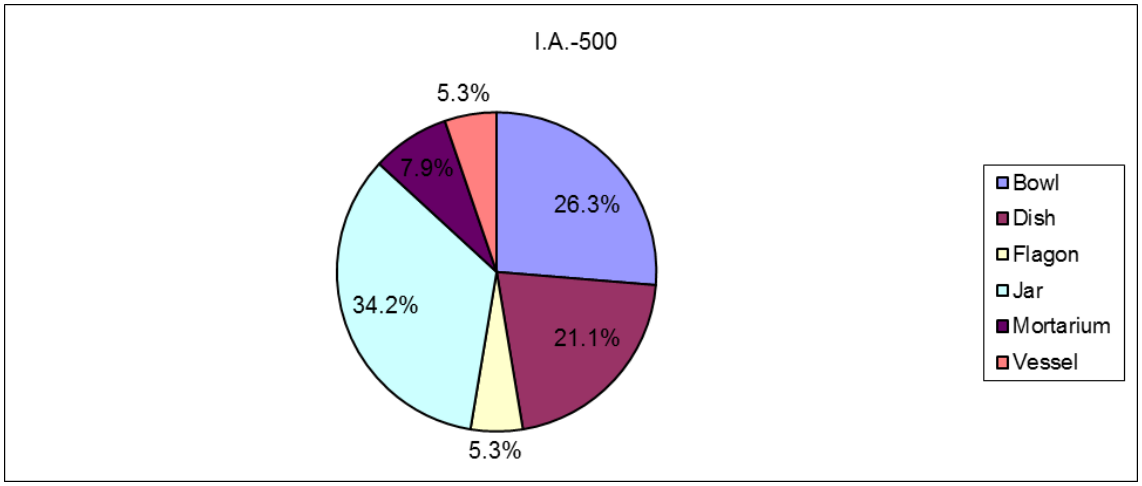

Figure 6.33 The proportion of the top 3 ceramic form types on all of the sites, out of a total of 38 incidences of 'Top 3' from the regional database.

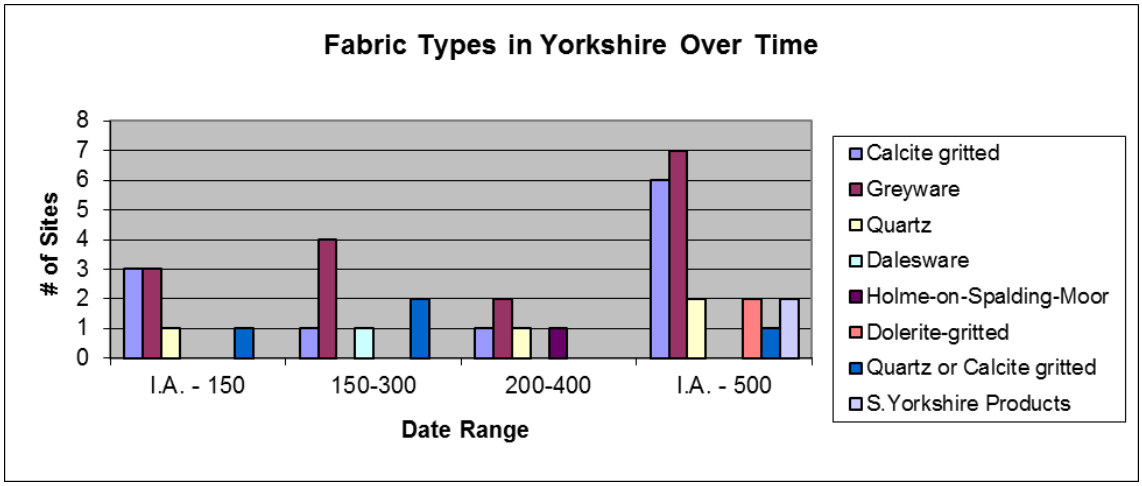

Figure 6.34 The proportion of fabric types present on Yorkshire sites. Greywares are common on the most number of sites, followed by calcite-gritted. 18 sites out of 20 gave information about common fabric types.

SITE NAME	AREA	WINDOW	VESSEL	MOST COMMON GLASS	ALL GLASS PRESENT
STAMFORD BRIDGE	E. YORKSHIRE	-	1	VESSEL	1
WHARRAM GRANGE VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	0	0	BANGLE	1
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	87	64	WINDOW (3-4 C.)/ BOTTLE	154
CRAB LANE, CROSGATES	N. YORKSHIRE	-	-	-	FEW FRAGMENTS'
OLD WINTERINGHAM	E. YORKSHIRE	1	-	OTHER	59
WHARRAM LE STREET VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	0	0	BANGLE (RESIDUAL)	2
BLANSBY PARK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	`1	0	WINDOW	1
STONYGATE	N.E. YORKSHIRE	3	1	GREEN WINDOW	4

Figure 6.35 Sites in Yorkshire where glass was found.

SITE NAME	AREA	TYPE OF RITUAL DEPOSIT	DATE RANGE
HAWLING ROAD	E. YORKSHIRE	DEPOSIT OVER EARLIER I.A. BURIAL	50-101
HAWLING ROAD	E. YORKSHIRE	ANOTHER DEPOSIT OVER I.A. BURIAL	101-150
HAWLING ROAD	E. YORKSHIRE	COW BURIAL NEAR I.A. BURIAL	201-399
HIGH WOLD	E. YORKSHIRE	3 OF THE BURIALS ACCOMP. BY SHEEP TEETH.	175-210
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	ARTICULATED PIG BURIAL UNDER BLD. AND N. WALL	c. 130-220
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	COLOUR COATED BEAKER UNDER FLOOR AND BIRD INSIDE, 4 ARTICULATED SHEEP	C. 180-399
WHARRAM LE STREET VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	DOG IN SW CORNER OF RECT DITCH NEAR CHILD AND MOSAIC	201-399
OLD WINTERINGHAM	E. YORKSHIRE	COMPLETE DALESWARE POT IN FLOOR OF BLDG 1	201-399
STONYGATE	N.E. YORKSHIRE	BURIAL OF HUMAN WITH HANDS AND FEET REMOVED	300-425
CRAB LANE, CROSSGATES	N. YORKSHIRE	BEEHIVE QUERN AND INFANT BURIAL IN PIT	L.I.A. – 75
WHELDRAKE	N. YORKSHIRE	ARTICULATED COW LEGS NEAR GRAVES	175?-250
THURNSCOE	S. YORKSHIRE	SNAFFLE BIT IN DITCH END	175-299

Figure 6.36 Possible ‘Ritual’ Deposits in Yorkshire.+

Site Name (Total Counts)	Region of Yorkshire	Date	Animal 1 (COUNT/MNI)	Animal 2	Animal 3
MELTON (325)	EAST	I.A.- 50	CATTLE	HORSE	SHEEP/PIG
MELTON (")	EAST	50-69	SHEEP	PIG	CATTLE
MELTON (")	EAST	69-150	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
CRAB LANE, CROSSGATES	NORTH	L.I.A. - 75	-	-	-
HIGH WOLD (5872)	EAST	I.A.-75	CATTLE	SHEEP	HORSE
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA (4,277)	EAST	C.50-150	CATTLE (748/)	SHEEP (471/)	PIG (116/)
HAWLING ROAD (275)	EAST	I.A.- 50	SHEEP (7/)	HORSE (3/)	COW (1/)/PIG (1/)
HAWLING ROAD (275)	EAST	50-101	CATTLE/SHEEP	HORSE	
HAWLING ROAD (275)	EAST	101-150	SHEEP	HORSE	CATTLE
WHELDRAKE	NORTH	L.I.A.-99	-	-	-

Figure 6.37 Late Iron Age - 150 A.D. – Top 3 Animals Represented on each site, using proportional analysis of the 'top 3' from the regional database. If two animals are named it is because they were represented in close or equal numbers

Site Name (Total Finds)	Date Range	Use Type 1	Use Type 2	Use Type 3
HAWLING ROAD (50)	I.A.-50	SPINNING AND WEAVING	AGRICULTURAL	
HAWLING ROAD (50)	50-101	METALWORKING(?)		
HAWLING ROAD (50)	101-150	SPINNING AND WEAVING		
CRAB LANE, CROSSGATES (n/a)	L.I.A. - 75	AGRICULTURAL		
CRAB LANE, CROSSGATES (n/a)	75-192	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURE	SPINNING AND WEAVING
HIGH WOLD (29)	I.A.-75	METALWORKING		
HIGH WOLD (29)	75-199	METALWORKING	INDUSTRIAL	DOMESTIC
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA (169)	C.50-150	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	TOILET (BOTTLES, BUT MAY BE INTRUSIVE)	

Figure 6.38 Top 3 use-types on sites with firm phasing between the L.P.R.I.A. and A.D. 200 (Melton and Wheldrake removed due to lack of data). 'n/a' refers to sites that gave information about activities or finds without quantification.

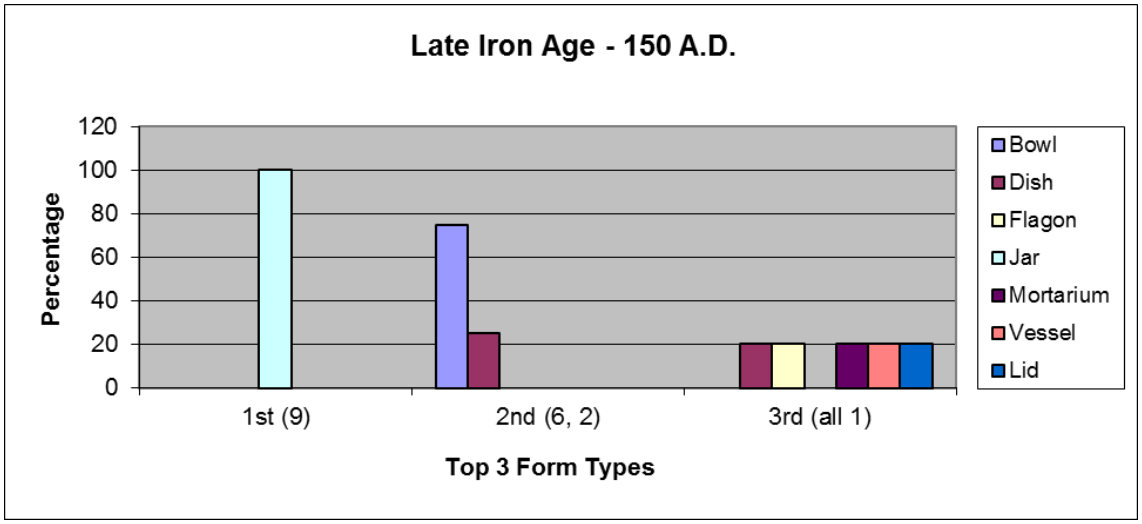

Figure 6.39 Most numerous ceramic forms on sites with phasing between L.P.R.I.A. and A.D. 150. The number in brackets represents the incidences of 'Top 3' listings on the sites. 6 sites were represented in this date bracket, though due to the dating of the sites, some had more than one entry.

Site Name (Total count)	Date Range	Area	Most Numerous Species	2nd	3rd
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA (4277)	c. 130-220	E. YORKSHIRE	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
HIGH WOLD (5872)	175-210	E. YORKSHIRE	CATTLE	HORSE	SHEEP
HIGH WOLD (5872)	210-250	E. YORKSHIRE	CATTLE	SHEEP	DOG
THURNSCOE (11+)	201-310	S. YORKSHIRE	CATTLE/ HORSE	-	-

Figure 6.40 Proportions of animal species present on site between 150 and 300 A.D. The data was captured querying 'top 3' from the regional database.'+' refers to reports where more finds were discussed in the text but left unquantified.

Site Name (Total Finds)	Date Range	Use Type 1	Use Type 2	Use Type 3
WINTERTON VILLA (169)	c. 130-220	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICUTURAL	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS
WHELDRAKE (62)	175?-250	METALWORK?	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	
HIGH WOLD (29)	175-210	AGRICULTURAL	METALWORKING	TOOLS
HIGH WOLD (29)	210-250	AGRICULTURAL (?)	METALWORKING ?	TOOLS (?)
THURNSCOE (48+)	201-310	METALWORKING		
THURNSCOE (48+)	175-299	AGRICULTURAL	METALWORKING (?)	DOMESTIC
THURNSCOE (48+)	275-310	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	METALWORKING	TOOLS

Figure 6.41 Use types on Yorkshire sites roughly between 150 and 300 A.D.

Site Name (Total count)	Area	Most numerous species	2nd	3rd
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA (4,277)	E. YORKSHIRE	CATTLE	SHEEP	PIG
BLANSBY PARK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	-	-	-
WHARRAM LE STREET VILLA (160)	E. YORKSHIRE	CATTLE (20)		HORSE/DOG
OLD WINTERINGHAM (3,141)	E. YORKSHIRE	CATTLE (802)	SHEEP (540)	PIG (62)
HAWLING ROAD (64)	E. YORKSHIRE	CATTLE	-	-
WHELDRAKE	N. YORKSHIRE	-	-	-
THURNSCOE	S. YORKSHIRE	-	-	-
STONYGATE (n/a)	N.E. YORKSHIRE	CATTLE	HORSE	DOG

Figure 6.42 Table of the most numerous species at sites in Yorkshire during the period A.D. 200-450. The 64 fragments from Hawling road represent a single individual. ‘n/a’ refers to sites where animal proportions were mentioned in the text, but not quantified.

Site Name (Total finds)	Date Range	Use Type 1	Use Type 2	Use Type 3
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA (169)	C. 180-399	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURE	SPINNING AND WEAVING
BLANSBY PARK (n/a)	201-399+	AGRICULTURAL	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
WHARRAM LE STREET VILLA (11)	201-399	BUILDING	INDUSTRIAL	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
OLD WINTERINGHAM (142)	201-399	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURAL + TOOLS	SPINNING AND WEAVING
WHELDRAKE (62)	275-399	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	TOOLS	SPINNING AND WEAVING
THURNSCOE (48+)	310-350	METALWORKING	TOOLS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
STONYGATE (15)	300-425	BUILDING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	-

Figure 6.43 The proportion of use-types on sites with phasing between the dates of 200 and 450 A.D. 'n/a' refers to sites that discussed activities or proportions of finds without quantification.

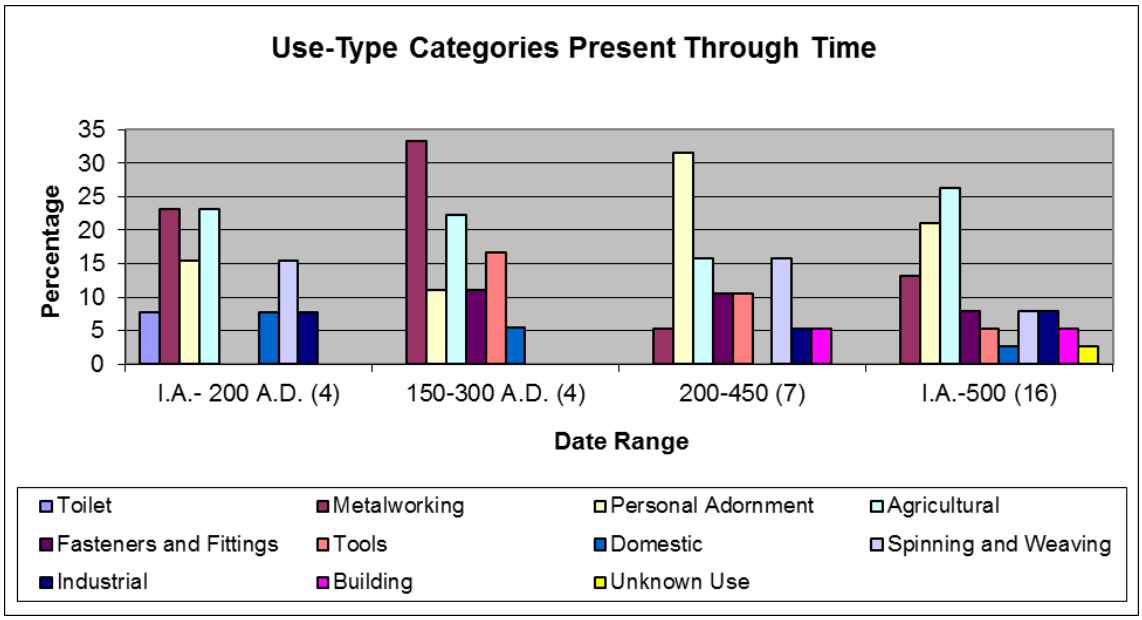

Figure 6.44 The amalgamation of the small find 'use types' through time in Yorkshire. The number in brackets next to the date range represents the number of sites that provided evidence for that period. Because of the date ranges chosen, some sites were present more than once in each period, but their changes are still significant over time.

Site Name (Total Finds)	Date Range	Use-Type 1	Use-Type 2	Use-Type 3
WOMERSLEY (n/a)	I.A.?-350	AGRICULTURAL	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	
DIXON'S BANK, COULBY NEWHAM (n/a)	I.A.-350	INDUSTRIAL	-	-
BONNEY GROVE FARM (n/a)	I.A. -350	AGRICULTURAL	-	-
INGLEBY BARWICK	I.A-400	-	-	-
BIRDSALL HIGH BARN FARM (53)	I.A.-350	METALWORKING	UNKNOWN	-
SANDTOFT	-399	-	-	-
STAMFORD BRIDGE (n/a)	50-299	INDUSTRIAL	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	-
WHARRAM GRANGE VILLA (n/a)	150-399	AGRICULTURE	-	-
DALTON ON TEES	150 - 500	-	-	-
THURNSCOE (48+)	150-350	METALWORKING	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	AGRICULTURAL/TOOLS
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA (169)	C.50-385	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURE	DOMESTIC/FIXTURES AND FITTINGS
HAWLING ROAD (50)	I.A.-399	SPINNING AND WEAVING	METALWORK	AGRICULTURAL
WHELDRAKE (62)	L.I.A.-399	METALWORKING	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	TOOLS
MELTON	I.A.-150	-	-	-
CRAB LANE, CROSGATES (n/a)	L.I.A.-192	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURAL	SPINNING AND WEAVING
HIGH WOLD (29)	I.A.-225?	AGRICULTURE	TOOLS	METALWORKING
OLD WINTERINGHAM (142)	201-399	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURAL + TOOLS	SPINNING AND WEAVING
WHARRAM LE STREET VILLA (11)	201-399	BUILDING	INDUSTRIAL	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
BLANSBY PARK (n/a)	201-399+	AGRICULTURAL	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT
STONYGATE (15)	300-425	BUILDING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	-

Figure 6.45 The top 3 use-type proportions from all 20 sites in Yorkshire. n/a refers to sites which gave finds information without quantification.

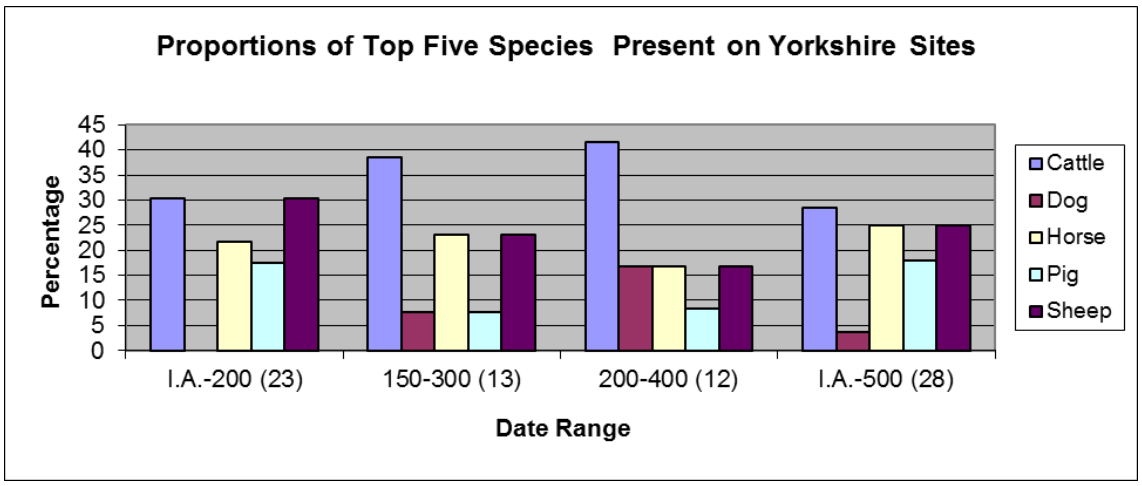

Figure 6.46 The most numerous species of animal on all sites by date (using a proportional analysis of the 'top 3' from the regional database). The number in brackets represents the incidence of species in the Top 3 per phase.

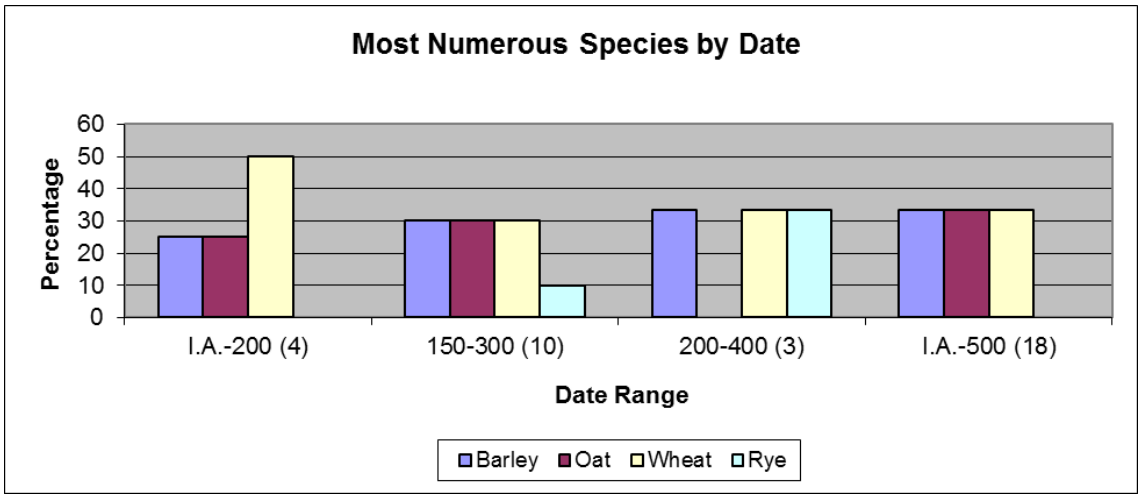

Figure 6.47 The most numerous species of plant on all sites in Yorkshire by date. The number in brackets represents the incidences of Top 3 information per phase out of a total of 18 sites.

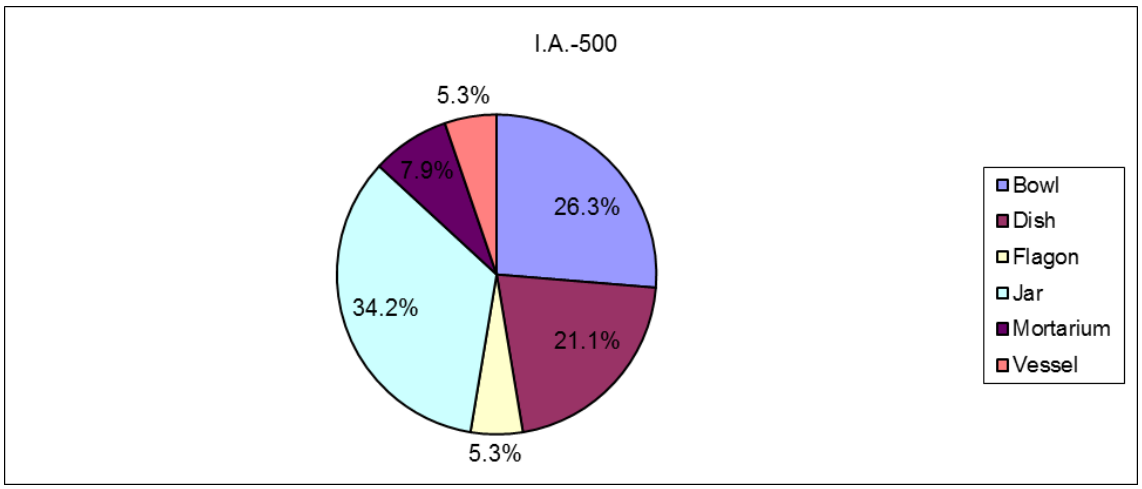

Figure 6.48 Proportion of Top 3 form types on sites with phasing between the Iron Age and 500 A.D. A total of 38 incidences of 'Top 3' forms were reported.

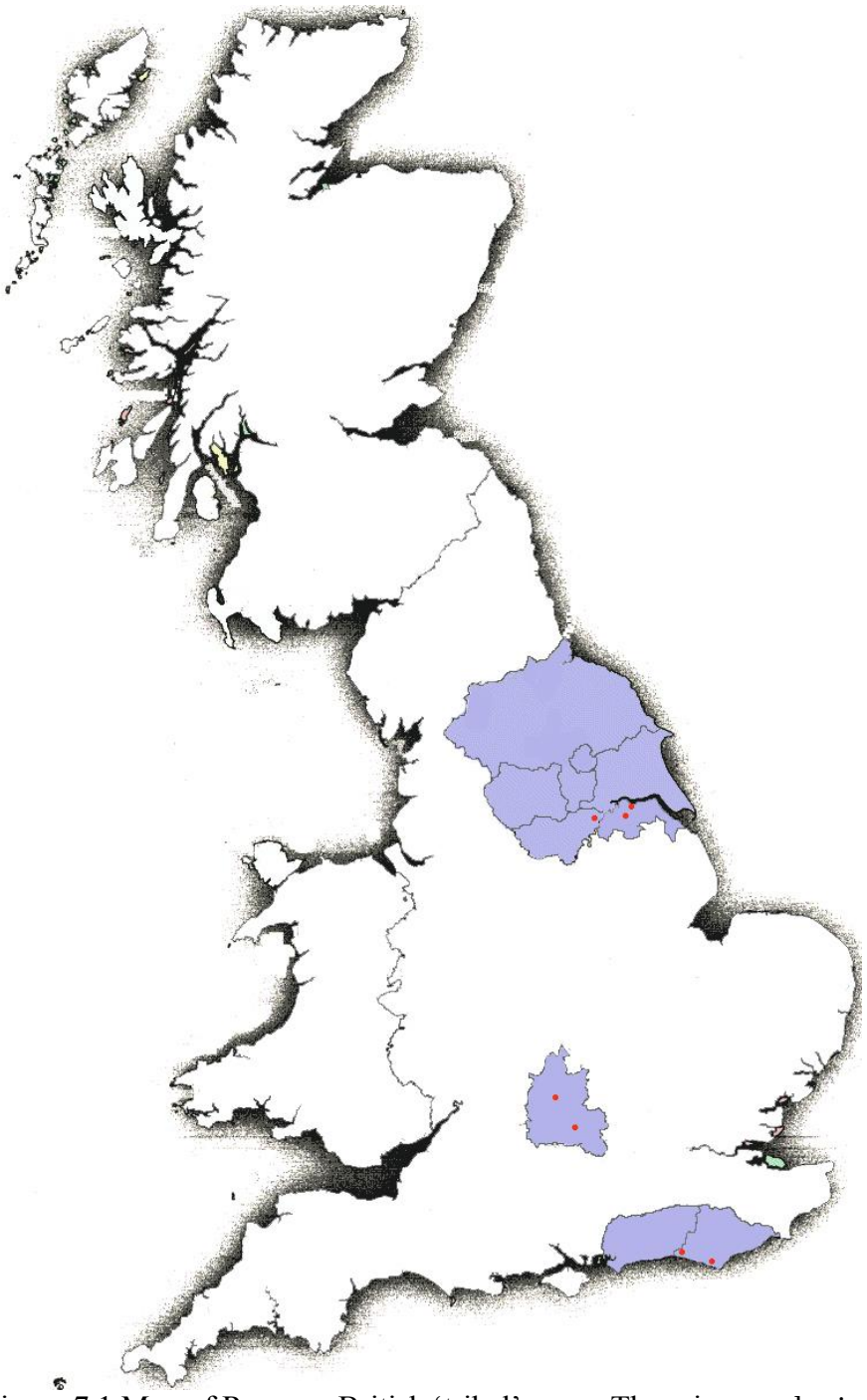

Figure 7.1 Map of Romano British ‘tribal’ areas. The micro-scale sites chosen for this study are shown as red dots.

SITE NAME	GRID REF	PERIOD DATES	I.A. CONTINUITY?
BISHOPSTONE	TQ 46750072	>60-400	YES
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A)	SP 374 138	100-430	NO
WEST BLATCHINGTON	TQ 268 074	LPRIA -310	YES
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA	SE 91041813	C.50-385	POSSIBLE
THURNSCOE	SE 452 052	150-350	UNKNOWN
OLD WINTERINGHAM	SE 945212	201-399	NO
BARTON COURT FARM	SU 510 977	50-450	YES

Figure 7.2 Table, listing the sites investigated in the micro-scale analysis. The dates of the sites are given, as well as their coordinates and information about any possible continuity with the Iron Age.

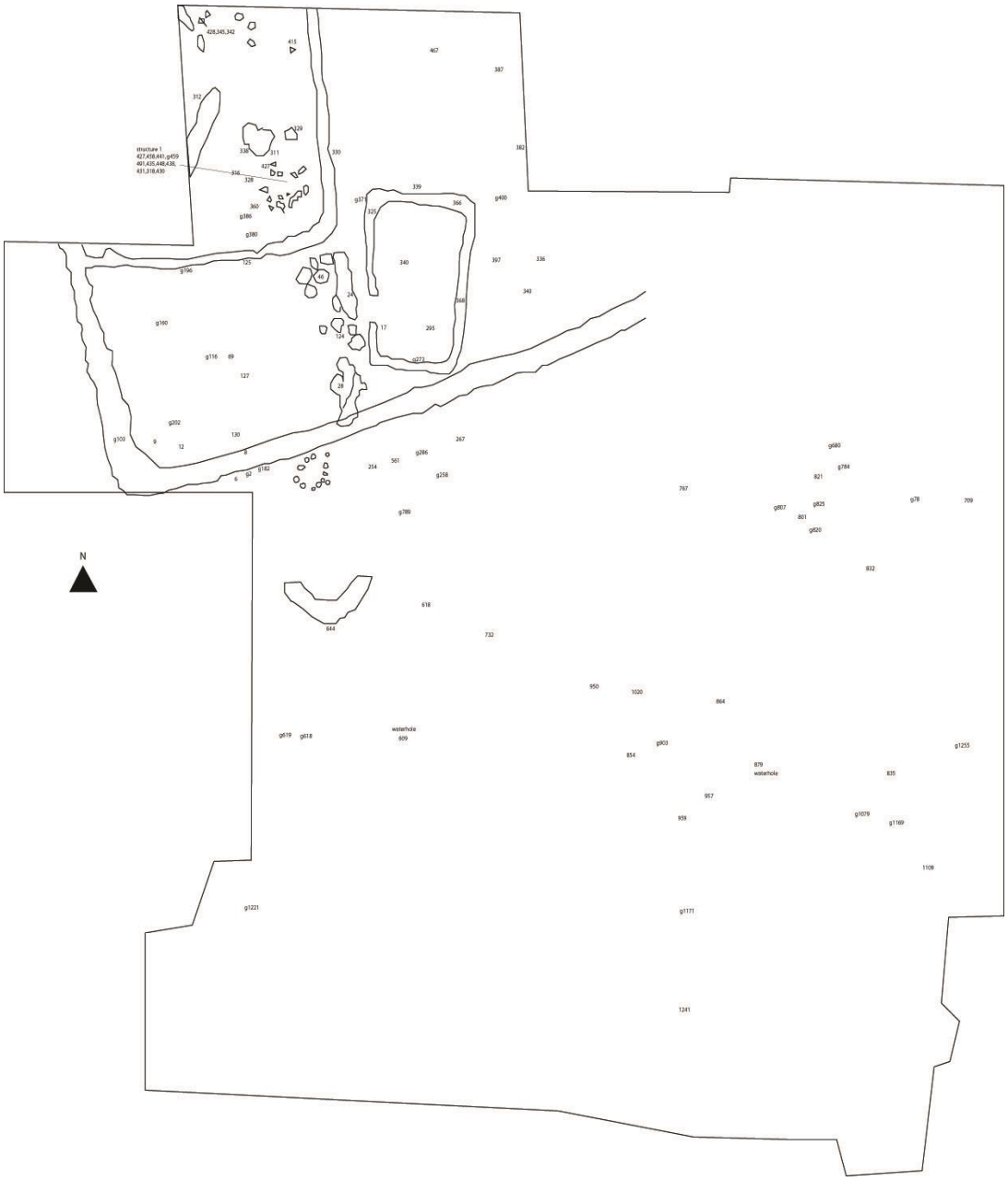

Figure 7.3 Late Iron-Age Features at Barton Court Farm. The sub-rectangular enclosure measures 66 x 76 metres (After Miles 1986).

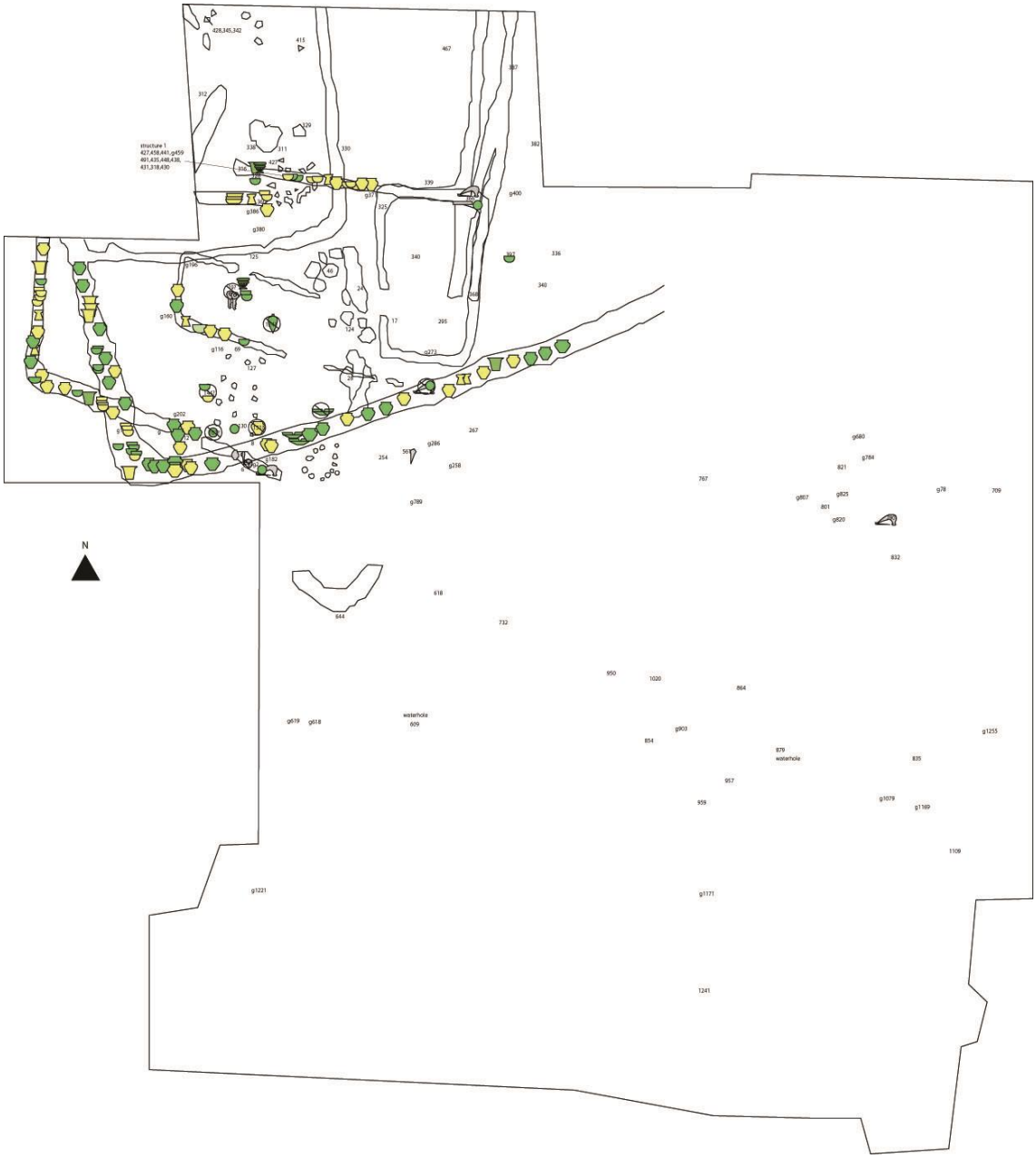

Figure 7.4 Early Romano-British features and finds at Barton Court. No scale given, but the rectangular feature (representing a timber building) measures 8.5m wide and 28-30m long(After Miles 1986).

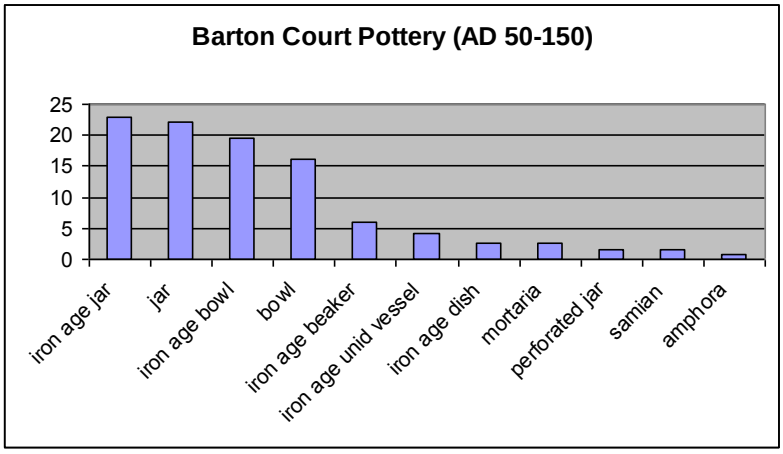

Figure 7.5 The Early Romano-British Phase at Barton Court. 41.6 kilos of pottery are associated with this phase, though as you can see much of the pottery is of Iron Age manufacture.

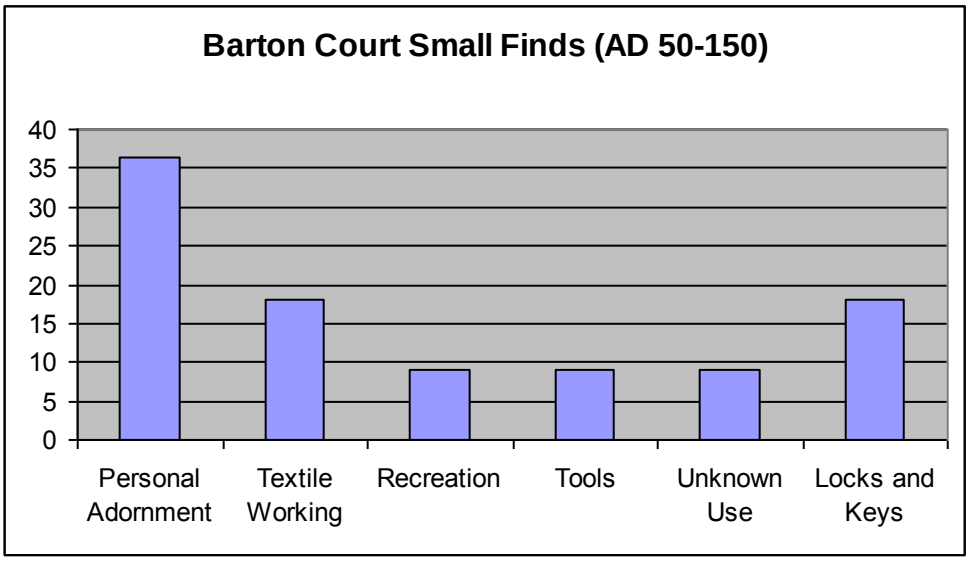

Figure 7.6 Small find use-types from the early Romano-British Phase. 33 finds were firmly dated to this period.

Figure 7.7 Barton Court Farm, later Romano-British features and finds. No scale was provided, but the aisled building is 35 metres from the cottage (After Miles 1986).

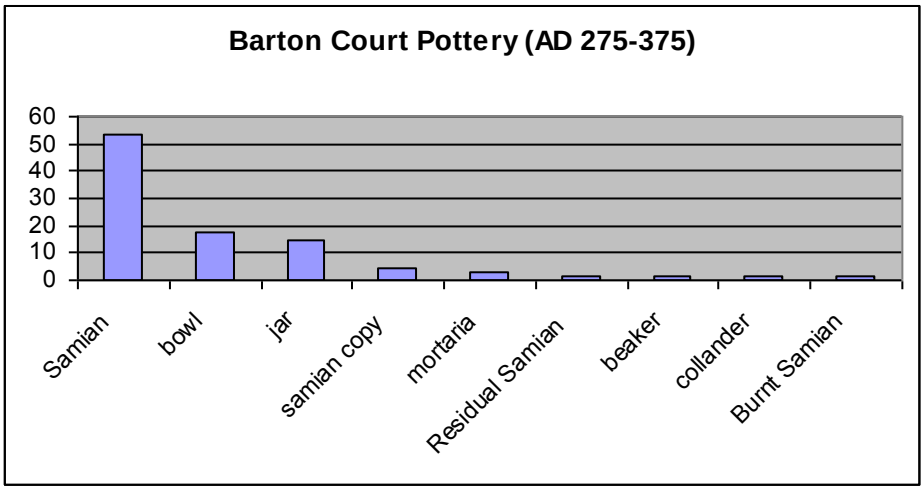

Figure 7.8 Pottery from Barton Court A.D. 275 – 375. 73 vessels were represented. Interestingly, tablewares predominate the assemblage in this phase.

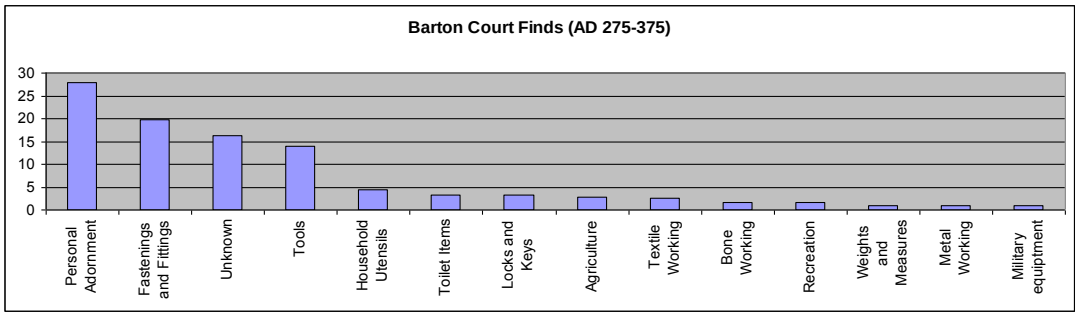

Figure 7.9 Use type indicators from features at Barton Court Farm dating between 275 and 375 A.D. 125 finds were counted in total from this phase.

Figure 7.10 Latest features and finds at Barton Court (A.D. 375 – 425) (After Miles 1986).

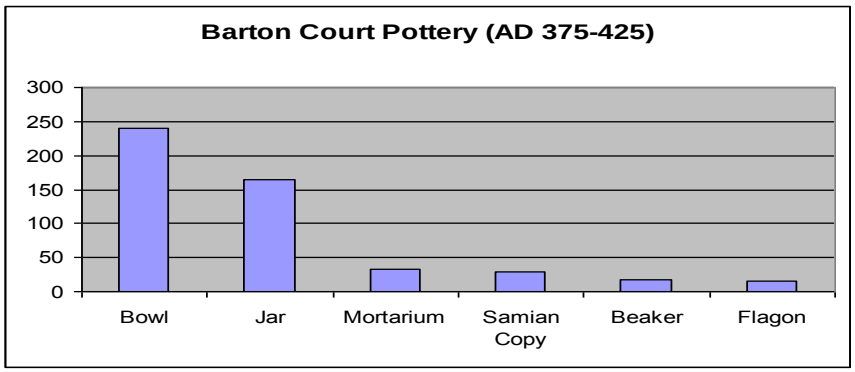

Figure 7.11 Ceramic forms from the latest Romano-British Phase at Barton Court (1 of 2), from a sample of 406 vessels.

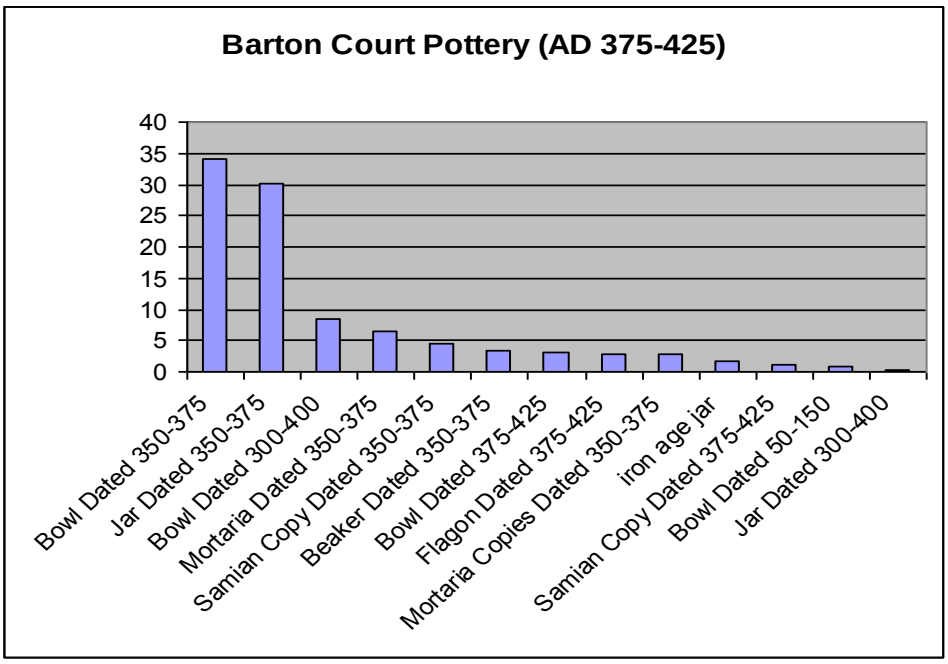

Figure 7.12 The Latest Romano-British Phase at Barton Court (2 of 2).

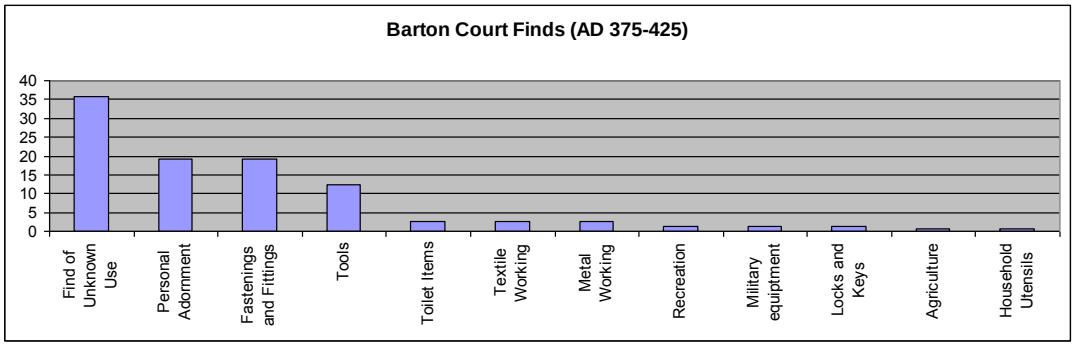

Figure 7.13 Use types from Barton Court, A.D. 375 – 425. There were a total of 184 small finds included in this phase (though 4 of those were dated to the Saxon period, and 1 was Iron Age in date).

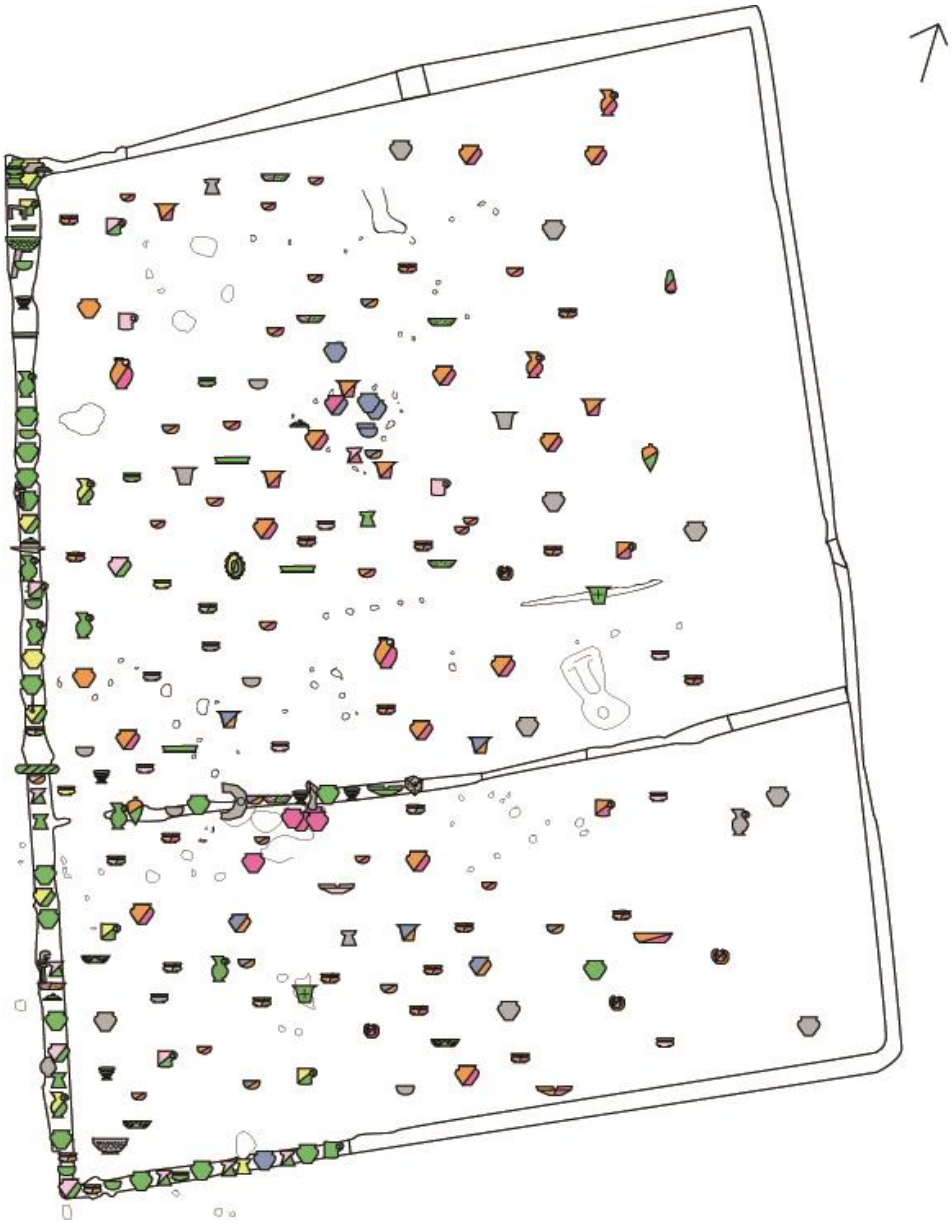

Figure 7.14 Map of Bishopstone Phase 1. The enclosure is roughly 57 by 69 metres. Many of the finds from within the enclosure are residual and so are counted with the final totals (After Bell 1977).

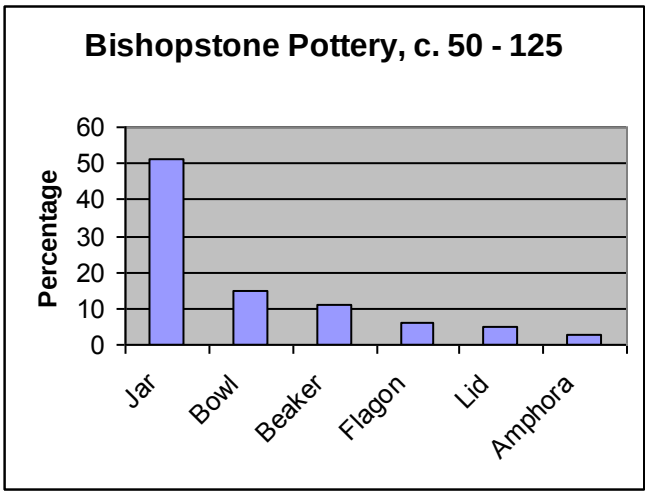

Figure 7.15 Pottery from Bishopstone, Phase 1. At least 91 vessels were represented in this first phase.

Figure 7.16 Map of Bishopstone Phase 2 (Abandonment)(After Bell 1977).

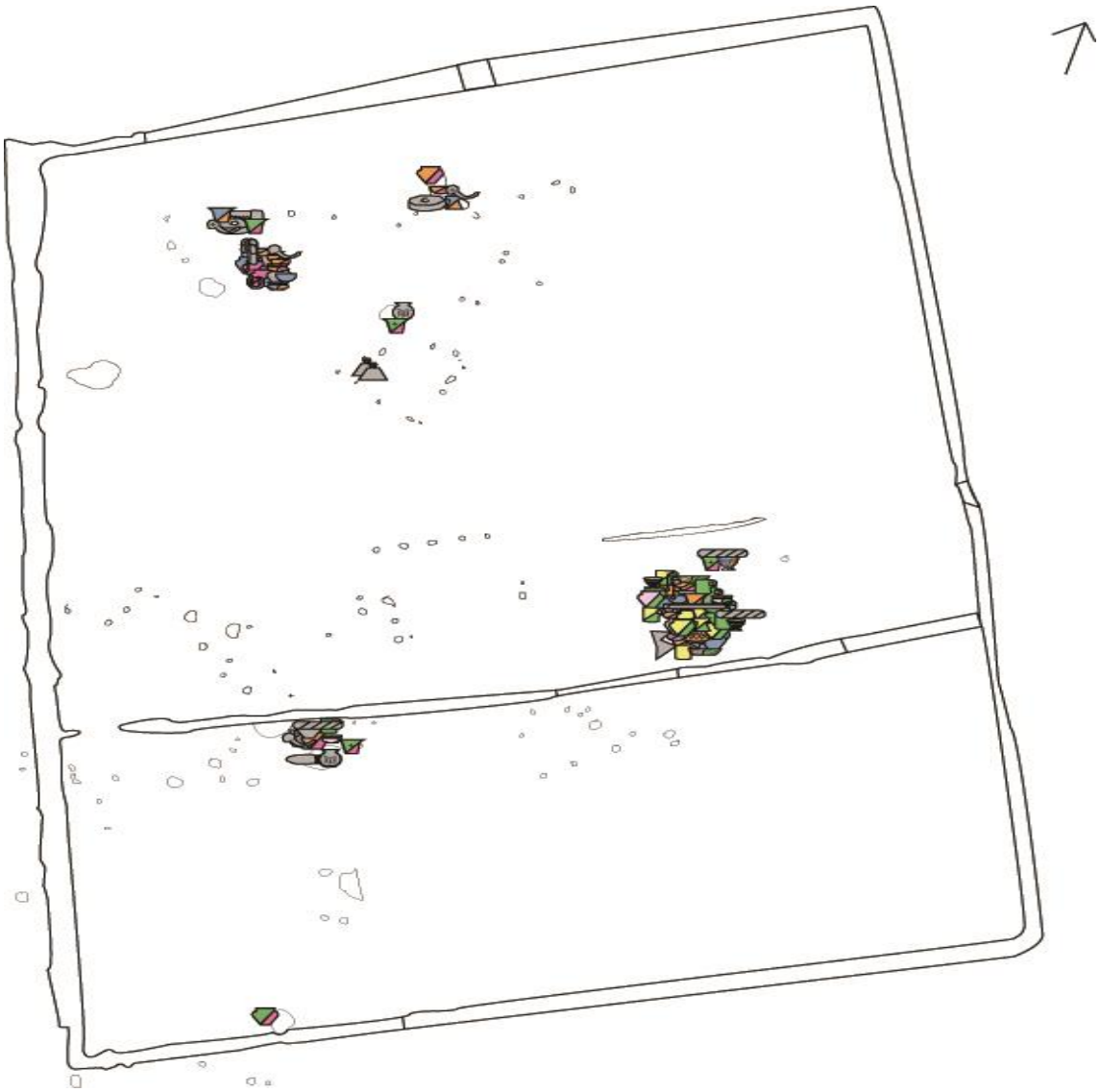

Figure 7.17 Map of Phase 3 at Bishopstone. In this phase the enclosure ditch had silted completely(After Bell 1977).

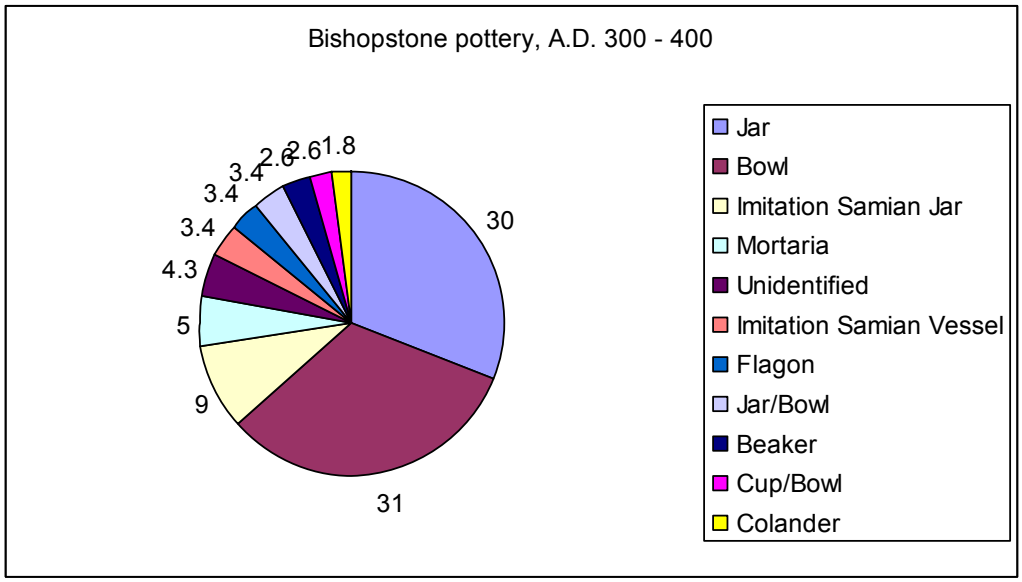

Figure 7.18 Pottery from Bishopstone. At least 57 vessels are included in this phase.

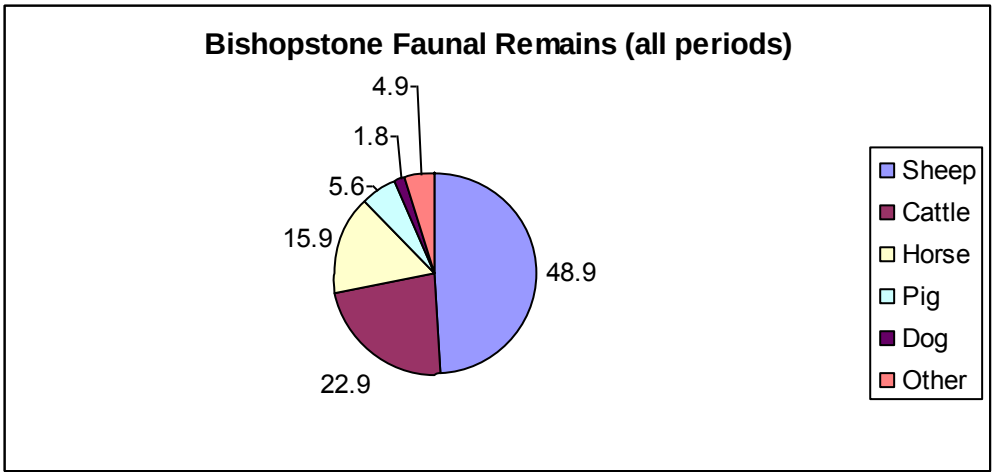

Figure 7.19 Faunal remains from all phases at Bishopstone. At least 768 Individuals were represented.

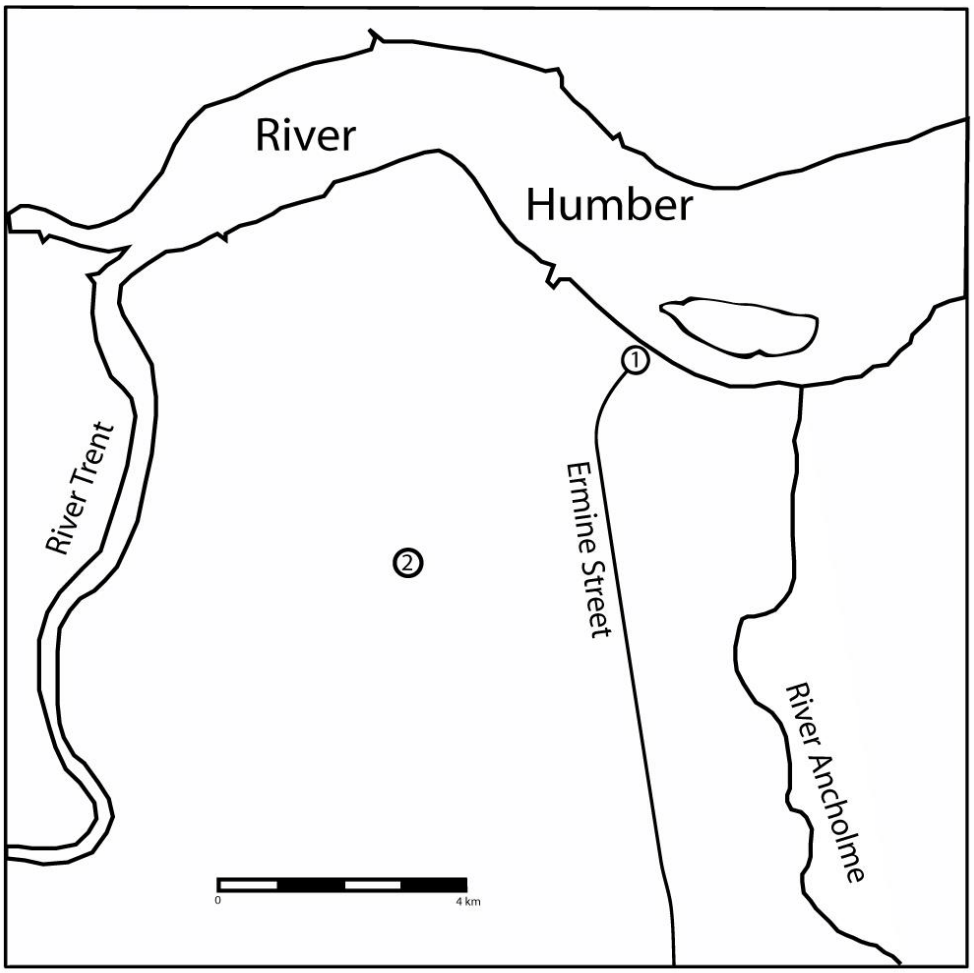

Figure 7.20 Location of Old Winteringham (1) and Winterton Villa (2) in Yorkshire

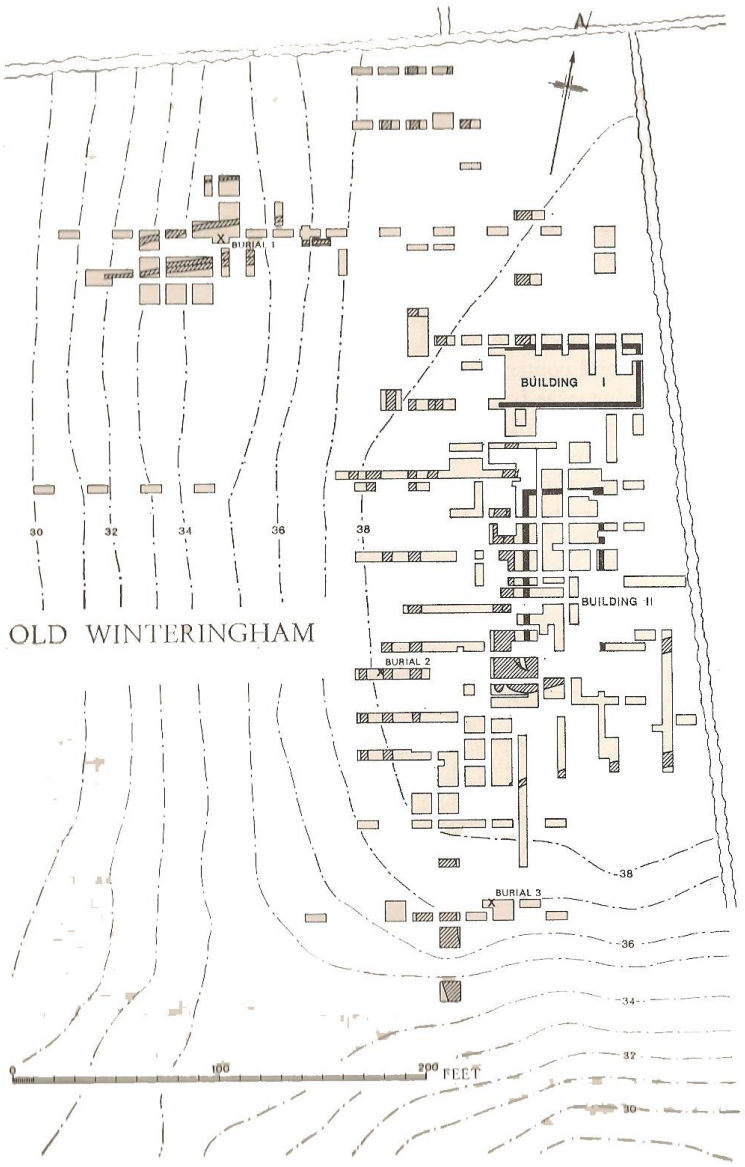

Figure 7.21 Old Winteringham Site Plan. The coloured areas were those Investigated (scanned from Stead 1976).

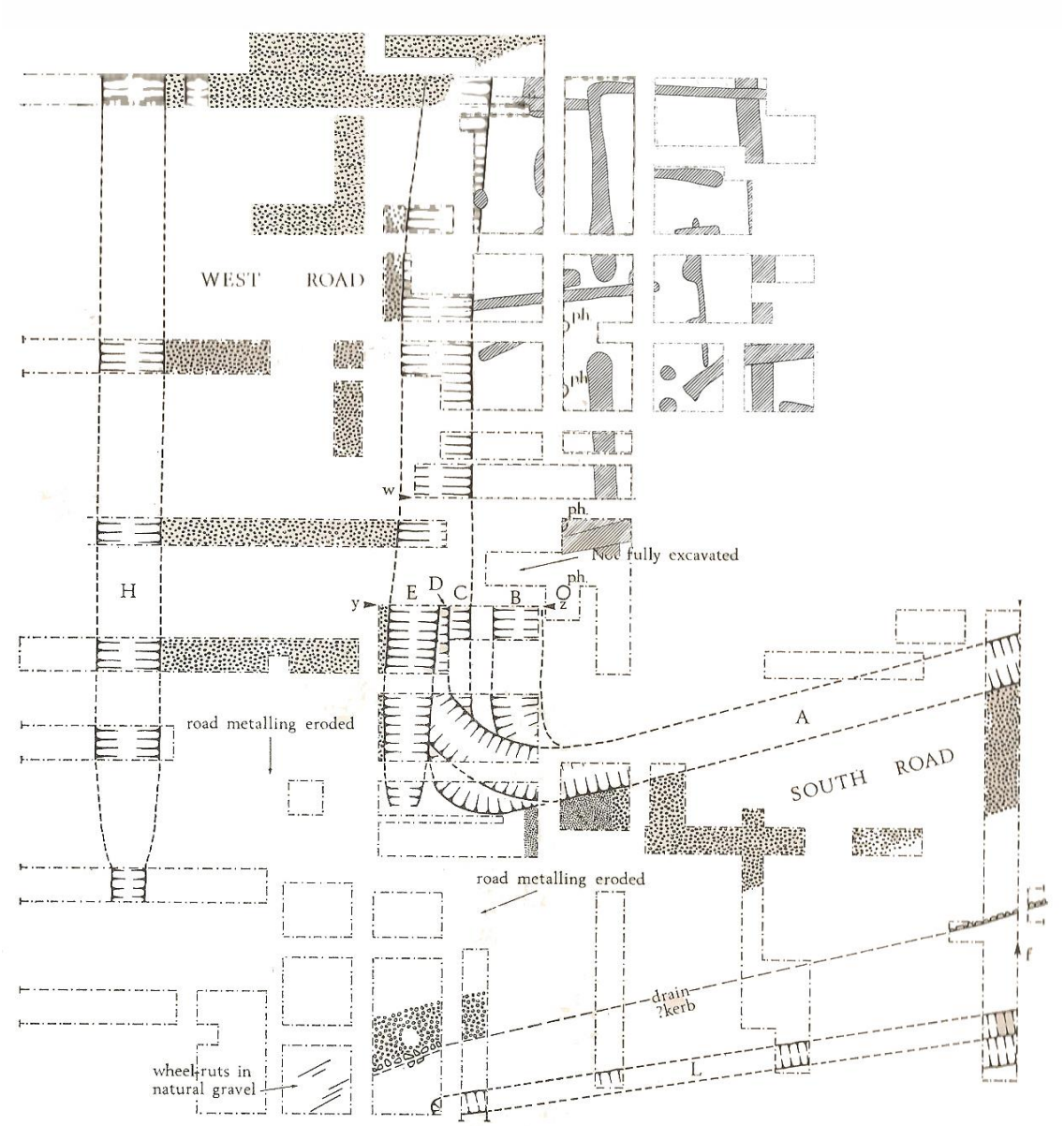

Figure 7.22 Old Winteringham roads and their associated ditches (scanned from Stead 1976). The trenches between the roads uncovered the earliest activity on site. For scale see figure 7.21.

Figure 7.23 Early Features, likely of military construction, dating to the period 50 – 75/80 A.D. For scale, refer to 7.21. (scanned from Stead 1976).

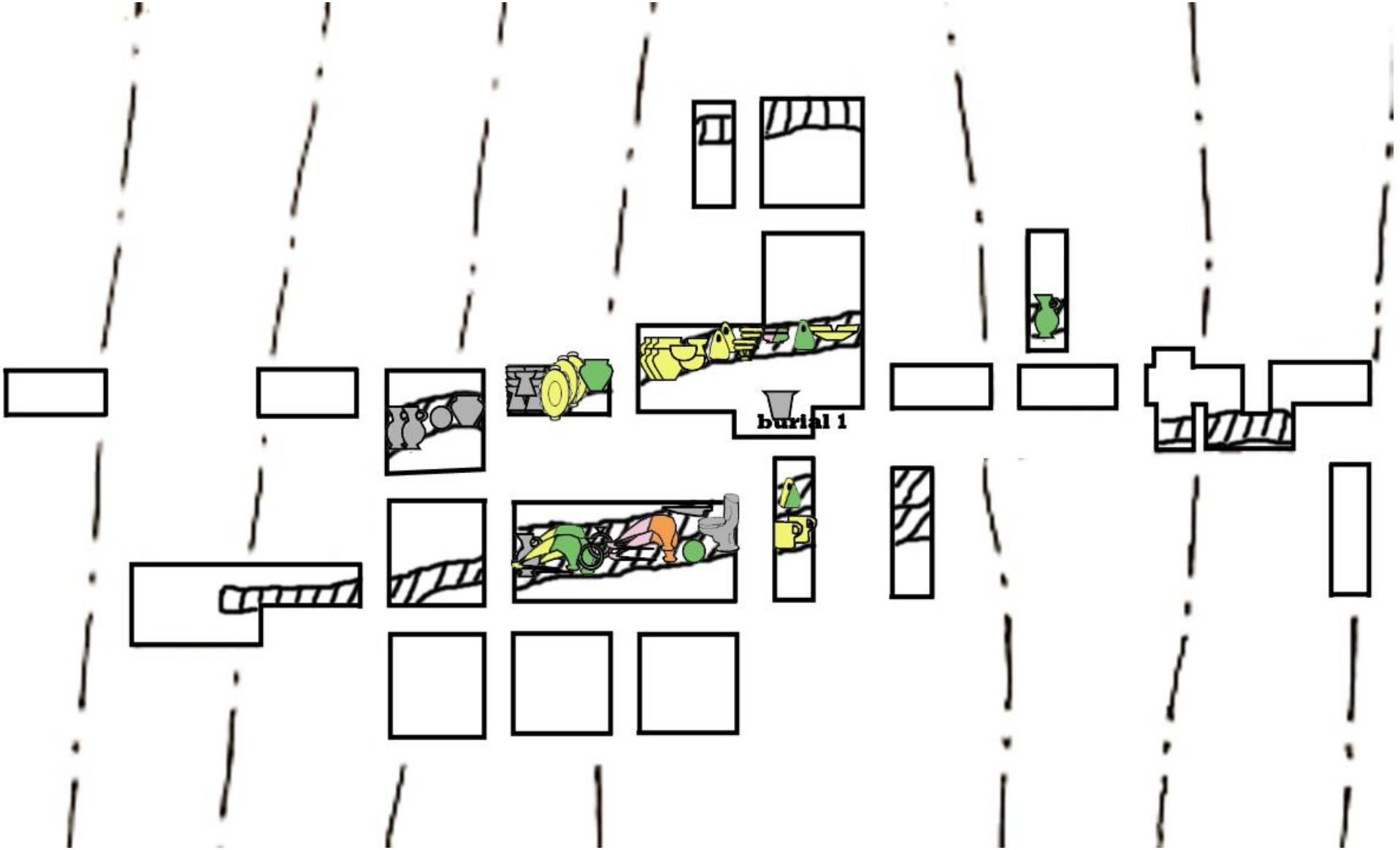

Figure 7.24 Ditches, and Burial 1 in the northwest area of Old Winteringham. For scale see 7.21. (After Stead 1976)

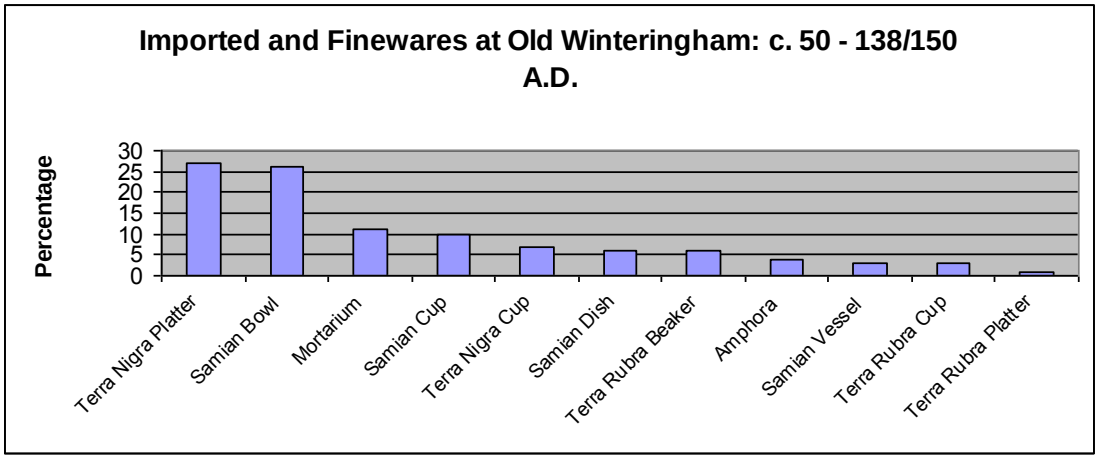

Figure 7.25 Finewares from Phase 1 at Old Winteringham. At least 149 vessels were counted with the fineware.

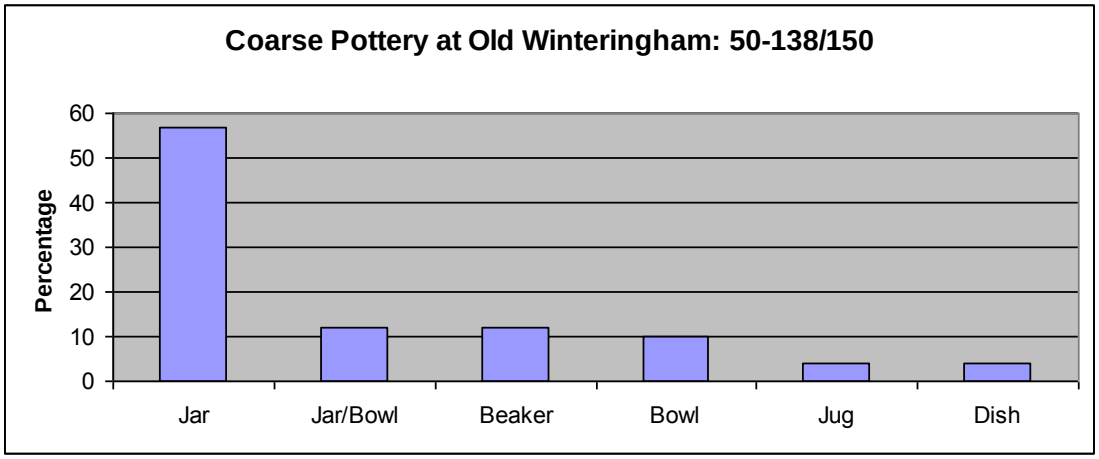

Figure 7.26 Coarseware Pottery assigned to Phase 1 at Old Winteringham. At least 40 vessels were counted with the coarsewares in this period.

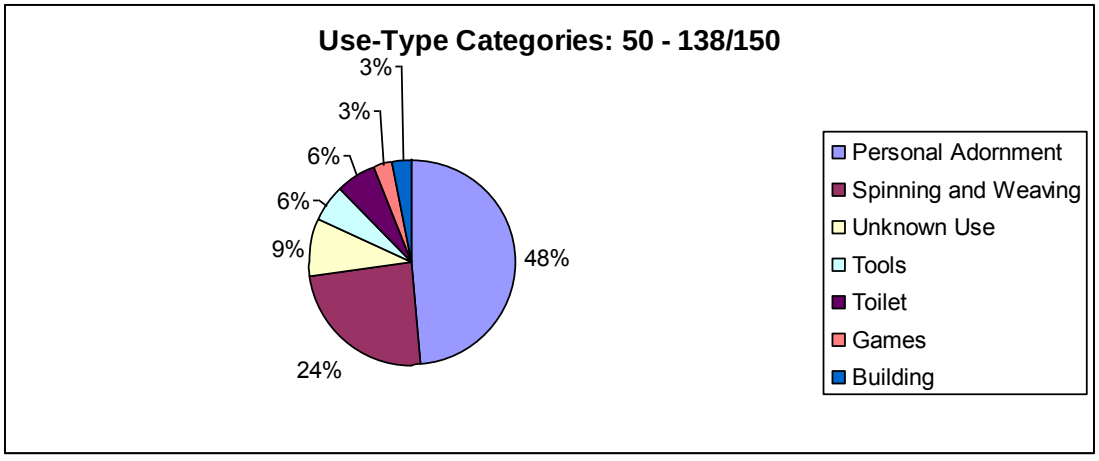

Figure 7.27 Use type Categories from Phase 1 at Old Winteringham. There were a total of 83 finds assigned to Phase 1.

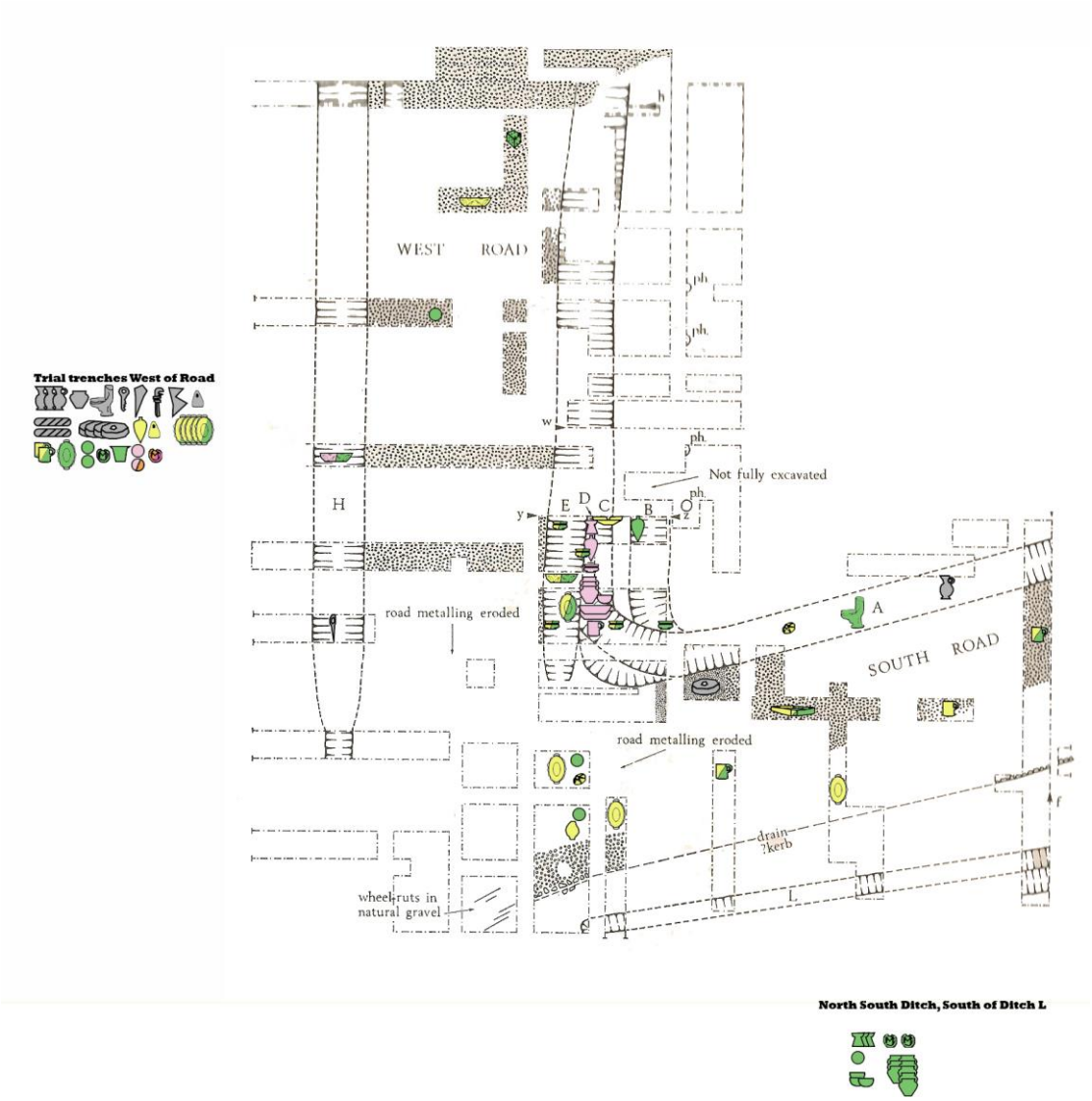

Figure 7.28 Finds along the roads (some of which are associated with the earliest occupation) at Old Winteringham (scanned from Stead 1976).

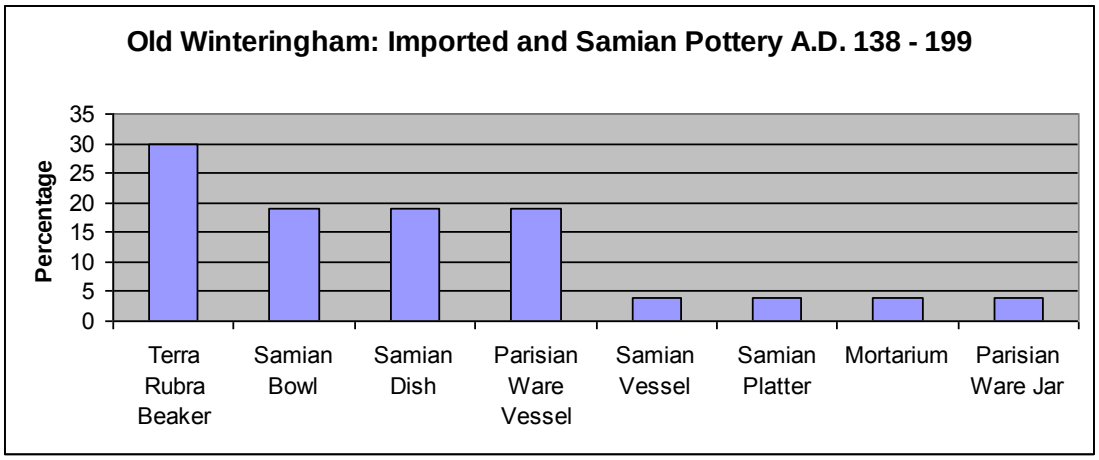

Figure 7.29 Pottery from features at Old Winteringham dating between A.D. 138 – 199 (at least 27 vessels were represented in this phase). Much of the assemblage is residual, as can be seen on the map in 7.28.

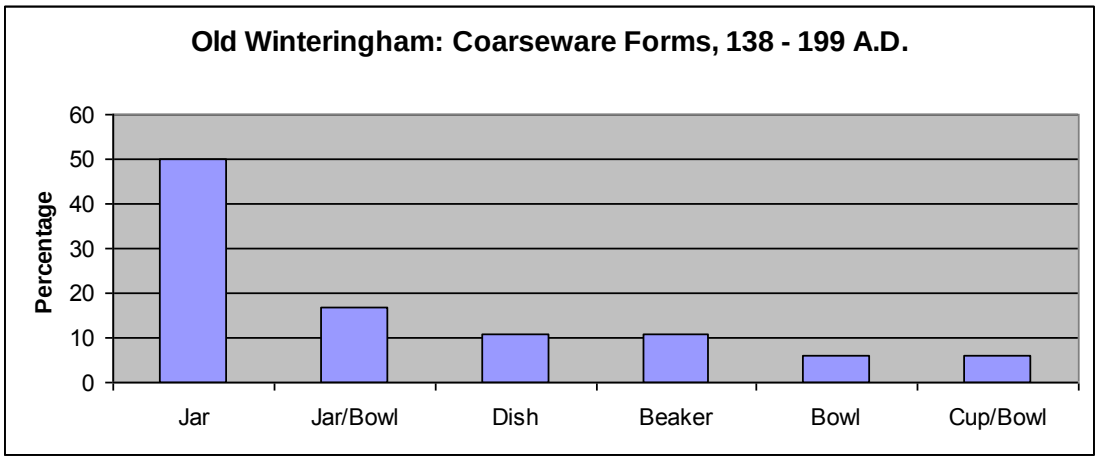

Figure 7.30 Coarseware forms from this phase. At least 18 vessels are present in this phase.

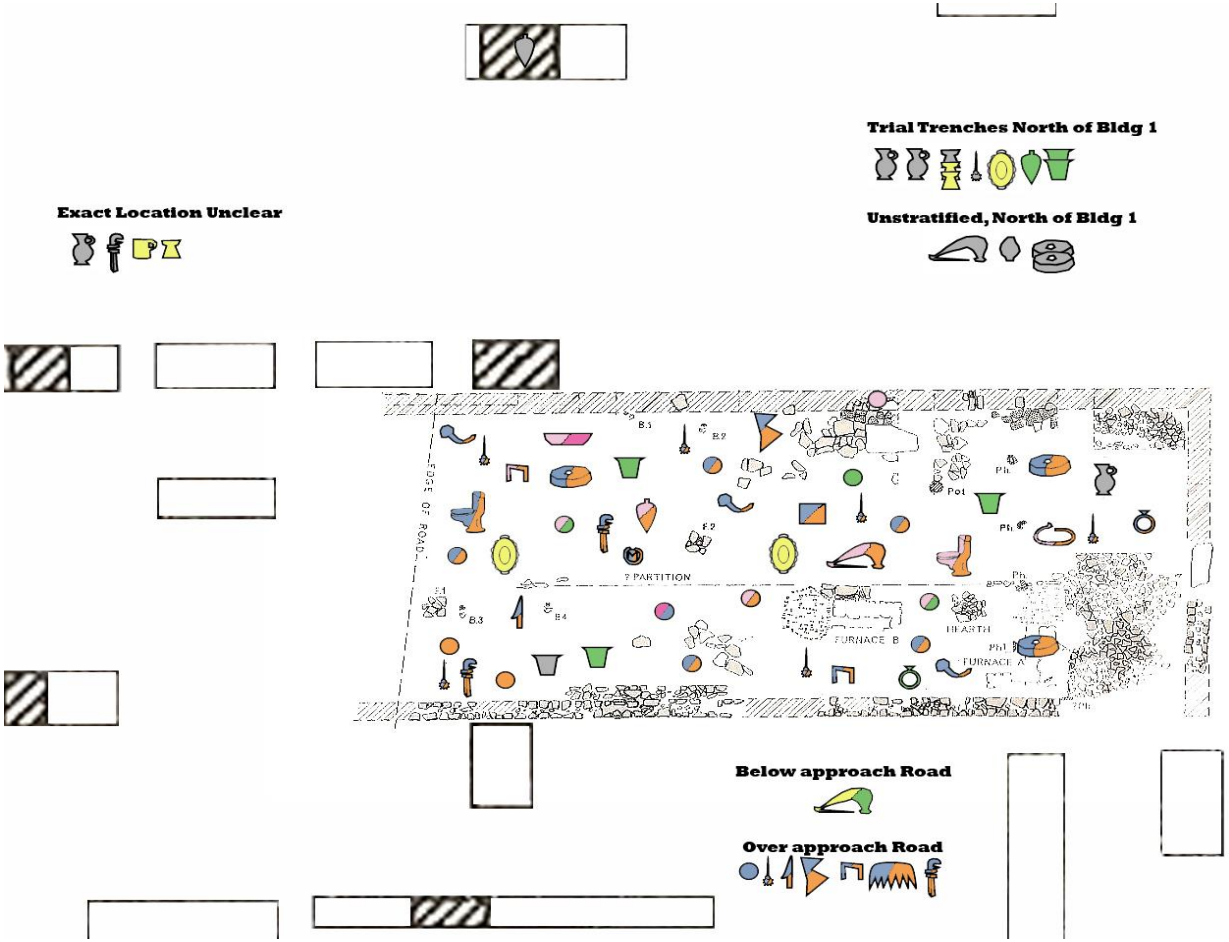

Figure 7.31 Old Winteringham Building 1: c. 201-350 A.D. Building 1 is at least 9.1 by 20 meters (After Stead 1976)

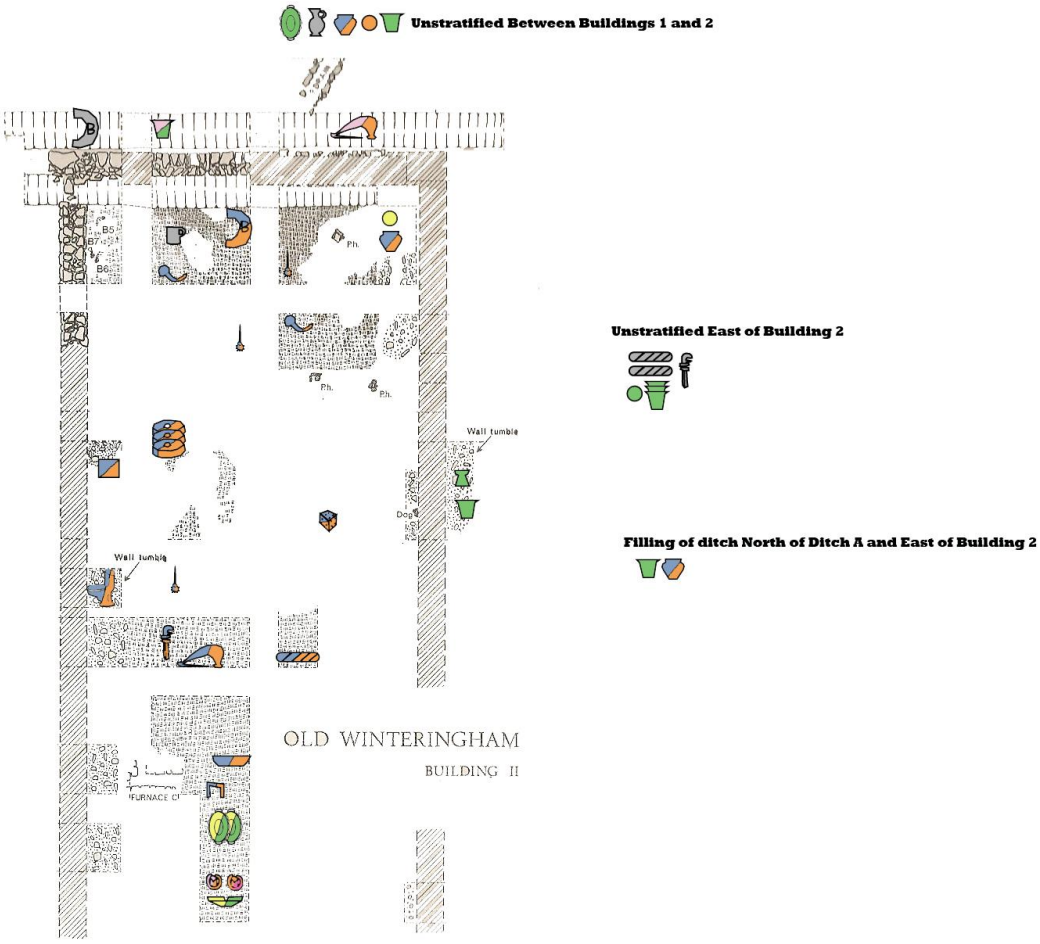

Figure 7.32 Old Winteringham Building 2: c. 260-375 A.D. Building 2 was at least 11.9 by 24 meters (scanned from Stead 1976).

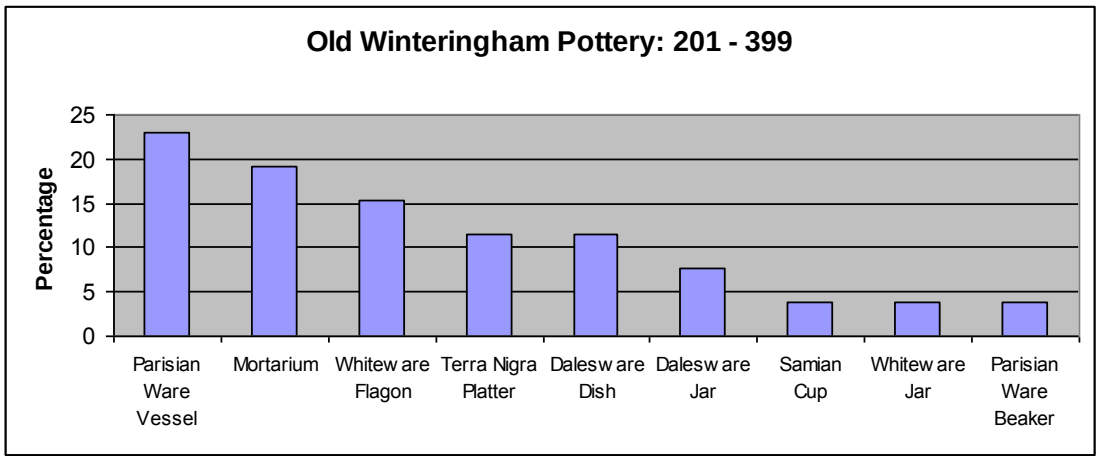

Figure 7.33 Ceramic forms present in the 3rd and 4th centuries at Old Winteringham. The MNV in this period was 26.

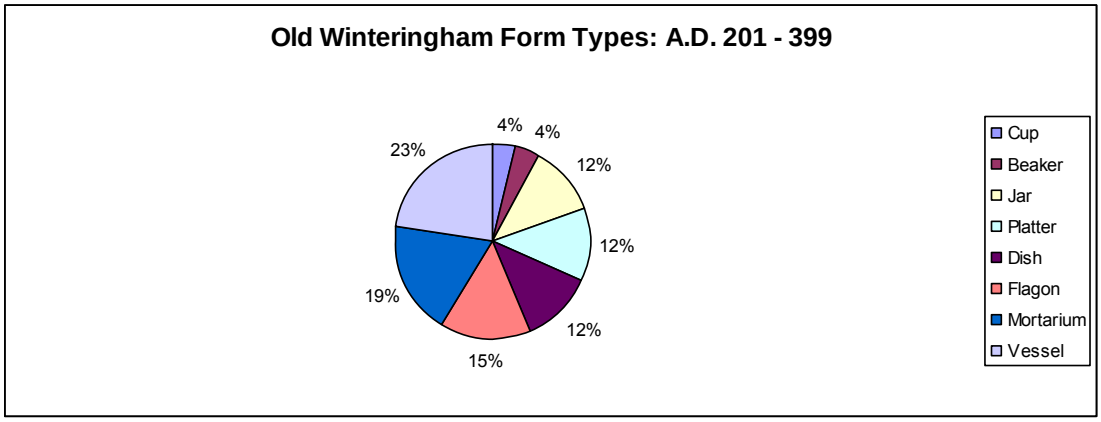

Figure 7.34 Ceramic forms from Old Winteringham (MNV of 26) – A.D. 201- 399.

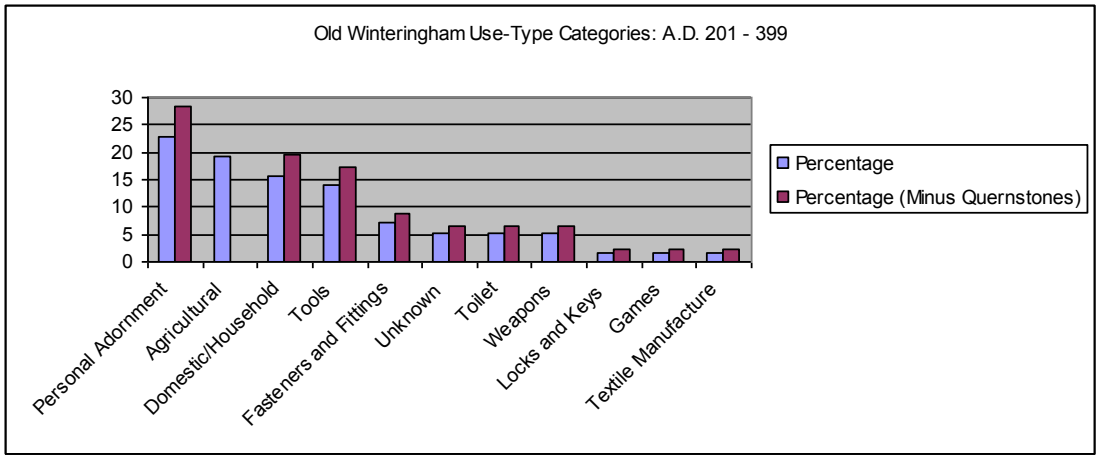

Figure 7.35 Use type Categories in the final phase at Old Winteringham (57 finds in total). The high number of quernstones (11) may have biased the activities towards 'agricultural', so percentages are shown with and without quernstones.

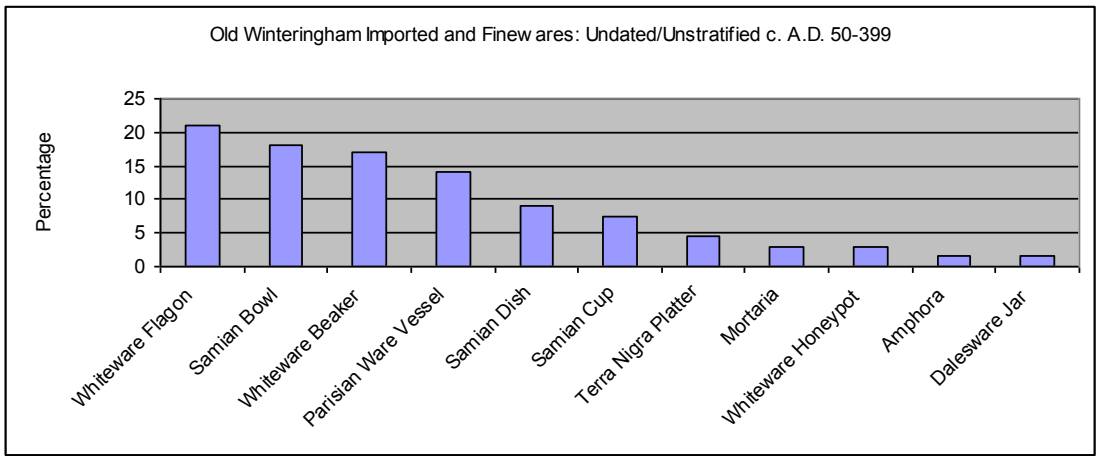

Figure 7.36 Undated or Unstratified Imported and Finewares from Old Winteringham (66 vessels were represented).

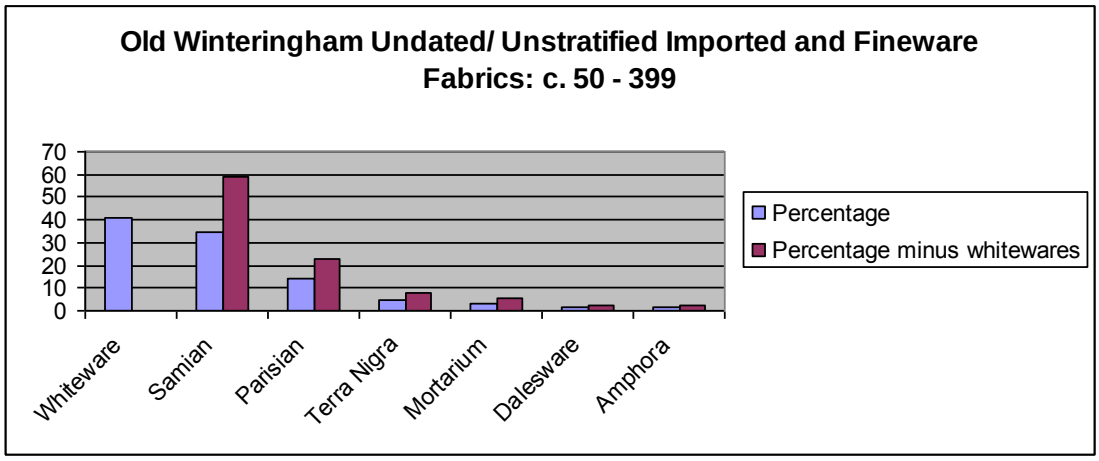

Figure 7.37 Unstratified Fabric Types (MNV of 66) from Old Winteringham. The whitewares are generally of uncertain date, and therefore have been removed from the second set of percentages

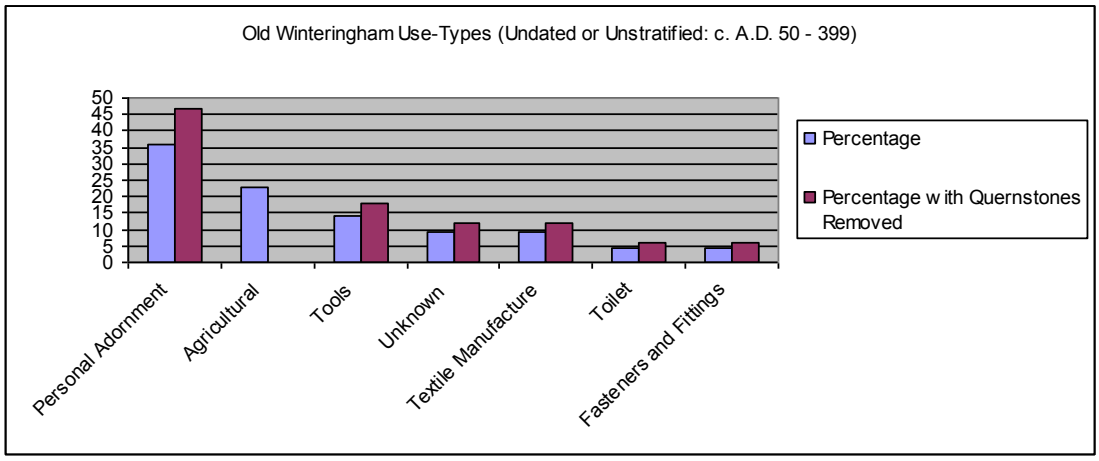

Figure 7.38 Undated or Unstratified use types from Old Winteringham (22 finds in total). The quernstones (5 in this sample) have been removed from the second set of percentages.

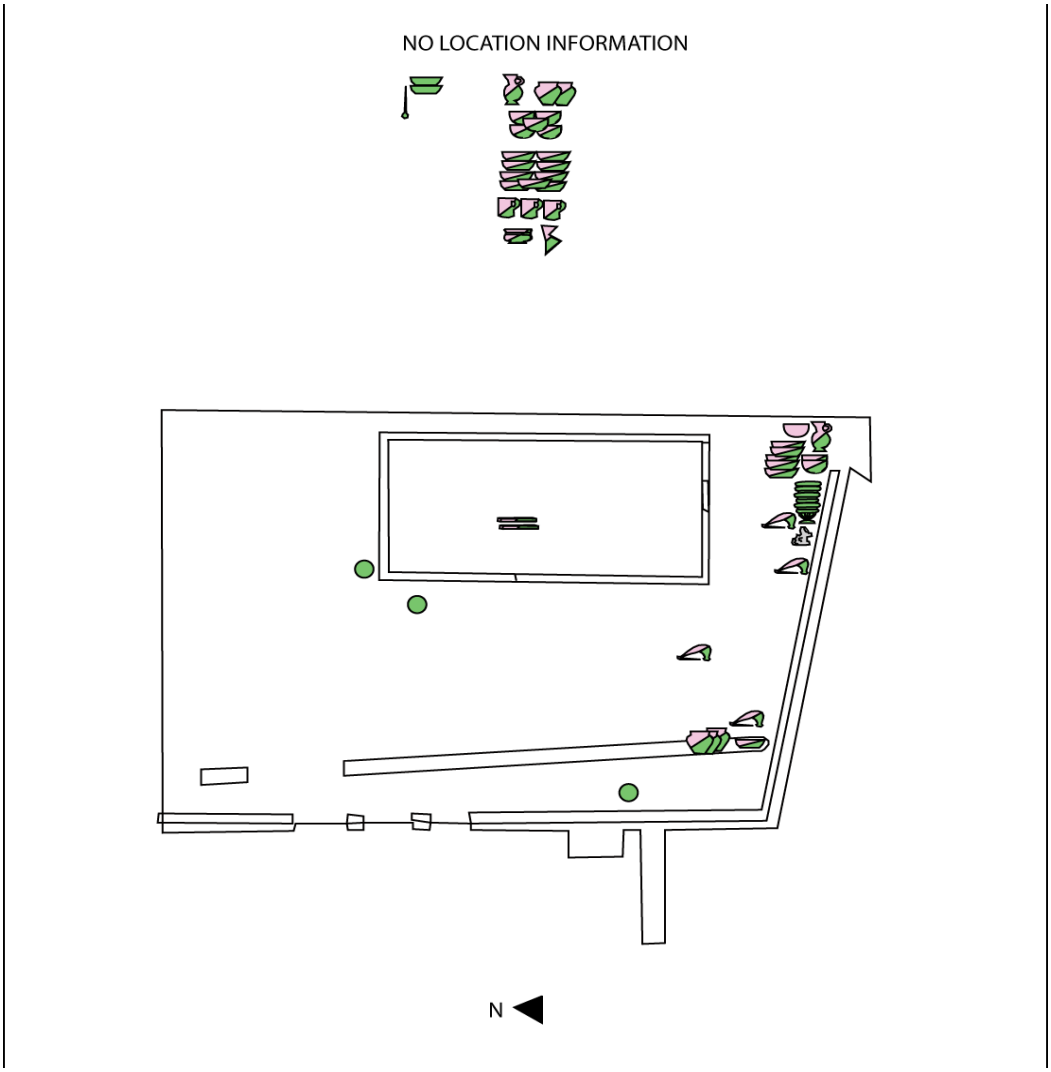

Figure 7.39 Shakenoak Villa, A.D. 100 – 200 (After Brodribb *et al.* 2005)

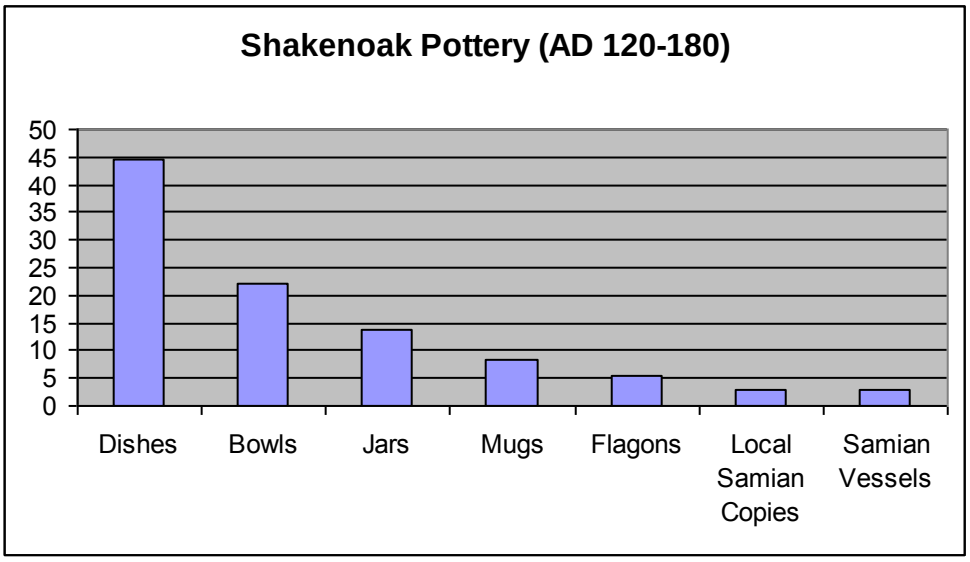

Figure 7.40 Pottery from Phase 1 at Shakenoak villa (MNV of 36).

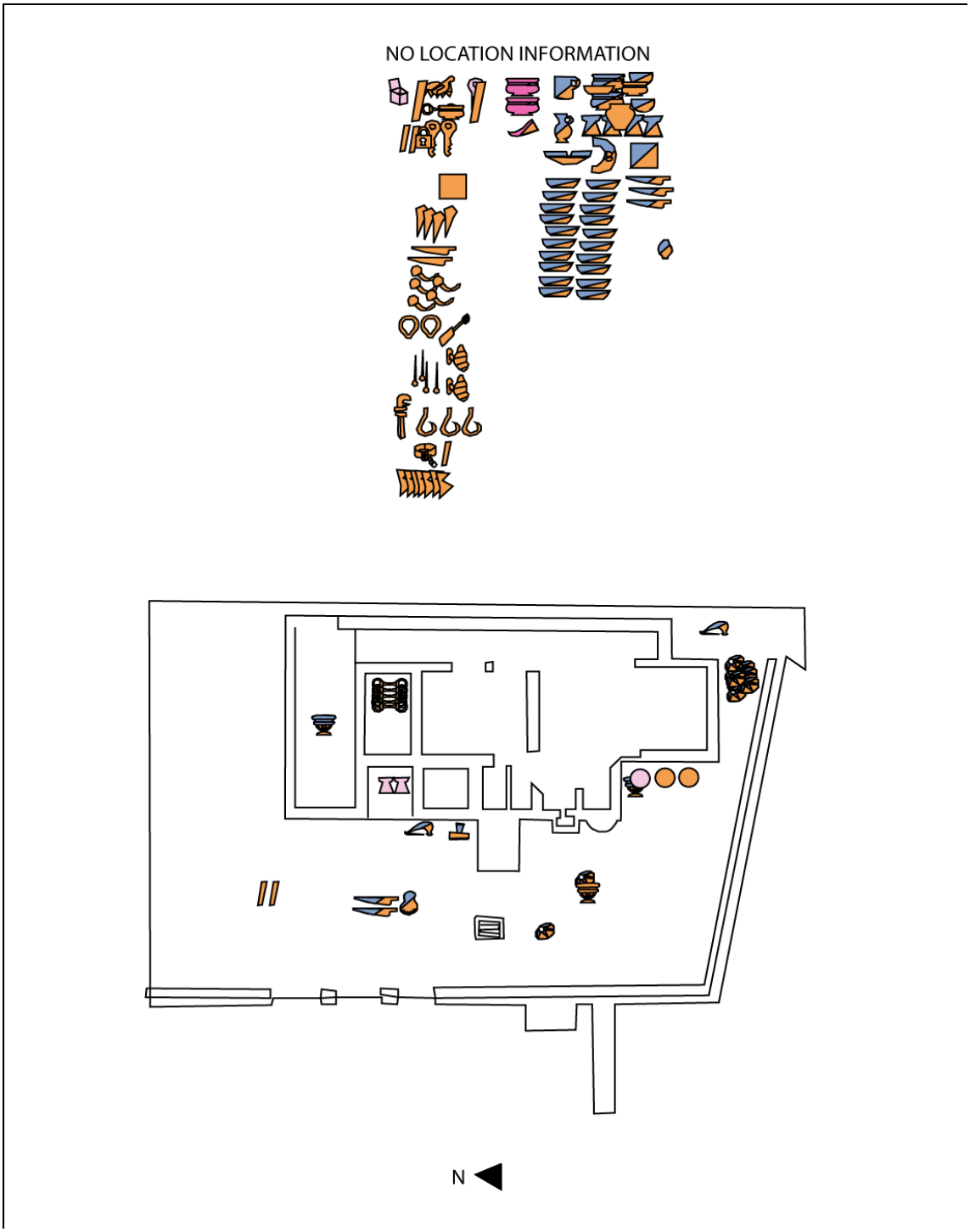

Figure 7.41 Shakenoak villa, A.D. 180 – 250. The building is roughly 35 x 25 metres (After Brodribb *et al.* 2005).

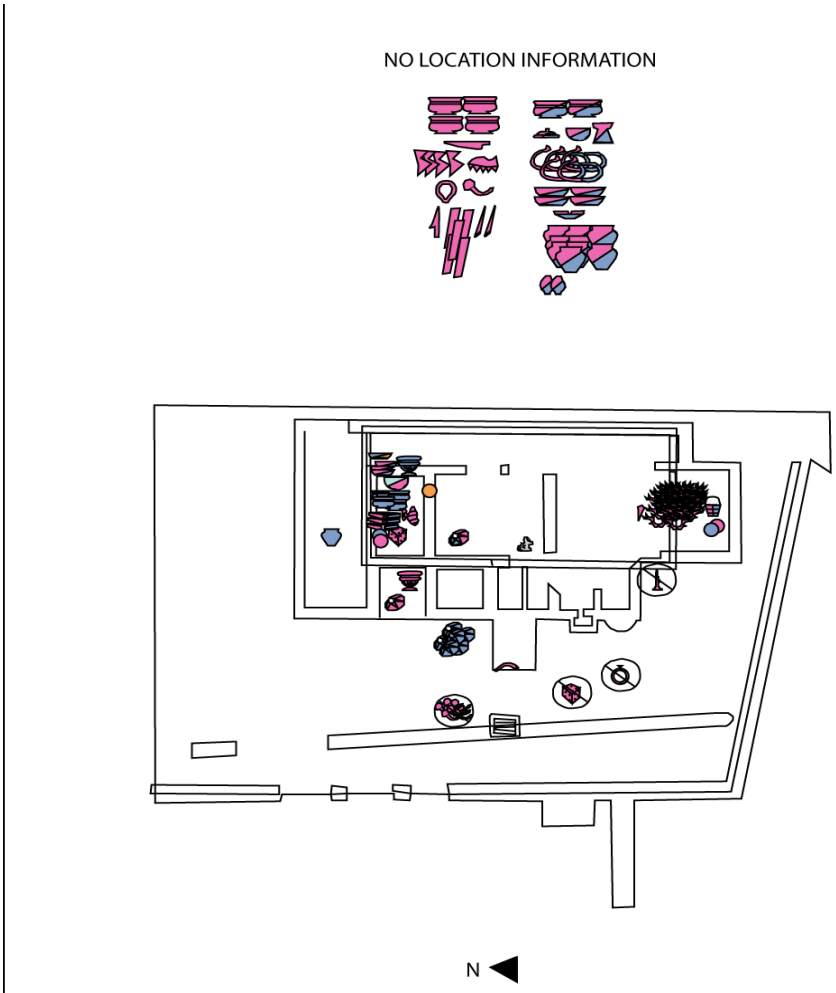

Figure 7.42 Shakenoak, c. A.D. 350-430 **(After** Brodribb *et al.* 2005).

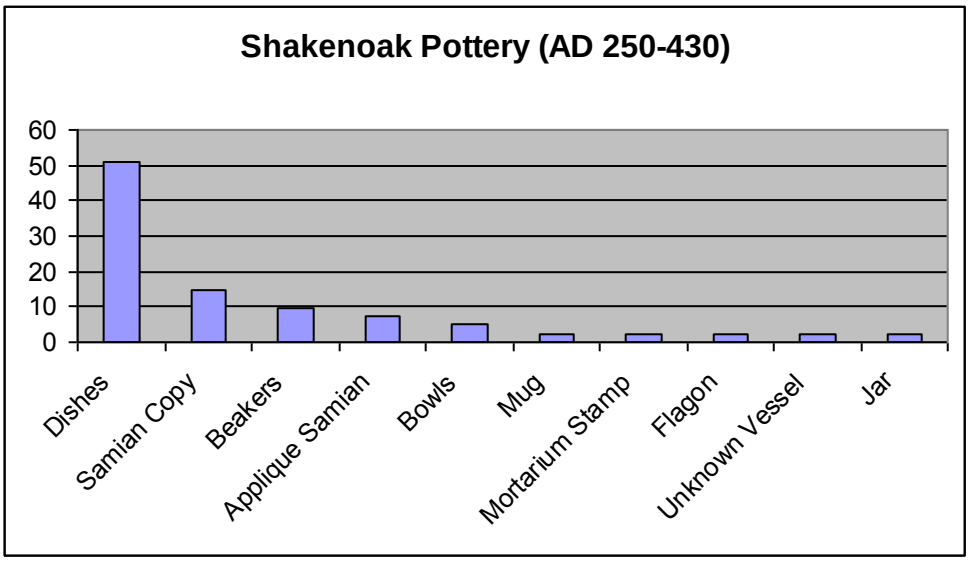

Figure 7.43 Pottery forms from Shakenoak- mid 3rd through 5th centuries. 41 vessels were represented in this phase.

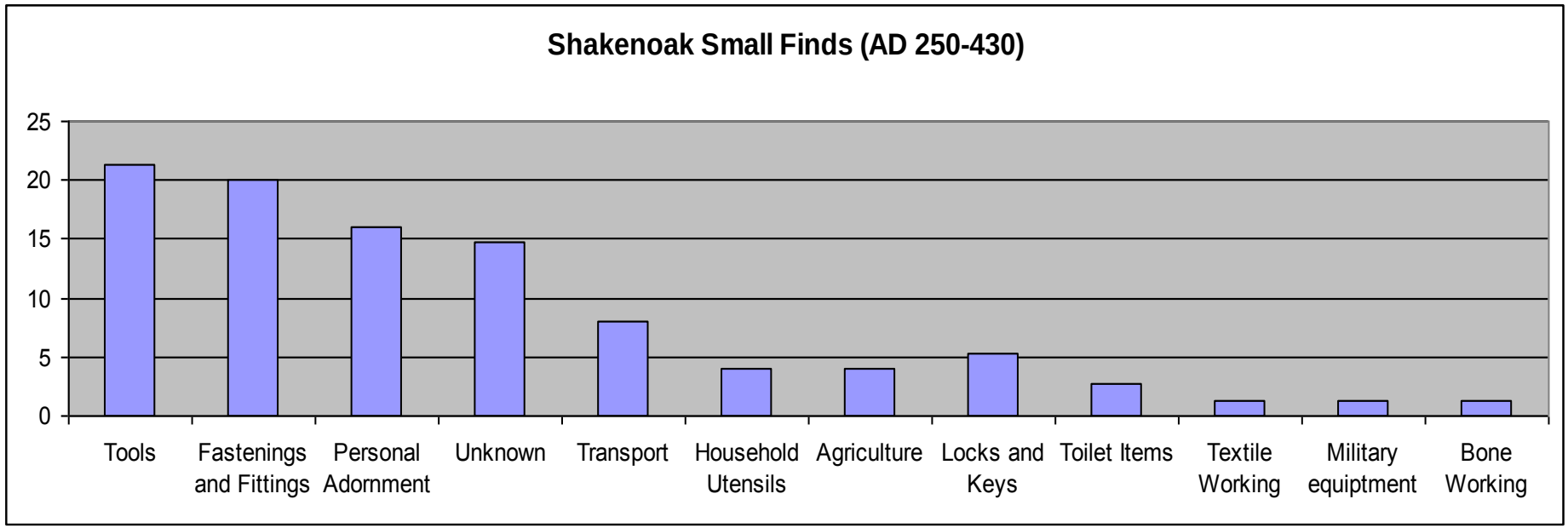

Figure 7.44 Small Find use types from Shakenoak (71 finds were attributed to this phase), A.D. 250 – 430.

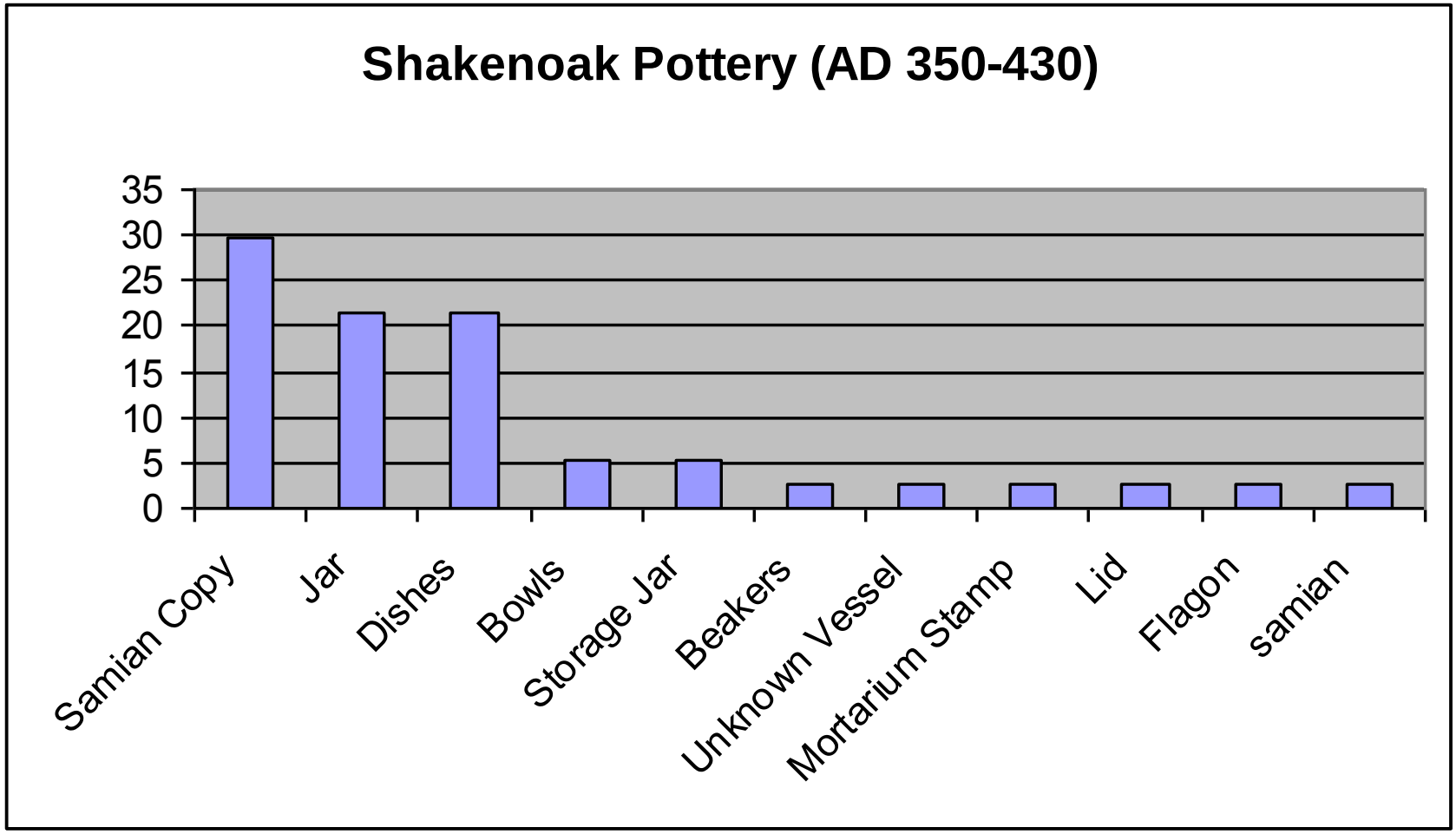

Figure 7.45 Final ceramic phase at Shakenoak villa. 37 vessels were represented in this period.

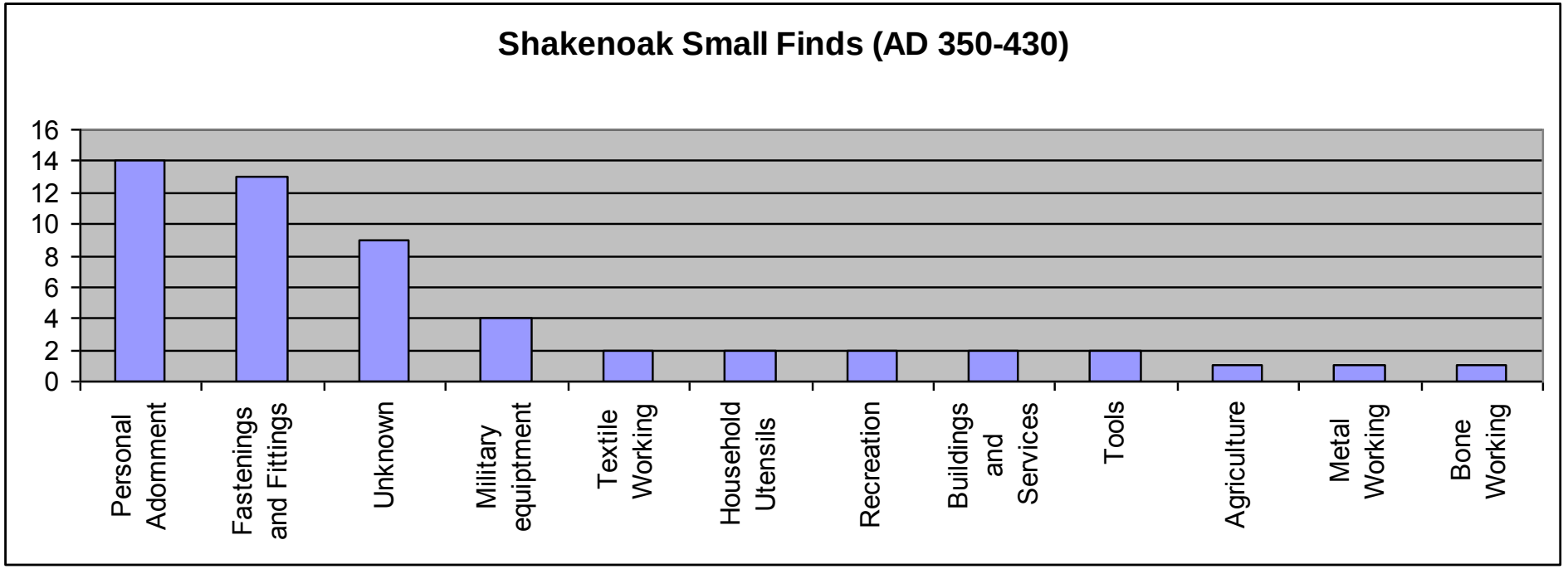

Figure 7.46 Use types from Shakenoak, c. A.D. 350 – 430. 57 finds were attributed to this phase.

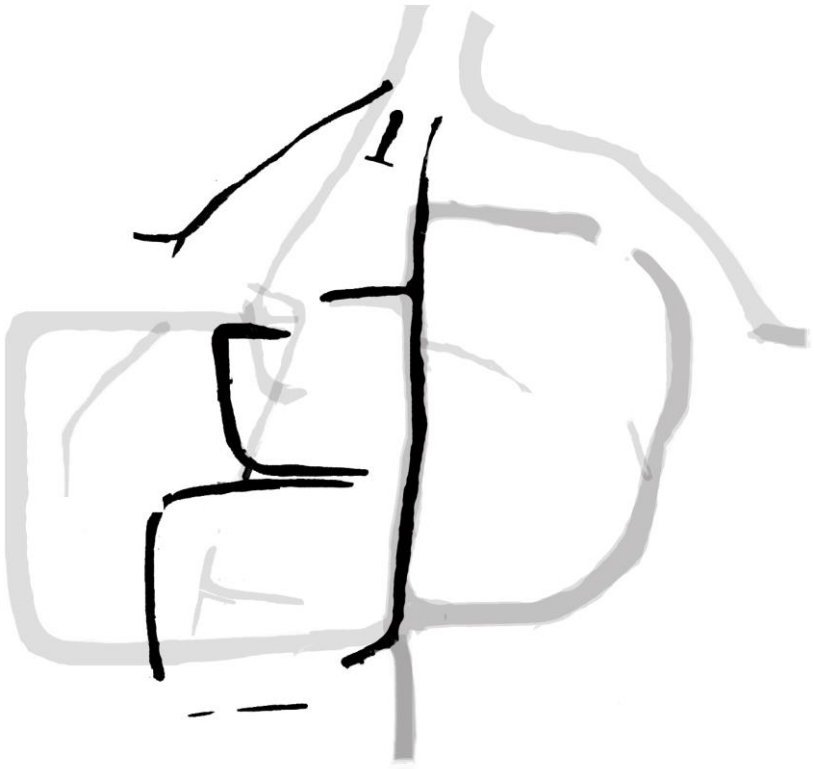

Figure 7.47 Period 1 (A.D. 150 – 225) Features at Thurnscoe. The southern enclosure is roughly 22 x 16 m (After Neal and Fraser 2004).

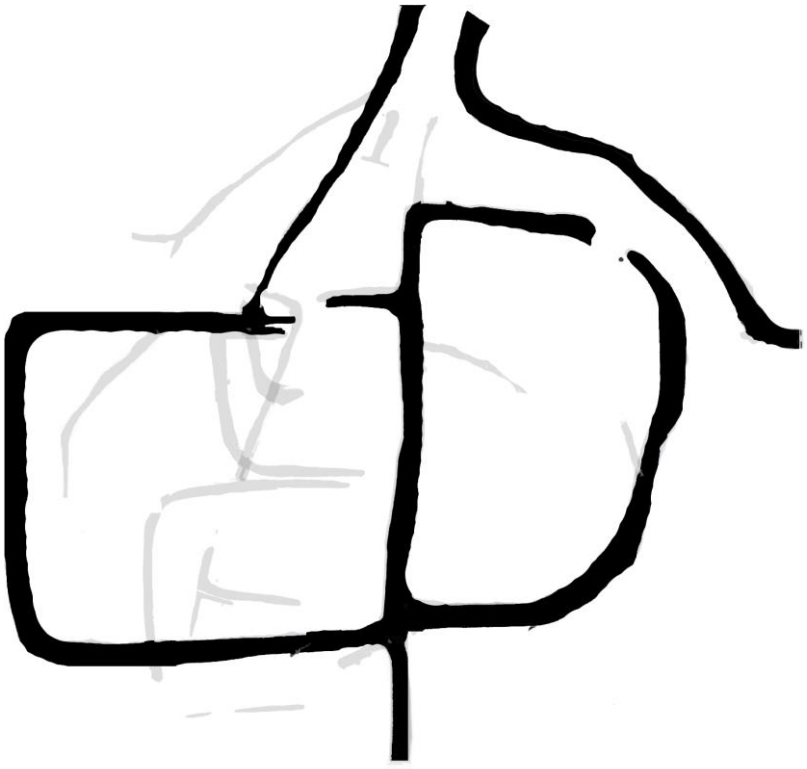

Figure 7.48 Phase 2 (A.D. 200 – 325) enclosure at Thurnscoe. The left enclosure is roughly 30 x 30 m (After Neal and Fraser 2004).

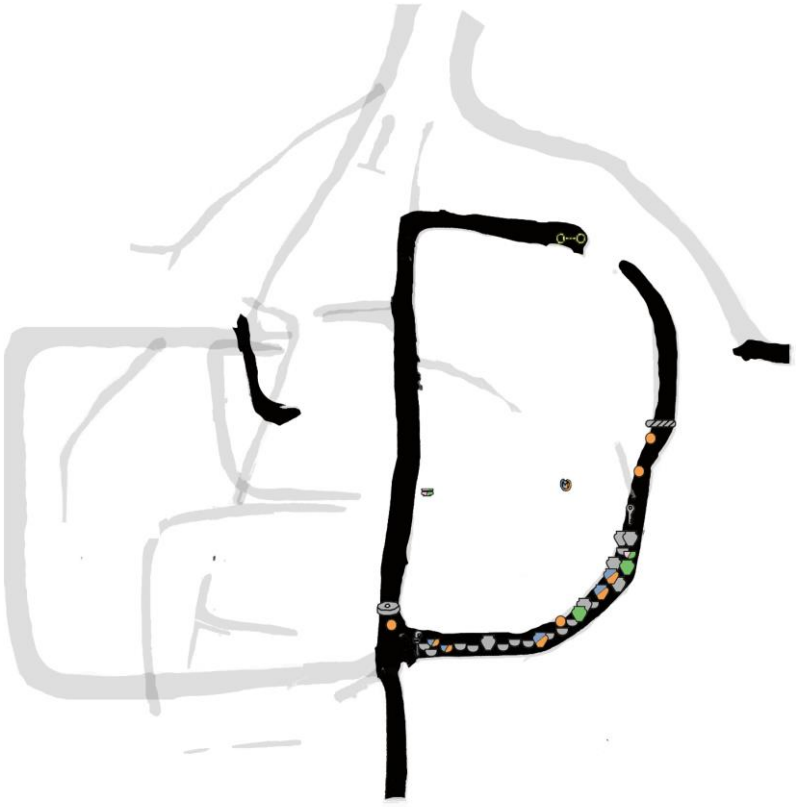

Figure 7.49 Phase 3 (A.D. 250 – 350) Enclosure at Thurnscoe with finds. The radius of the D-shaped enclosure is roughly 19 m (After Neal and Fraser 2004).

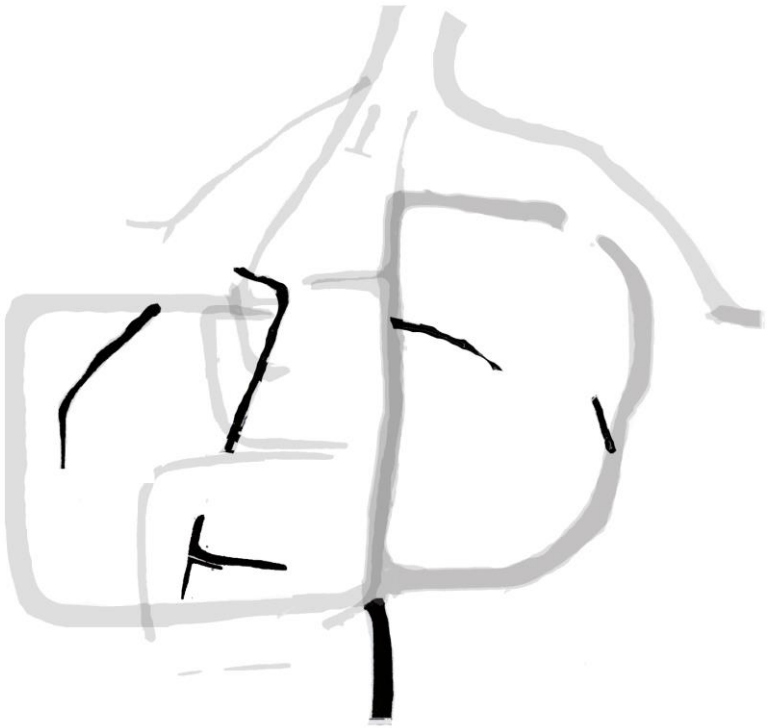

Figure 7.50 Final features at Thurnscoe (After Neal and Fraser 2004).

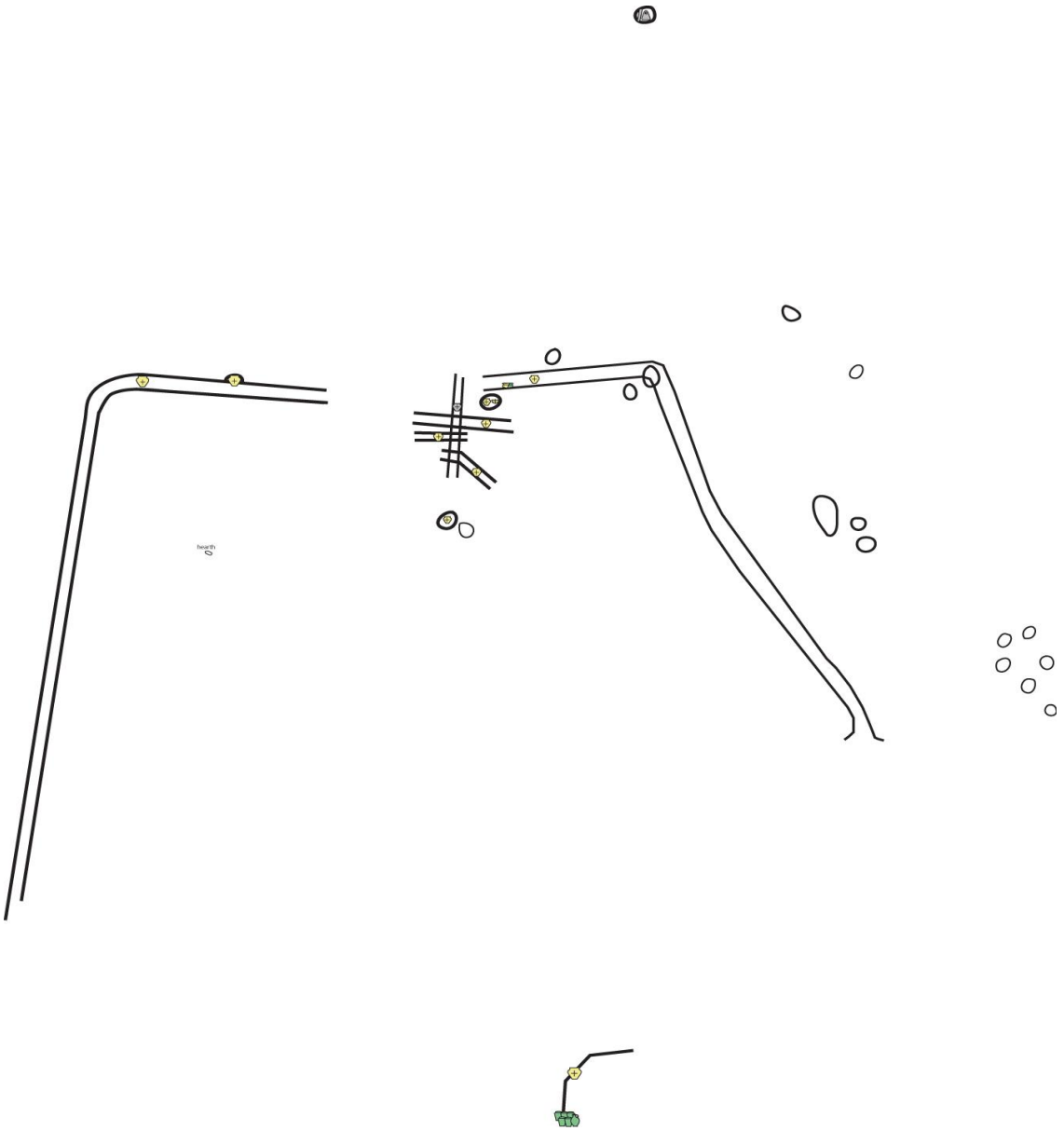

Figure 7.51 Map of West Blatchington Phase 1 (refer to Appendix CD for better resolution). The straight-sided ditch pictured above was traced north-south for approximately 350 feet (107m) (After Norris and Burstow 1950).

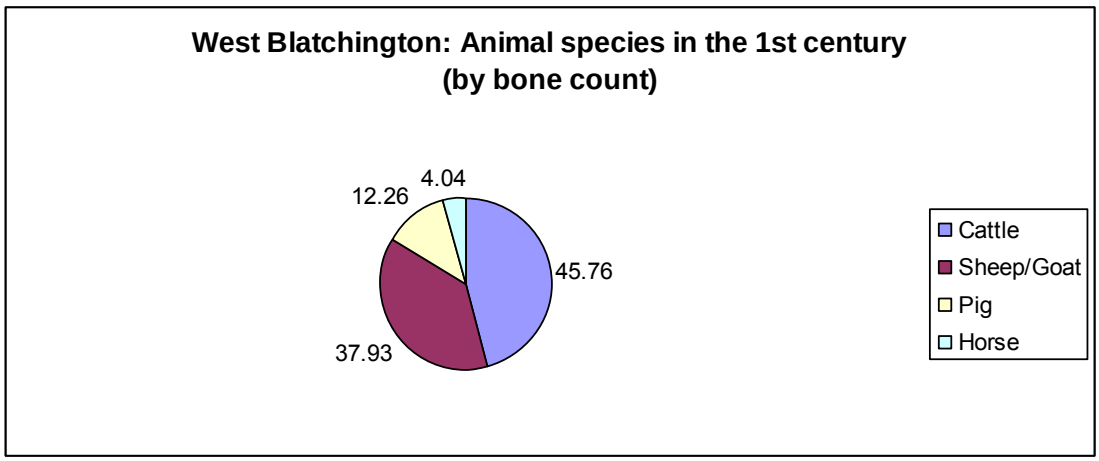

Figure 7.52 Faunal Remains from West Blatchington, 1st century. 724 bones in total were counted.

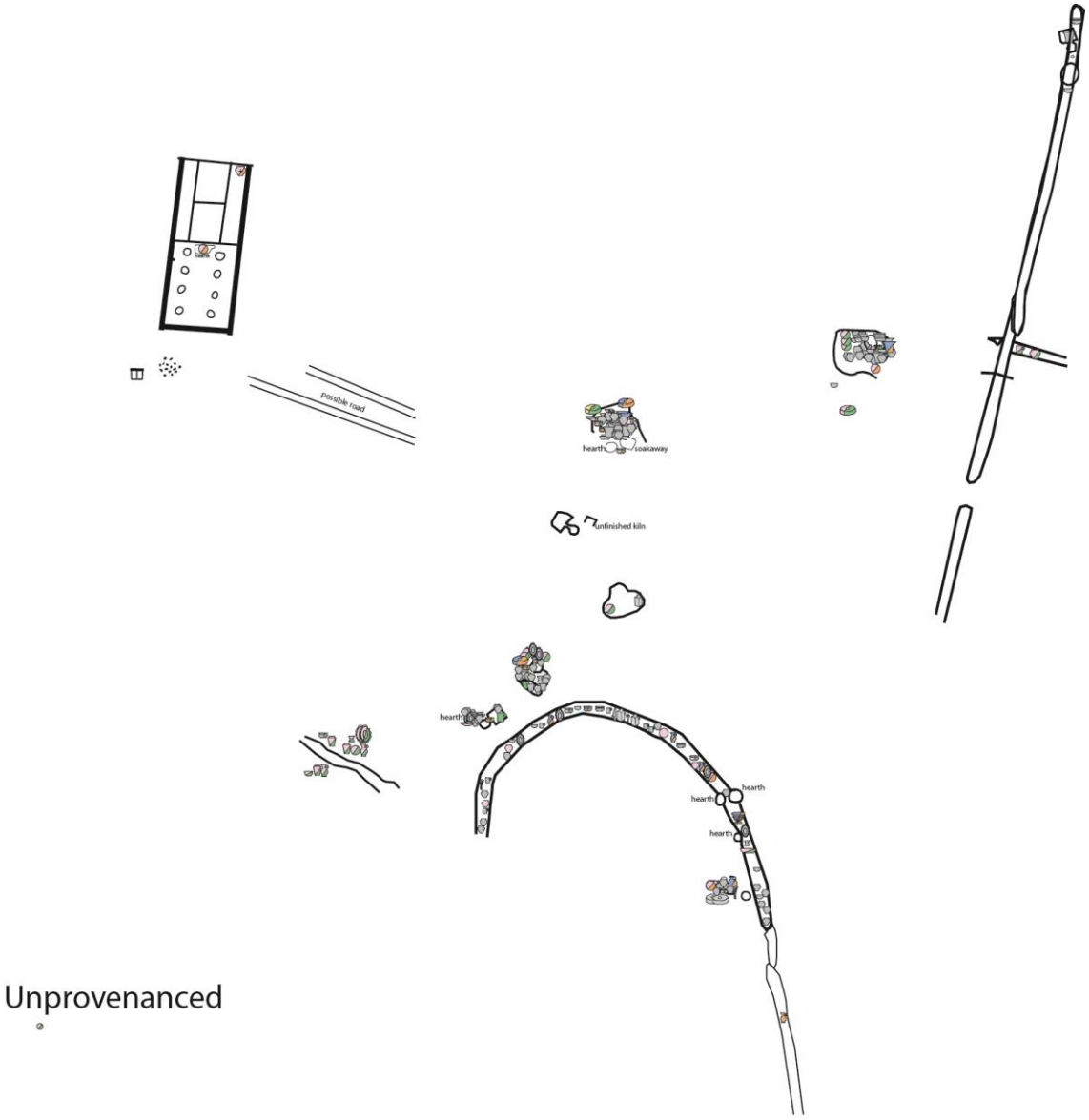

Figure 7.53 West Blatchington, Phase 2 (refer to Appendix CD for better resolution)(After Norris and Burstow 1950).

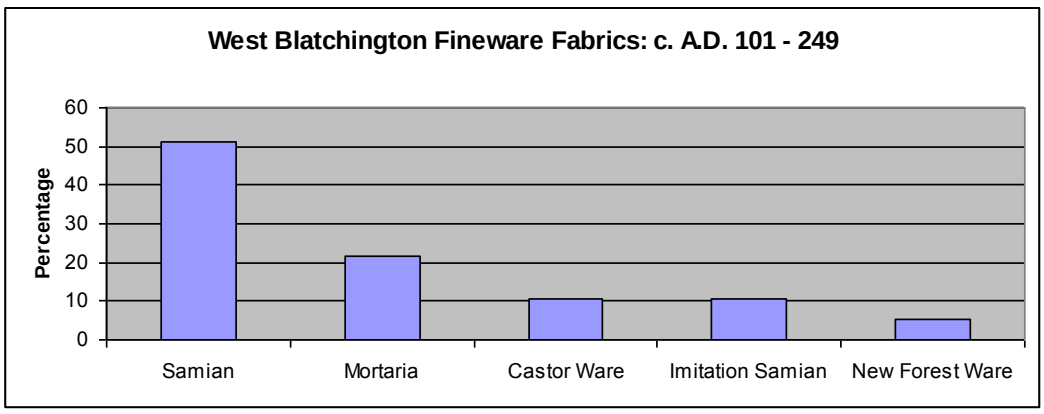

Figure 7.54 West Blatchington- Fineware Fabrics. At least 37 vessels were attributed to this phase.

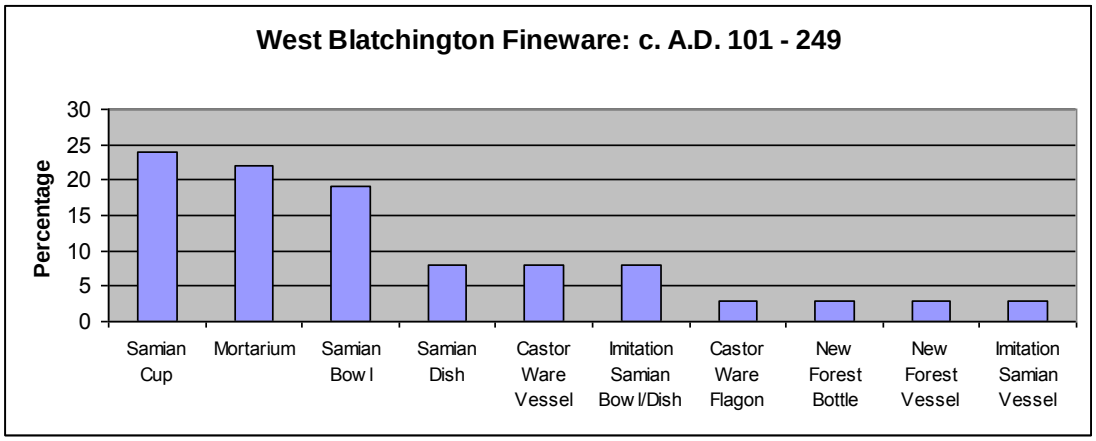

Figure 7.55 West Blatchington- Fineware Forms. At least 37 vessels were attributed to this phase.

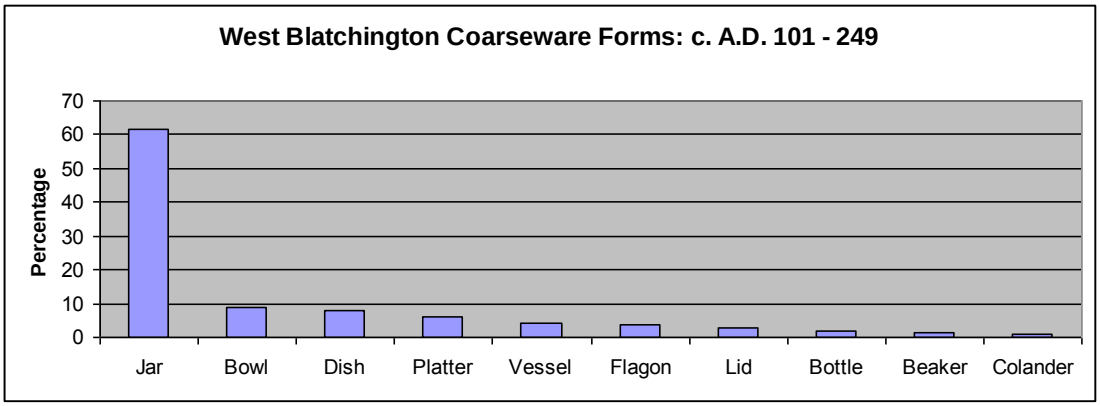

Figure 7.56 West Blatchington - Coarsewares. At least 134 vessels were attributed to this phase.

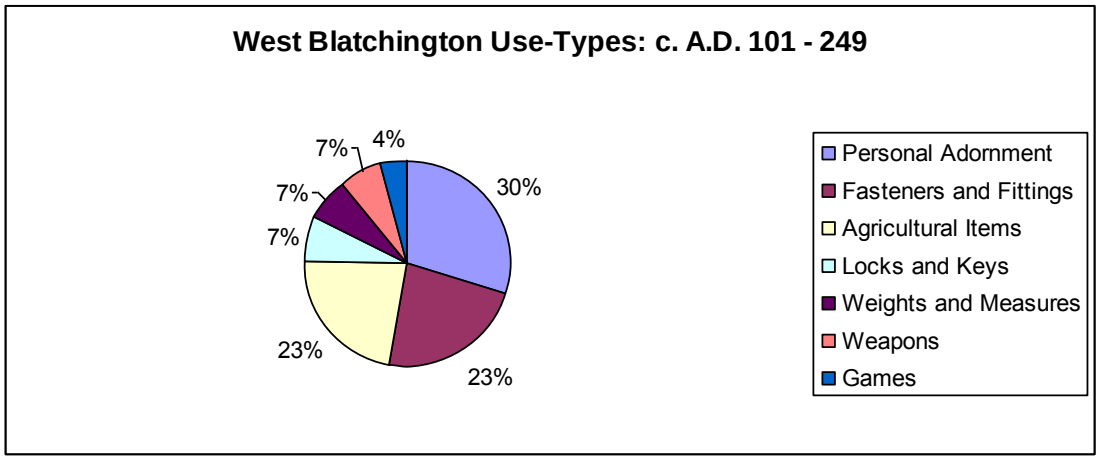

Figure 7.57 West Blatchington Use Types, A.D. 101-249. 13 finds in total were counted, though more were mentioned in the text but not quantified in the report.

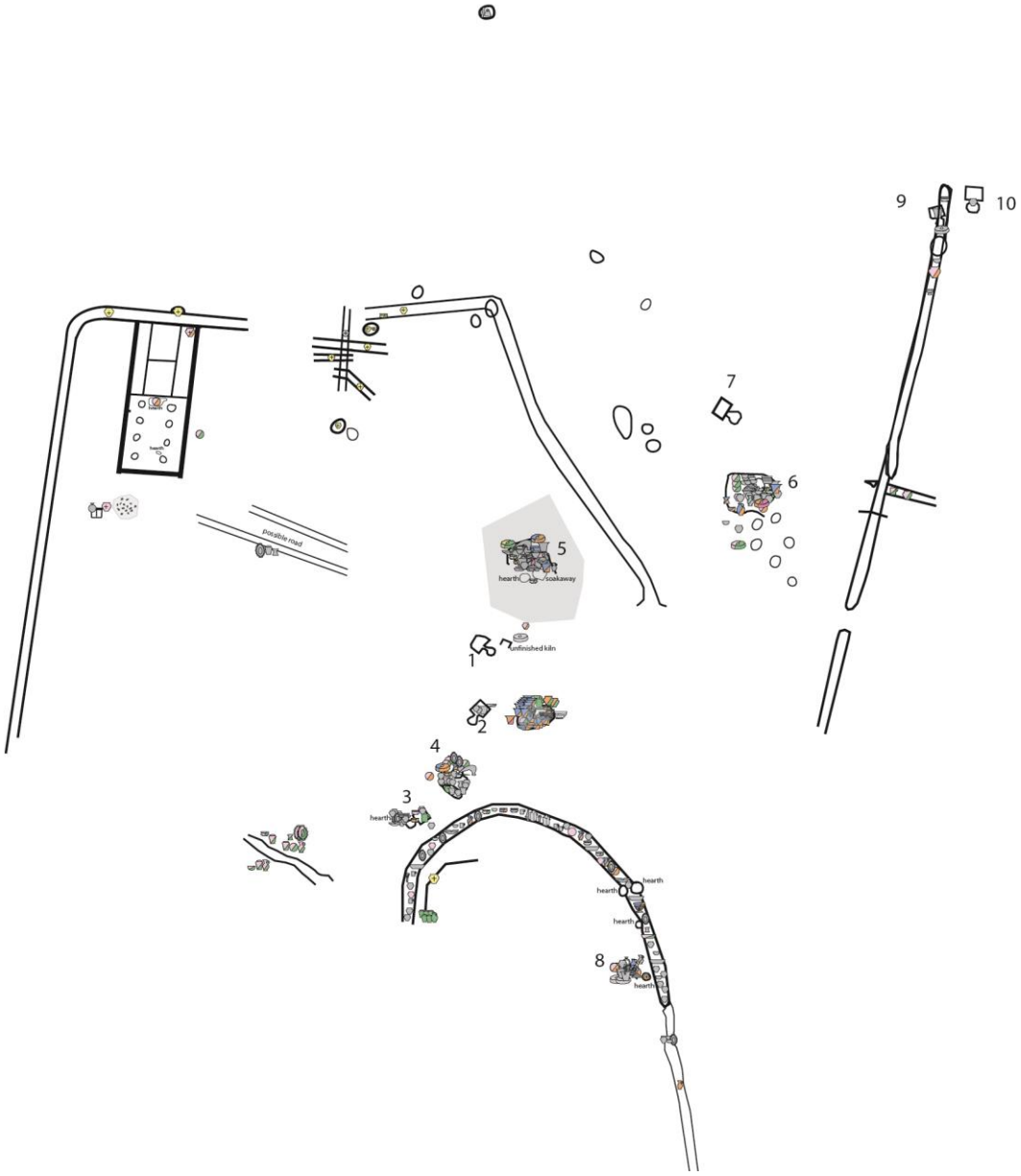

Figure 7.58 Map of West Blatchington (refer to Appendix CD for better resolution). The numbers correspond to the kiln numbers given in the report. The entire extent of the site is roughly 210 x 260 metres, with the villa measuring almost 40 m in length (After Norris and Burstow 1950).

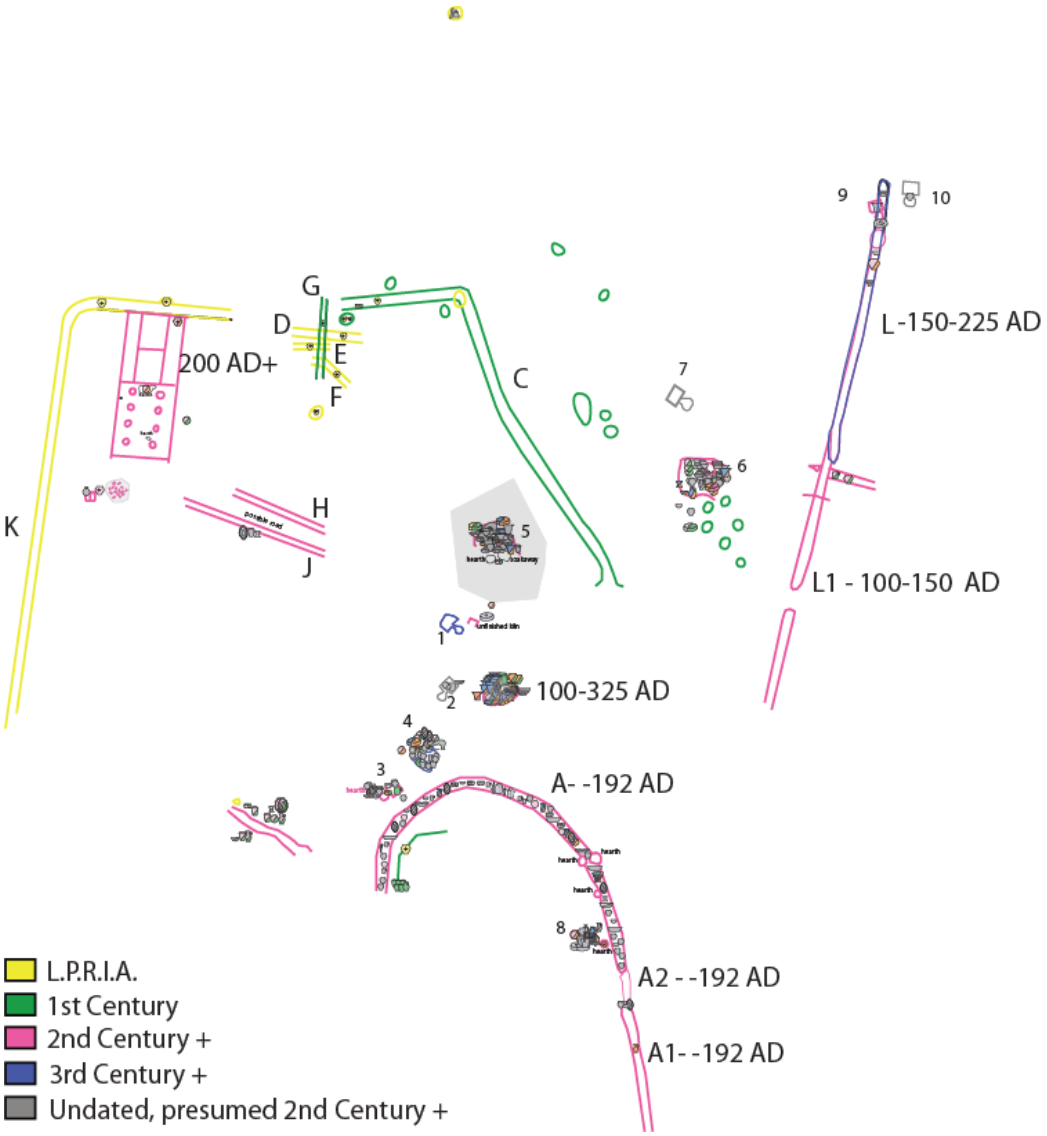

Figure 7.59. Map of West Blatchington, with features coloured by date (After Norris and Burstow 1950).

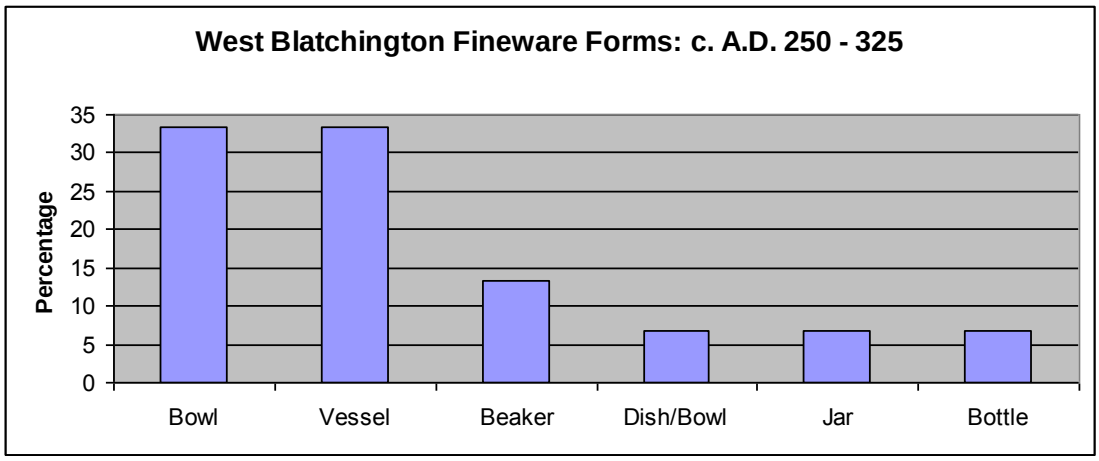

Figure 7.60 West Blatchington- Fineware Forms. At least 15 vessels were attributed to this phase.

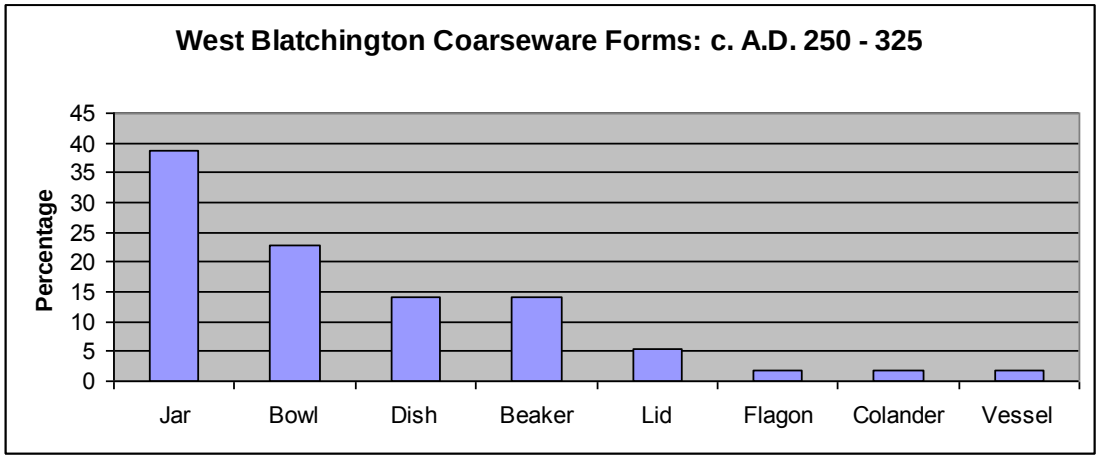

Figure 7.61 West Blatchington- Coarseware assemblage in the 3rd century. At least 58 vessels were represented.

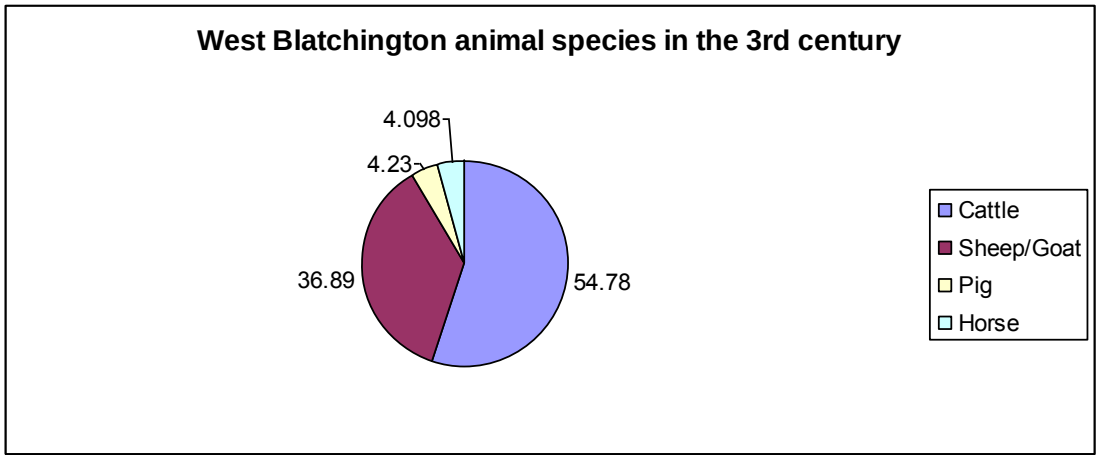

Figure 7.62 West Blatchington- Faunal remains. 1,464 bones were counted in total.

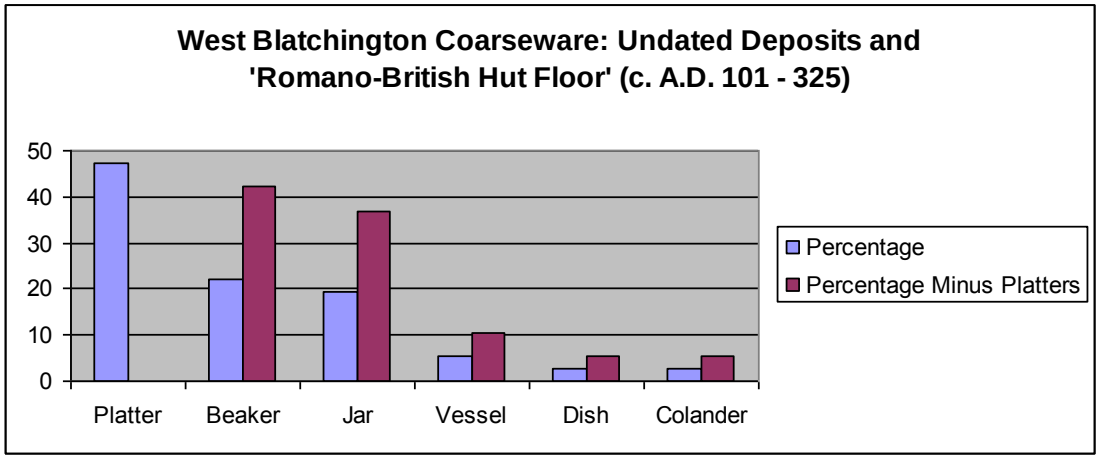

Figure 7.63 West Blatchington- Undated deposits and Romano-British 'Hut Floor'. 36 vessels were counted in total, 17 of those being platters.

Figure 7.64 Trenches covering the site at Winterton Villa (from Stead 1976). For scale, Building A is roughly 53 x 104 m (After Norris and Burstow 1950).

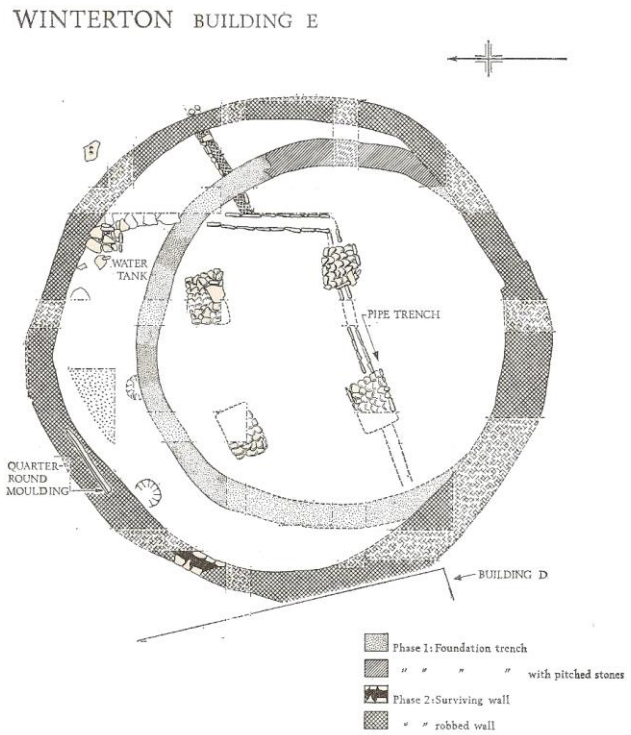

Fig. 26. Winterton. Plan of Building E. For sections, see Fig. 27. The 'water-tank' and 'pipe-trench' were earlier features destroyed when Building E was constructed.

Figure 7.65 Winterton Building E. E was constructed around A.D. 130 (reprinted from Stead 1976).

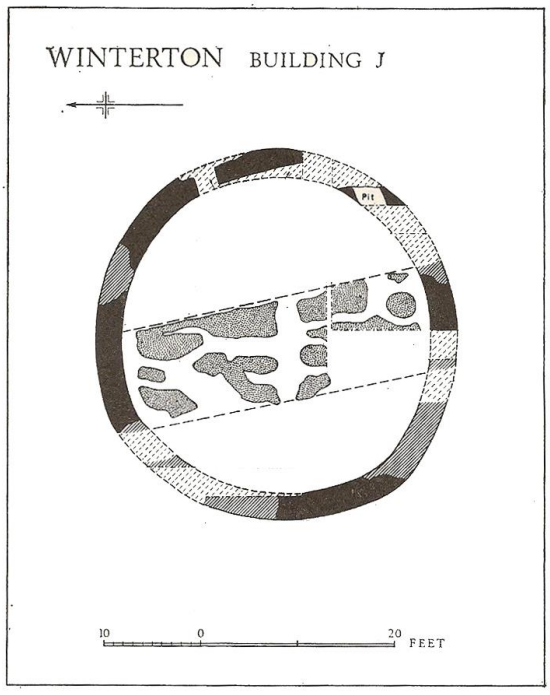

Fig. 36. Winterton. Plan of Building J. The stippled area is the floor of Building G, to show the curious disturbances found only within Building J.

Figure 7. 66 Winterton Building J. Building J may have been constructed as early as the Flavian period (reprinted from Stead 1976).

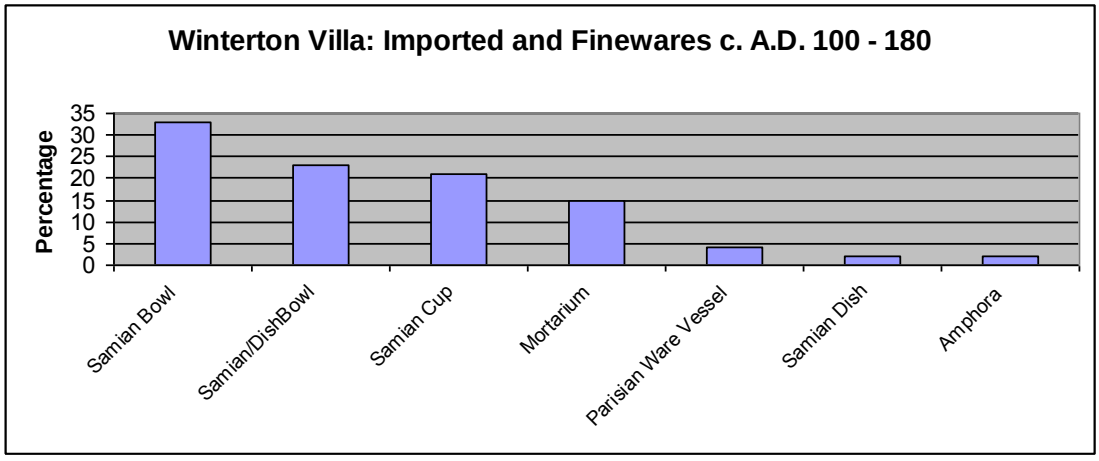

Figure 7.67 Imported and Fineware from the first phase of Romano-British activity at Winterton Villa. At least 48 fineware vessels were included.

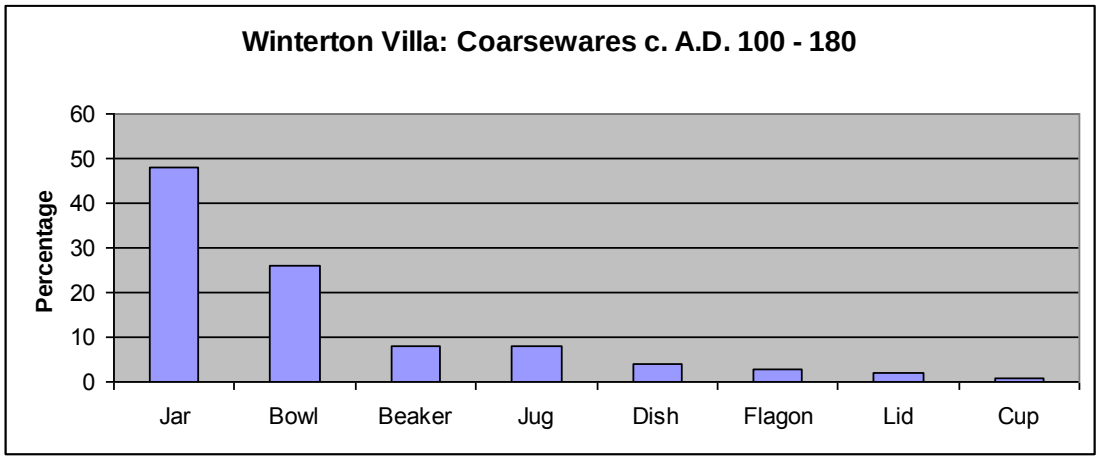

Figure 7.68 Coarsewares from earliest phase at Winterton. 93 vessels were counted in this sample.

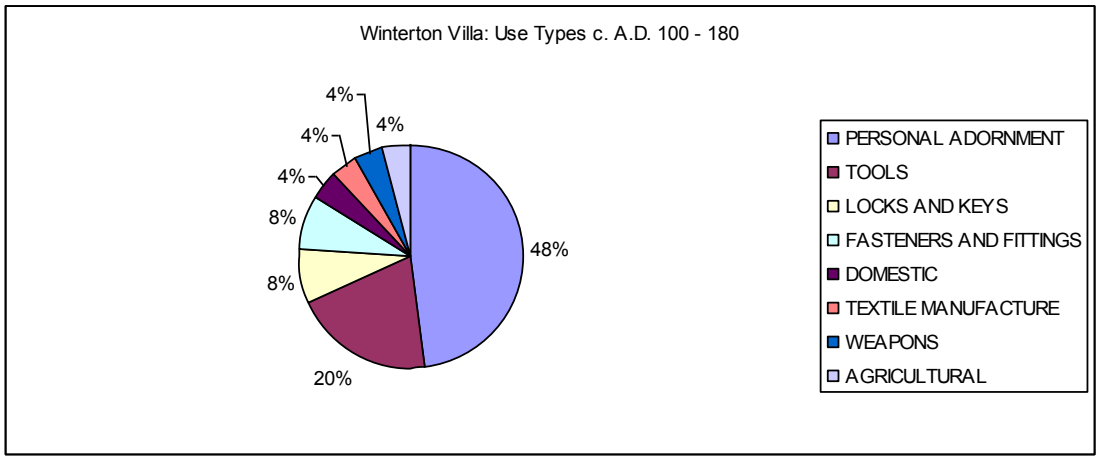

Figure 7.69 Use types from the earliest phase at Winterton. 93 finds were attributed to this period.

Figure 7.70 Winterton- Finds in the first phase from buildings A, D, E and F. Only Building E is occupied during this period (reprinted from Stead 1976).

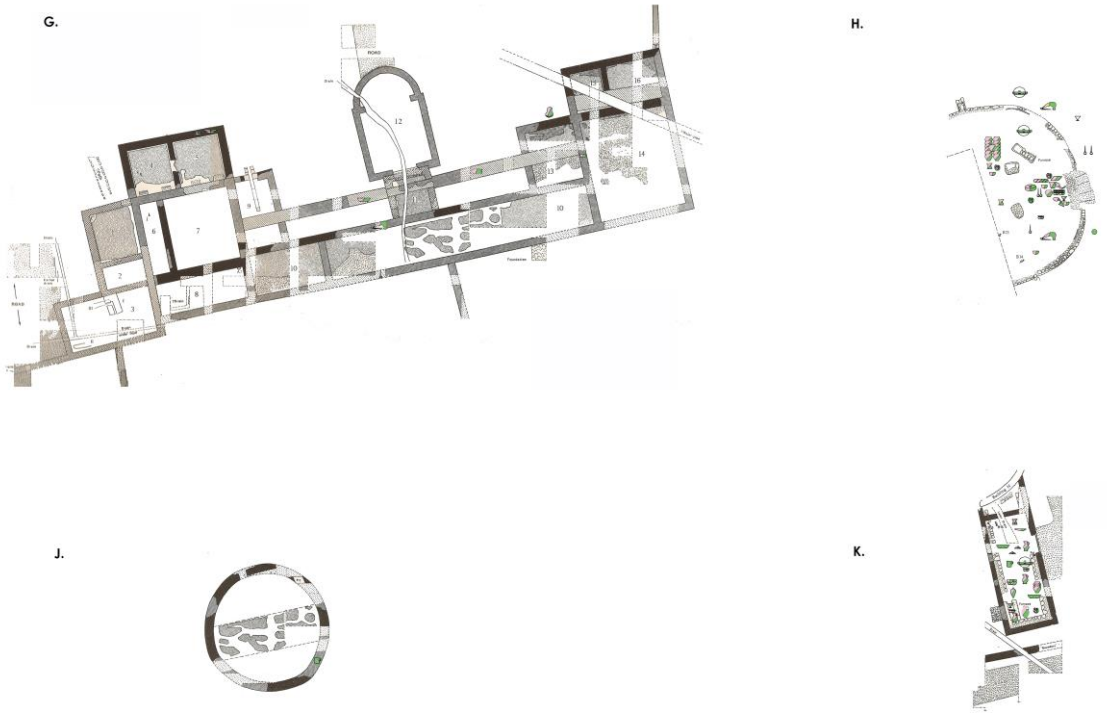

Figure 7.71 Winterton- finds from the first phase, buildings G, H, J and K. Only Building A had been constructed at this time (before 180 A.D.) (reprinted from Stead 1976).

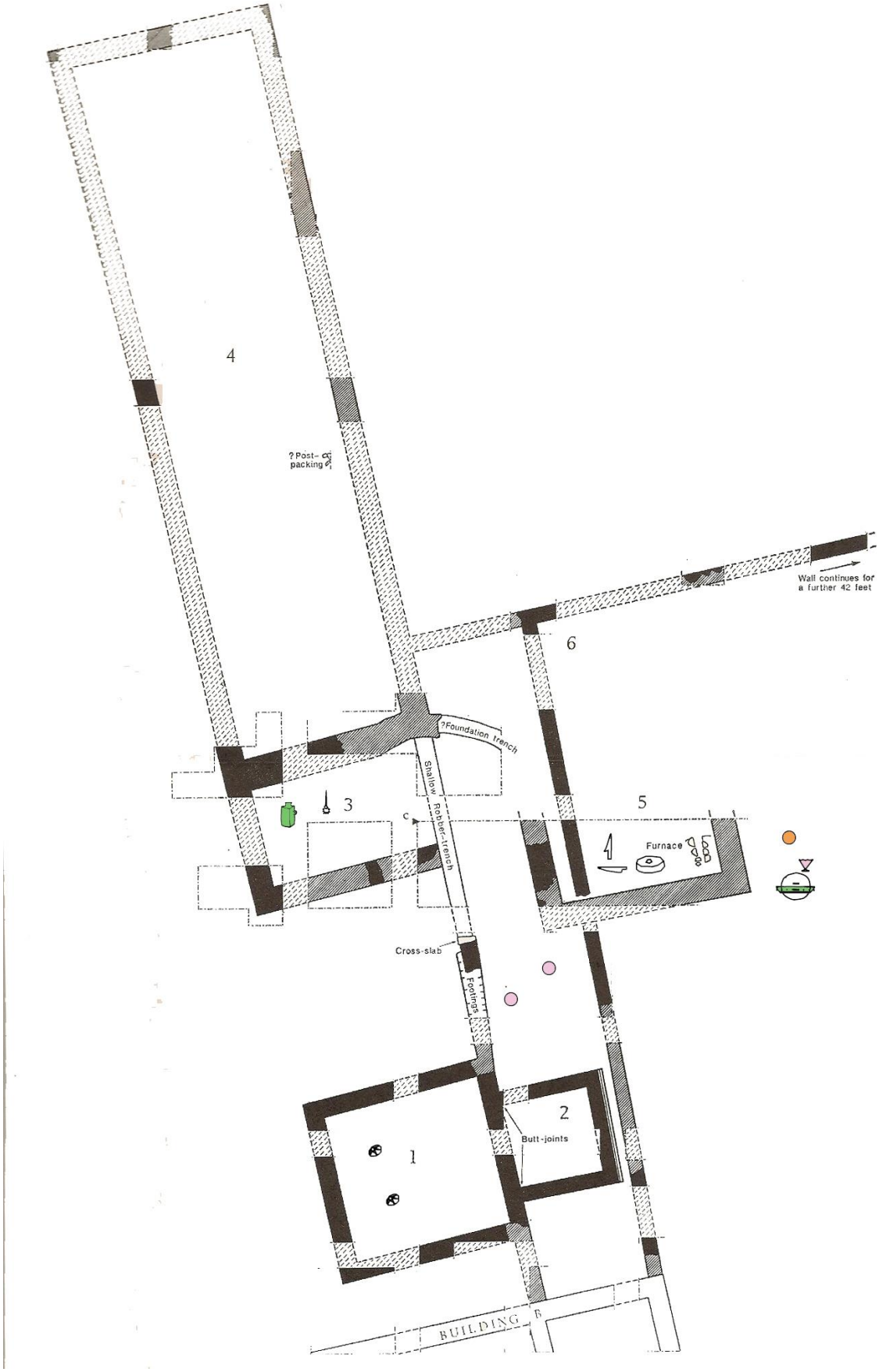

Figure 7.72 Winterton- Building C, constructed around 150/180 A.D. (reprinted from Stead 1976).

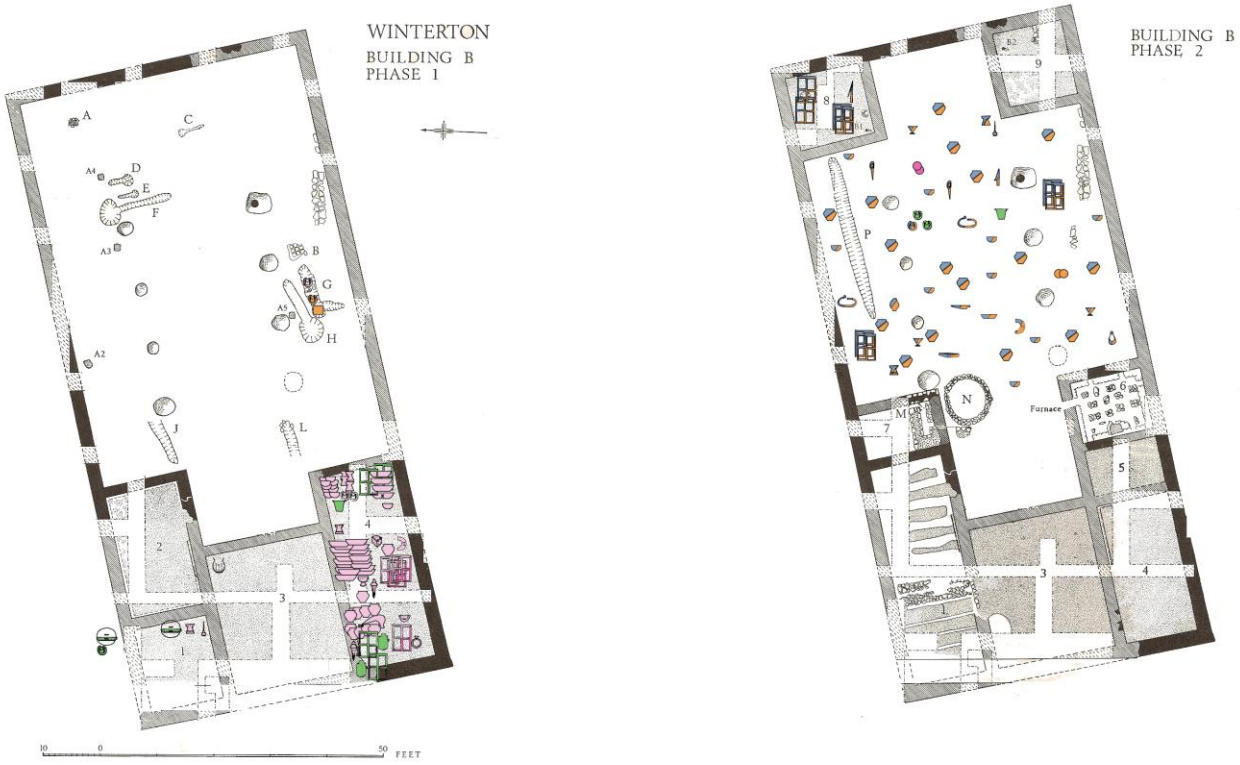

Figure 7.73 Winterton building B: 220 – 399 A.D. The finds under room 4 in the Period 1 building are residual (reprinted from Stead 1976).

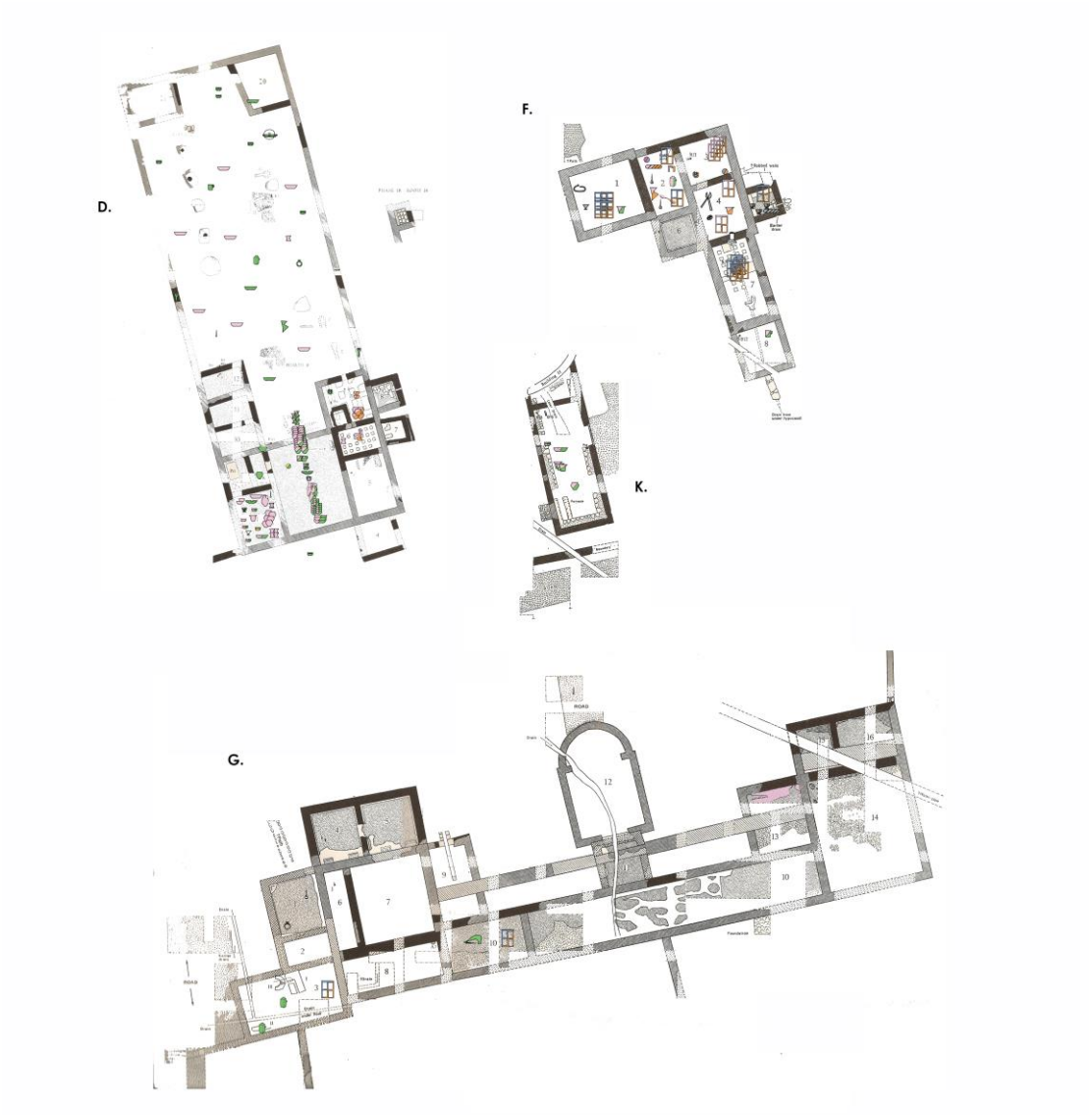

Figure 7.74 Winterton buildings and finds, c. 150 – 399 A.D. (reprinted from Stead 1976).

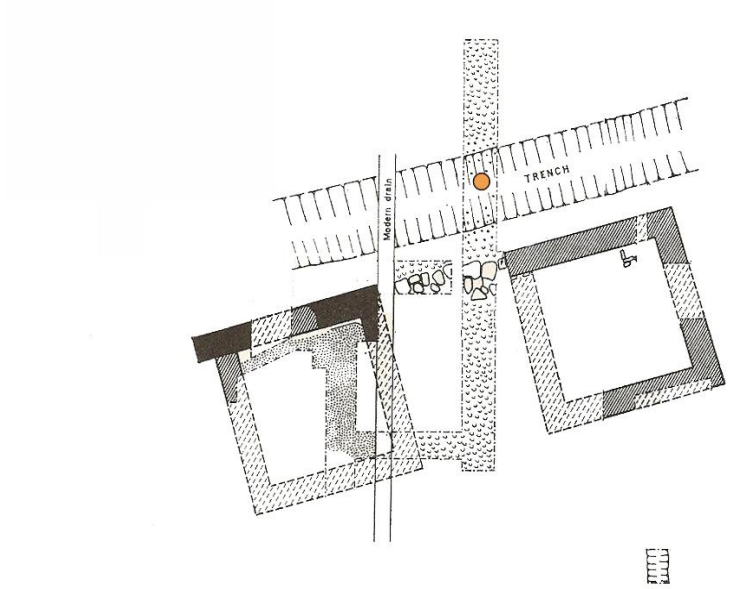

Figure 7.75 Winterton- building L, which is approximately 17 x 45 feet (5 x 14m) (reprinted from Stead 1976).

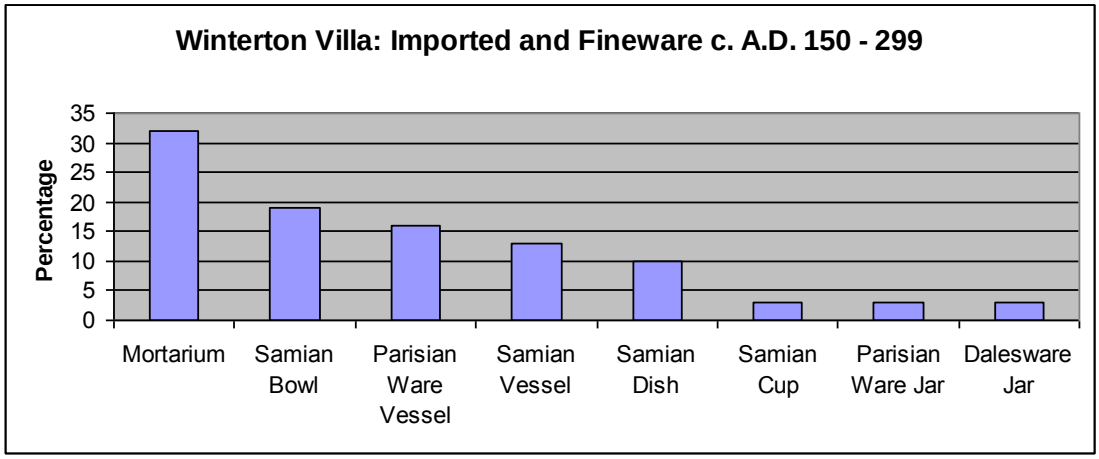

Figure 7.76 Late 2nd and 3rd century Imported and Finewares at Winterton. 31 vessels were attributed to this phase.

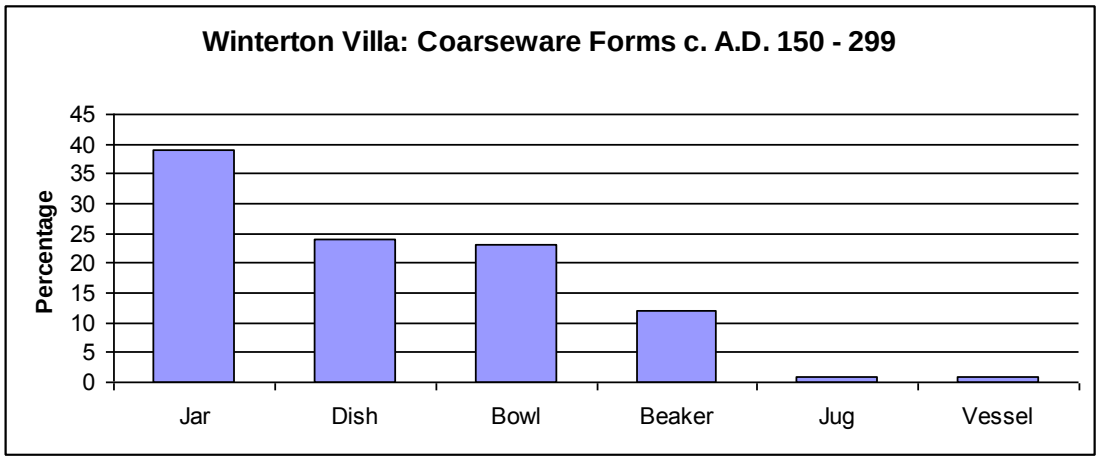

Figure 7.77 Winterton coarseware assemblage, dated to the late 2nd and 3rd centuries. 104 vessels were attributed to this phase.

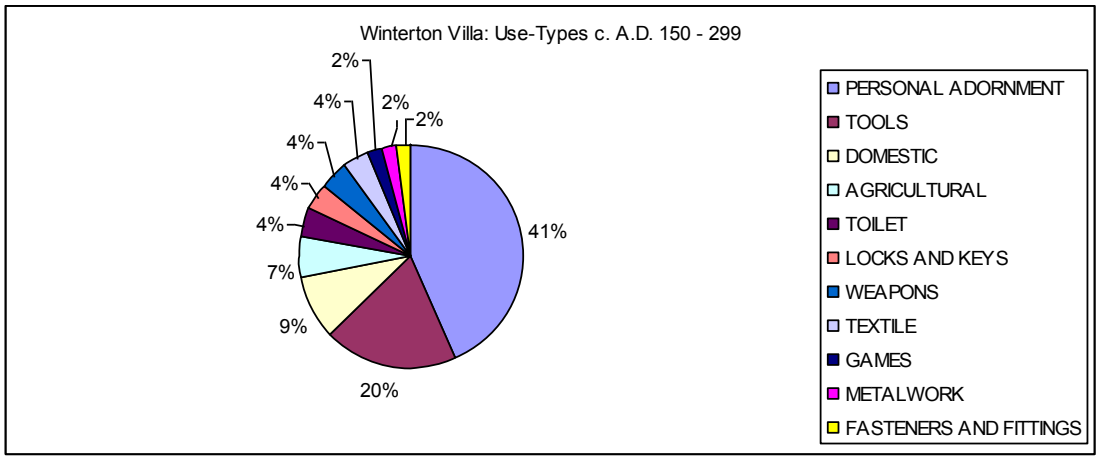

Figure 7.78 Winterton- use type indicators of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. 46 finds were associated with this phase.

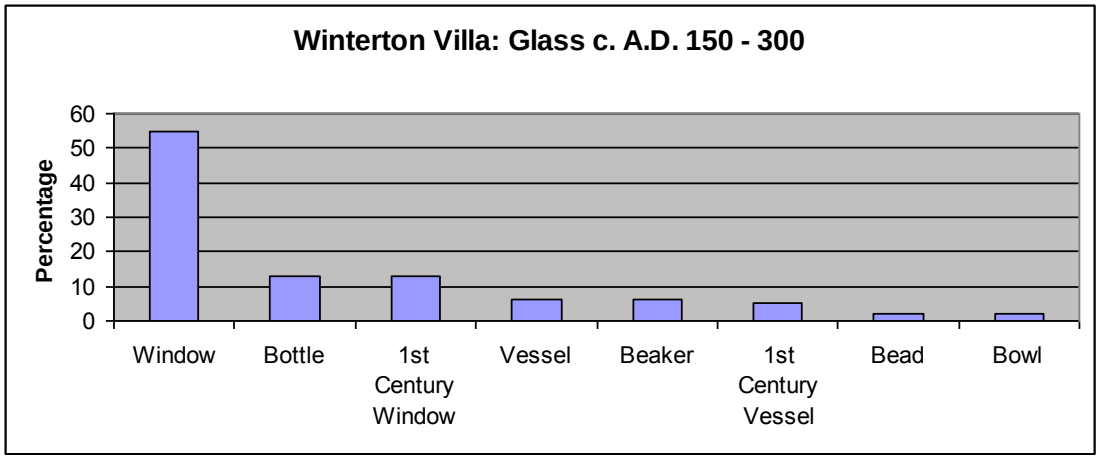

Figure 7.79 Late 2nd and 3rd century glass at Winterton. 64 fragments of glass were recorded.

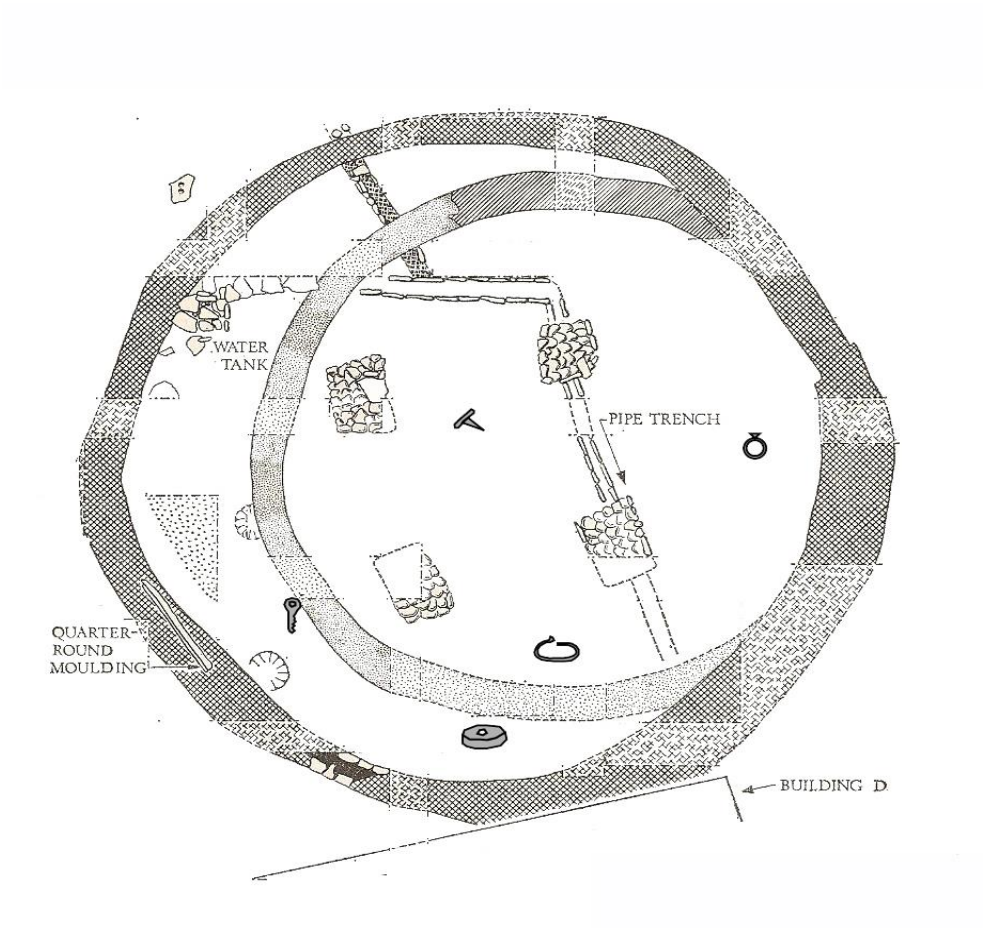

Figure 7.80 Winterton- Finds over building E (3rd or 4th century) (reprinted from Stead 1976).

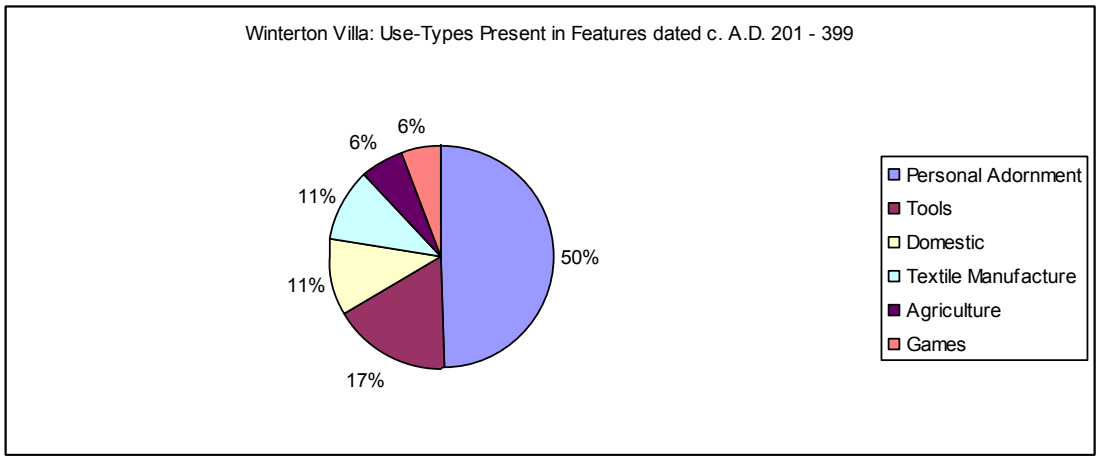

Figure 7.81 Winterton - 3rd and 4th century use type proportions. 18 finds were attributed to this phase.

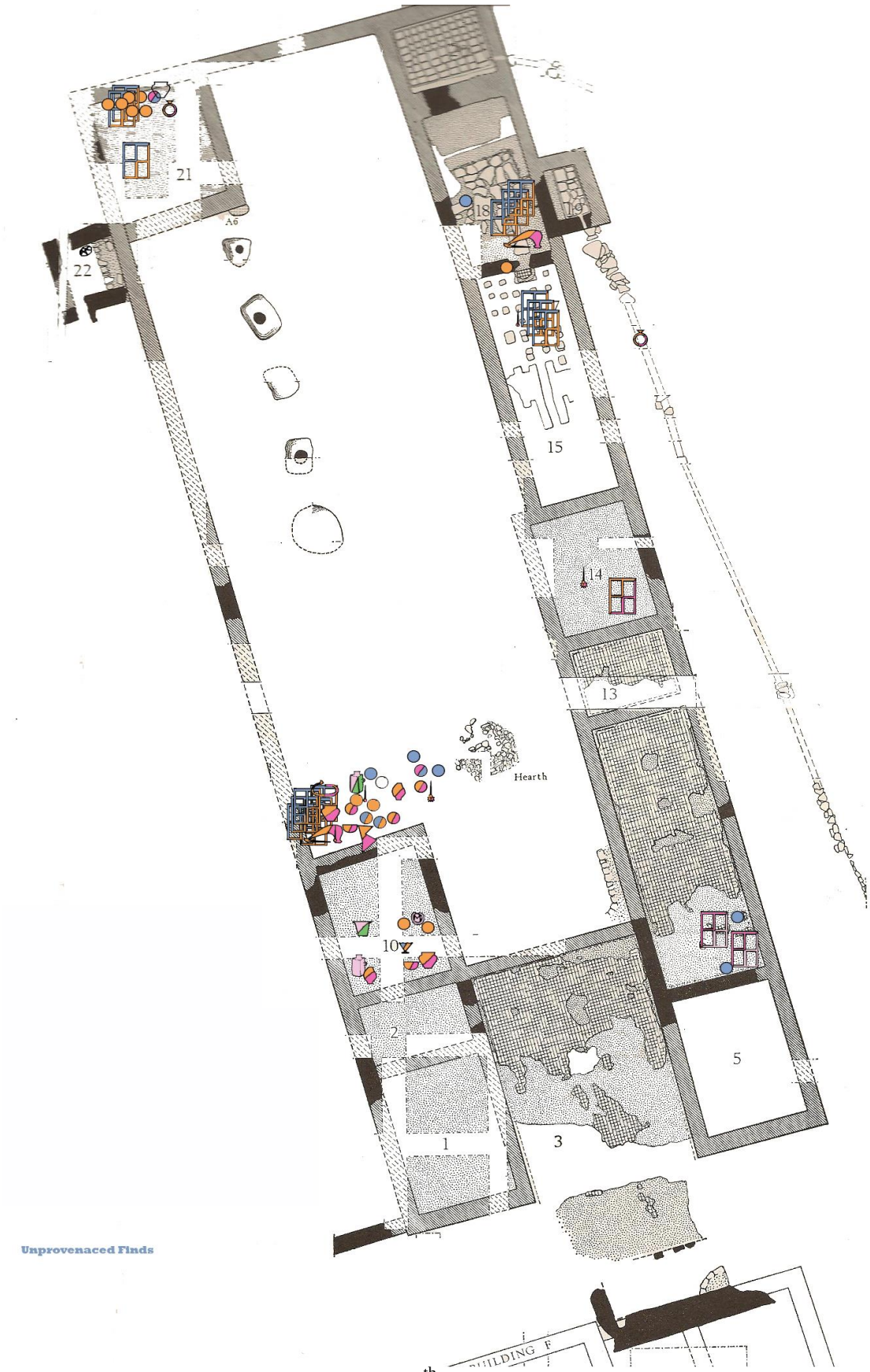

Figure 7.82 Winterton building D in the 4th century (reprinted from Stead 1976).

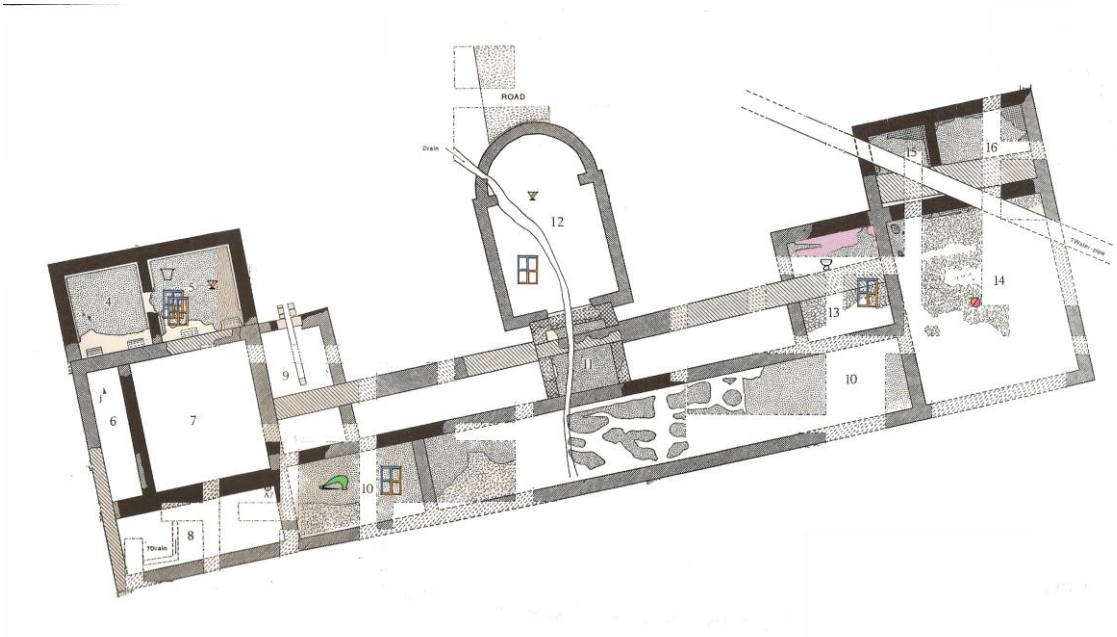

Figure 7.83 Winterton building G in the 4th century (reprinted from Stead 1976).

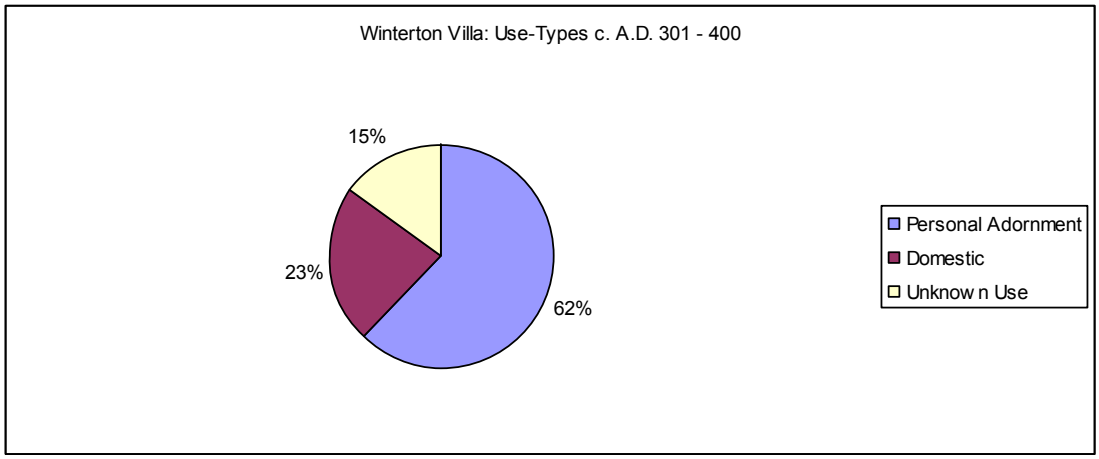

Figure 7.84 Winterton- Use type categories present in the 4th century. 13 objects were attributed to this phase.

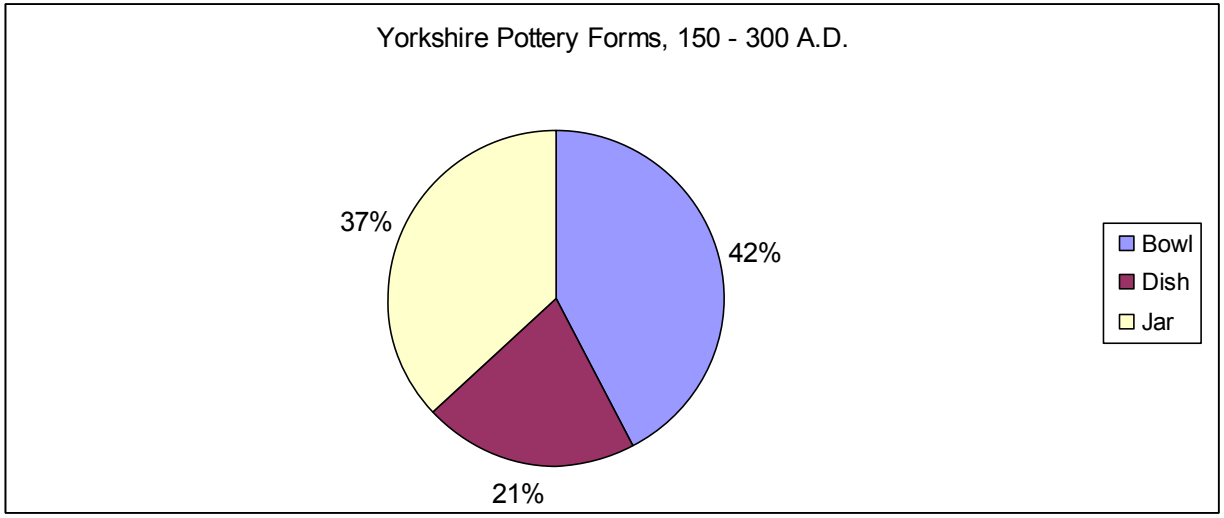

Figure 8.1 Top 3 pottery forms in Yorkshire, A.D. 150-300. 21 listings of 'Top 3' forms were attributed to this date bracket, from a total of 4 sites.

SITE NAME	COUNTY	PERIOD DATES	NUMBER	AVERAGE DATE
LAMBS LEA	WEST SUSSEX	300-400	-	-
CHILGROVE I	WEST SUSSEX	0-425	140	317-348
CHILGROVE II	WEST SUSSEX	100-400	104?	348-364
UPMARDEN	WEST SUSSEX	75-450	5	260-275/
ELSTED	WEST SUSSEX	-300	1	238-244
BURGESS HILL	WEST SUSSEX	350-425	-	-
BOXGROVE	WEST SUSSEX	150-400	2	270-290
FISHBOURNE CREEK	WEST SUSSEX	175-350	20	270-3
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD	WEST SUSSEX	0-325	1	293-6
RANSCOMBE HILL	EAST SUSSEX	0-400	1	200-300
WEST BLATCHINGTON	EAST SUSSEX	200-310	8	275
SLONK HILL	EAST SUSSEX	125-400	36	364-78
BISHOPSTONE	EAST SUSSEX	>60-400	9	300-350

Figure 8.2 Sites in Sussex with later coins. The average date of the coins found is listed as a guide.

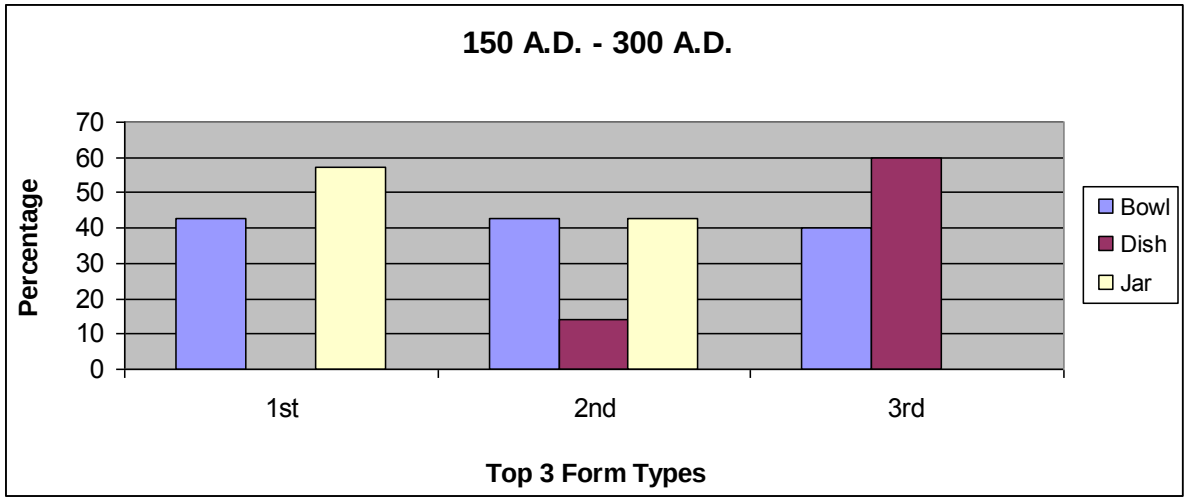

Figure 8.3 Proportions of Top 3 Forms from sites with dating between 150 and 300 A.D. A total of 4 sites gave information from multiple periods (19 'Top 3' entries)

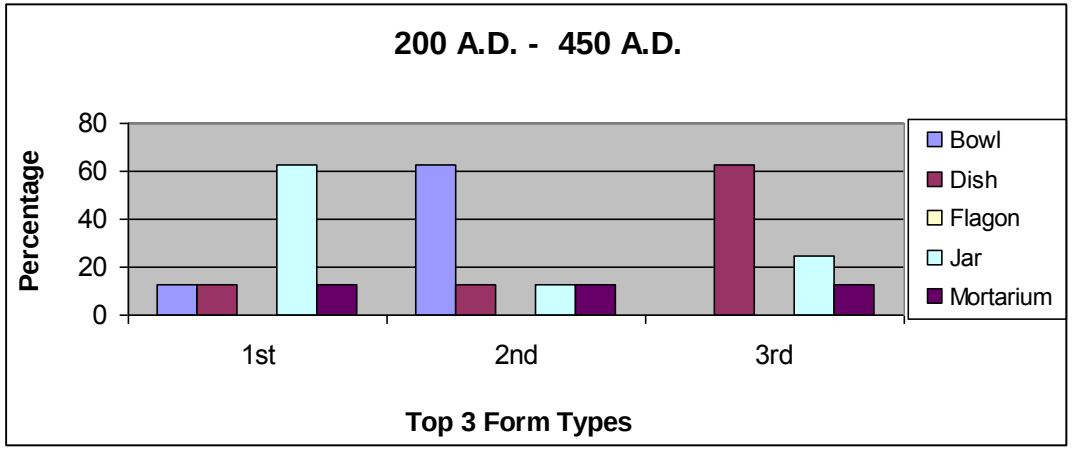

Figure 8.4 Top 3 Form Types present between 200 and 450 A.D. in Yorkshire. A total of 8 sites had information (24 'Top 3' entries).

PERIOD 3									
SITE NAME	COUNTY	PERIOD DATES	CRUMMY 1	CRUMMY 2	CRUMMY 3	PLANT 1	PLANT 2	PLANT 3	DRYER
BLANSBY PARK	N.E.	201-399+	AGRICULTURAL	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	-	-	-	-
HAWLING ROAD	E.	201-399	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HIGH WOLD	E.	210-250	AGRICULTURAL?	METALWORKING?	TOOLS?	WHEAT	BARLEY	OATS	3+
OLD WINTERINGHAM	E.	201-399	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURAL + TOOLS	SPINNING AND WEAVING	-	-	-	-
STONYGATE	N.E.	300-425	BUILDING	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	-	-	-	-	-
THURNSCOE	S.	201-310	METALWORKING	-	-	SPELT	RYE	OATS	-
WHARRAM LE STREET VILLA (11)	E.	201-399	BUILDING	INDUSTRIAL	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	-	-	-	1
WHELDRAKE	N.	275-399	FASTENERS AND FITTINGS	TOOLS	SPINNING AND WEAVING	-	-	-	-
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA	E.	C. 180-400	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	AGRICULTURE	SPINNING AND WEAVING	WHEAT	BARLEY	RYE	1+

Figure 8.5 Sites in Yorkshire with dating around the 3rd to 4th centuries. At least 5 corndryers are constructed at this time, and evidence for metalworking decreases from the previous phase.

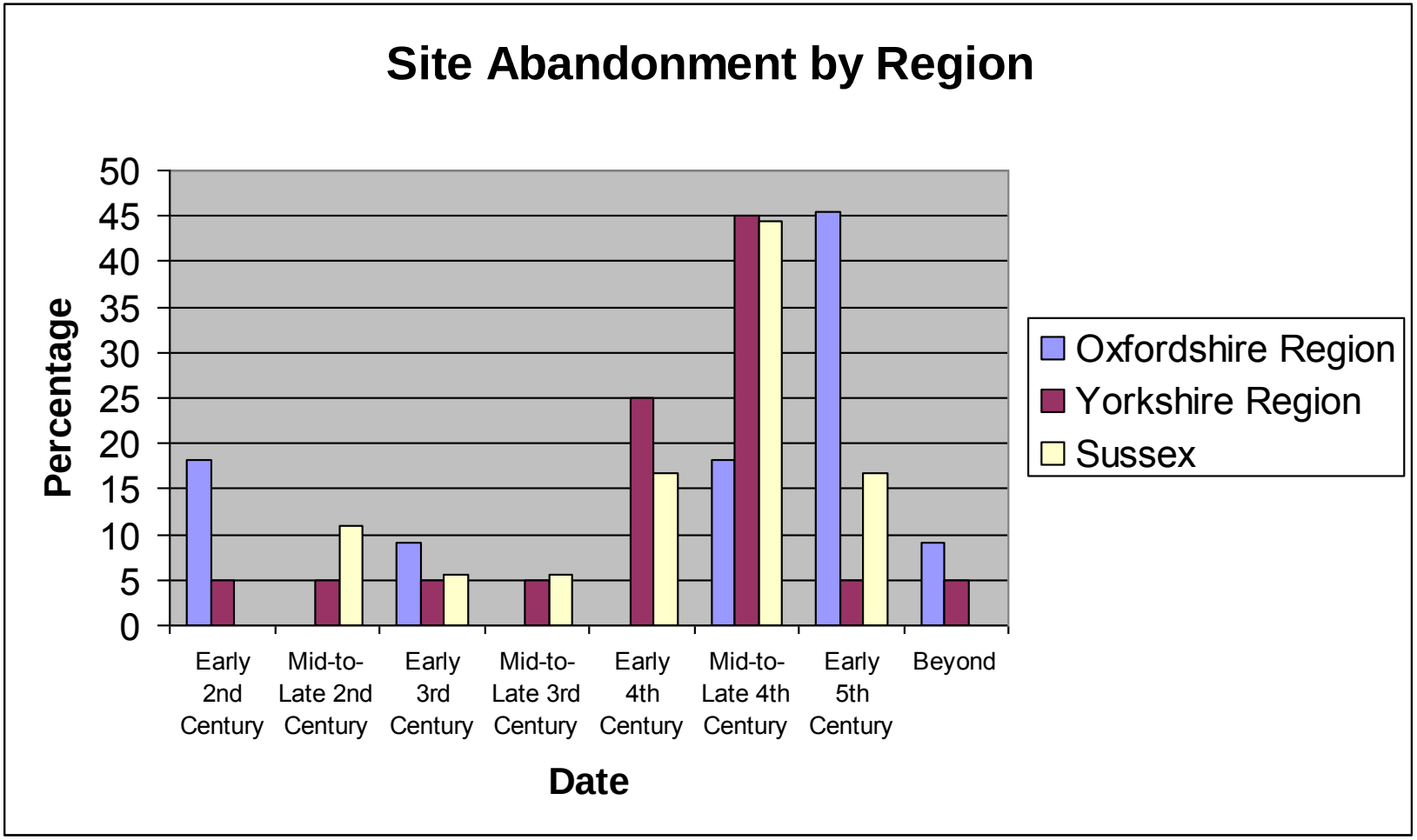

Figure 8.6 The percentage of sites in this study that were abandoned throughout the Roman period.

SITE NAME	COUNTY	CONTINUOUS SETTLEMENT FROM IA?	RITUAL DEPOSIT?	PERIOD DATES
APPLEFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	NO	2 QUERNS IN DITCH TERMINALS NEAR ENTRANCE	50-150
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	OXFORDSHIRE	YES	1 SHEEP	125-240
YARNTON	OXFORDSHIRE	YES	YES	50-410
YARNTON	OXFORDSHIRE	YES	CATTLE, DOG, HORSE, SHEEP	50-80
YARNTON	OXFORDSHIRE	YES	FIBIAS OF CATTLE, SHEEP, PIG	80-250
YARNTON	OXFORDSHIRE	YES	CATTLE, SHEEP	250-410
BARTON COURT	OXFORDSHIRE	YES	3 INFANTS BURIED WITH ANIMALS	0-300
BARTON COURT	OXFORDSHIRE	YES	HOARD OF BRACELETS, 3 INFANTS BURIED WITH ANIMALS	275-375, 0-300
SOMERFORD KEYNES, NEIGH BRIDGE	OXFORDSHIRE	NO	METAL, INDICATING RITUAL AREA	125/50-225
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	OXFORDSHIRE	NEARBY I.A. SETTLEMENT	YES	140-320

Figure 8.7 Ritual Activity from sites in Oxfordshire. Yarnton and Barton Court are listed multiple times because they have ritual activity in different phases.

SITE NAME	COUNTY	PERIOD DATES	BURIAL/CREMATION?
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	OXFORDSHIRE	0-410	21/1 (ROMAN CEMETARY?)
YARNTON	OXFORDSHIRE	250-410	CEMETARY/2
MANSFIELD COLLEGE	OXFORDSHIRE	250-	1/
WATKINS FARM	OXFORDSHIRE	75-350	2/
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	OXFORDSHIRE	45-400+	30+/3+
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	OXFORDSHIRE	140-320	/3
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	OXFORDSHIRE	300-400+	10/
SHAKENOAK VILLA (SITE A)	OXFORDSHIRE	100-500	10 (8 MALE, 2 UNSEXED)/
BARTON COURT	OXFORDSHIRE	0-300	22 INFANTS
BARTON COURT	OXFORDSHIRE	300-500	26 INFANTS
MORAUNT DRIVE	WEST SUSSEX	0-400	NO
PARK BROW	WEST SUSSEX	I.A.- 161+	HUMAN REMAINS FOUND, NO BURIAL
SLONK HILL	EAST SUSSEX	125-400	1/1
NEWHAVEN	EAST SUSSEX	60-200	5/
NEWHAVEN	EAST SUSSEX	80/100-200	2/
CHILGROVE I	WEST SUSSEX	0-425	1 INFANT BURIAL
ELSTED	WEST SUSSEX	-300	YES (INFANT, 100-200 AD)
WEST BLATCHINGTON	EAST SUSSEX	-310	0/8+?
WEST BLATCHINGTON	EAST SUSSEX	-100	0/5
WEST BLATCHINGTON	EAST SUSSEX	100-200	0/3+?
WHARRAM LE STREET VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	201-399	2 INFANT BURIALS
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	C. 180-400	INFANT BURIALS BELOW FLOOR FAR (E) CORNER ROOMS
WINTERTON ROMAN VILLA	E. YORKSHIRE	C.50-385	8 ADULT 26 CHILD/
STONYGATE	N.E. YORKSHIRE	300-425	1
THURNSCOE	S. YORKSHIRE	175-299	2?
THURNSCOE	S. YORKSHIRE	201-310	5?
THURNSCOE	S. YORKSHIRE	310-350	12?/-
WOMERSLEY	N. YORKSHIRE	I.A.?-350	4 INFANT/
CRAB LANE, CROSSGATES	N. YORKSHIRE	L.I.A. - 75	1
STAMFORD BRIDGE	E. YORKSHIRE	50-299	5/2
MELTON	E. YORKSHIRE	I.A.- 50	1+-- POSSIBLE CEMETARY
OLD WINTERINGHAM	E. YORKSHIRE	201-399	26 (4 ADULT)
HAWLING ROAD	E. YORKSHIRE	I.A.-399	1 CHILD/
WHELDRAKE	N. YORKSHIRE	175?-250	2+/-
HIGH WOLD	E. YORKSHIRE	175-210	6 INFANT/

Figure 8.8 Broad-Brush regional burial information. The sites not listed did not provide any human burial evidence.

SITE NAME	COUNTY	GRID REF	CONTINUOUS SETTLEMENT?
APPLEFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	SU 522 925	NO
COTSWOLD COMMUNITY	OXFORDSHIRE	SU 031 960	YES
YARNTON	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 4711	YES
MANSFIELD COLLEGE	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 516068	NO
OLD SHIFFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 382 022	YES
HATFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	SU 331 955	YES
WATKINS FARM	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 426 035	NO
EXTRAMURAL ALCHESTER	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 5715 2095	IRON AGE SETT, But NO CONTINUITY
SOMERFORD KEYNES	OXFORDSHIRE	SU 019 945	NO
SHAKENOAK VILLA	OXFORDSHIRE	SP 374 138	NO
BARTON COURT	OXFORDSHIRE		YES
MORAUNT DRIVE	WEST SUSSEX	SU 97010061	NO, BUT V. NEARBY
PARK BROW	WEST SUSSEX	N/A	YES
LAMBS LEA	WEST SUSSEX	SU916154	?
BOXGROVE	WEST SUSSEX	SU 9220 0845	POSSIBLE
FISHBOURNE CREEK	WEST SUSSEX	SU 83610424	NO
BURGESS HILL	WEST SUSSEX	NGR TQ296188	NO
CARNE'S SEAT, GOODWOOD	WEST SUSSEX	SU 88760945	?
MIDDLETON ON SEA	WEST SUSSEX	SU 9737800327	NO
SLONK HILL	EAST SUSSEX	TQ226065	NO
NEWHAVEN	EAST SUSSEX	TQ 446013	NO
BISHOPSTONE	EAST SUSSEX	TQ 46750072	YES?
CHILGROVE I	WEST SUSSEX	SU 834 125	YES?
CHILGROVE II	WEST SUSSEX	SU842 137	NO
UPMARDEN	WEST SUSSEX	SU 797 124	NOT LIKELY
ELSTED	WEST SUSSEX	SU 813 191	YES?
RANSCOMBE HILL	EAST SUSSEX	TQ 432 089	LIKELY
BODIAM	EAST SUSSEX	TQ 783 251	YES
WEST BLATCHINGTON	EAST SUSSEX	MAP REF. 51/275074	YES
WHARRAM LE STREET	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 867667	POSSIBLE
WHARRAM GRANGE	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 846657	POSSIBLE
WINTERTON	E. YORKSHIRE	-	PROB
STONYGATE	N.E. YORKSHIRE	SE 8334 8795	?
THURNSCOE	S. YORKSHIRE	SE 452 052	?
BLANSBY PARK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	SE 8083 8575	?
SANDTOFT	S. YORKSHIRE	SE 733098	YES
WOMERSLEY	N. YORKSHIRE	SE 524196	POSSIBLE
CRAB LANE, CROSGATES	N. YORKSHIRE	TA 02758350	YES
DIXON'S BANK, COULBY NEWHAM	N.E. YORKSHIRE	NZ 5279 1451	YES
BONNY GROVE FARM, COULBY NEWHAM	N.E. YORKSHIRE	NZ 5257 1420	YES
INGLEBY BARWICK	N.E. YORKSHIRE	NZ 437 151	?
STAMFORD BRIDGE	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 708 545	POSSIBLE
DALTON ON TEES	N. YORKSHIRE	NZ 3008 0822	NO
MELTON	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 975 264	YES
BIRDSALL HIGH BARN	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 844 644	YES?
OLD WINTERINGHAM	E. YORKSHIRE	-	NO
HAWLING ROAD	E. YORKSHIRE	SE 873 412	YES
WHELDRAKE	N. YORKSHIRE	SE 688 443	NO
HIGH WOLD	E. YORKSHIRE	TA 1815 6930	YES

Figure 8.9 Table showing all 50 sites in this study, and their likely Iron Age continuity

Roman Households: Space, Status and Identity
Appendix I

Appendix I: Site Summaries

Below is a list of all of the sites that were included in this study. The format is the same for all of the regions: the sites are briefly described by their site history, their location in the landscape, and their particulars, including dates and features. Each site description is followed by 'Points of Note', which allowed the recording of any specific attributes of interest. The sites are also classified according to the relevant factors discussed in Volume I, Section 3.3.1 (See Figure 3.5). For more data from the sites, including Excel charts with quantification, Maps, and Access Databases, see the Appendix CD.

A. Oxfordshire: Description of sites

1. Appleford (Appleford Sidings): SU 522 925

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The settlement site at Appleford (Figure 4.3), near Sutton Courtenay and Didcot was excavated between 1993 and 2000 in conjunction with the (at that time) ongoing expansion of the Sutton Courtenay [gravel] Pit (Booth *et al.* 2006). The area around Sutton Courtenay has been excavated since the 1920's, and much investigation of aerial photographs and cropmarks has taken place, as well as some magnetometry. However, little had been found to link the pit to concrete activity in the past. An area of 20 hectares was investigated by Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit, uncovering evidence from the late Bronze Age through the Roman period.

Location in the Landscape

The site lies on the First Terrace of the Thames, 2 km north of Didcot and 5 km south of Barton Court Farm (included in this study, below), on calcareous gravels and Gaultish clay. In 1954 a substantial hoard of 5,752 coins (with a terminal date of c.

340) was found very near the later site, and other finds in the area have been summarised by Hinchliffe and Thomas (1980: 17-32).

Chronology and Site Particulars

The excavation revealed significant activity and discoveries included Bronze Age pottery and burials, Iron Age enclosures, a probable rectangular post-built timber structure(s) and an intricate Roman trackway system. Waterholes were associated with the trackways. Two finds of note (from the extraction area) are a hoard of Iron Age 'currency' bars and an assemblage of late Roman pewter found in a well. No evidence of post-Roman activity was found on site except for some probable middle-Saxon burials.

Points of Note

1. At Appleford part of the intricate trackway system includes three trackways joining to form a Y-shaped plan with open space at the junction.
2. The only two querns found were located on either side of the enclosure entrance in the ditch terminals of the outer ditch.
3. Though the site goes out of use in the early to mid 2nd century, another site appears 700 metres away around the same time, and could be a continuation of the occupation.

Classification: C

2. Barton Court Farm: SU 510 977

Site History and Nature of Excavation

Barton Court Farm (Figure 4.4) was excavated between 1972 and 1976/7 as part of an investigation into the area surrounding Abingdon (1.5km south west of the site). The excavation of the site itself also took place in advance of a housing development. Major Late Iron Age, Roman and Saxon phases were uncovered, as well as slight evidence of Neolithic activity (Miles 1984).

Location in the Landscape

The Farmstead and its surrounding fields lies on the edge of the second gravel terrace, and Abingdon itself lies at the junction of the Ock and Thames rivers. Abingdon is known to be the site of an Iron Age fort (Henig and Booth 2000: 23) and a significant trade settlement in the Roman period.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The occupation of Barton Court Farm began in the Late Iron Age, though most of the Iron Age enclosure lies outside the area of excavation. The only evidence for pre-Iron Age activity on the site are a number of pits and postholes from the Neolithic period. The early Roman period sees the construction of a trapezoidal ditched enclosure overlaying the Iron Age settlement on a more north-south axis. A rectangular timber structure was present at this time, and would likely have been domestic in nature. Around the mid second century the site was seemingly abandoned, with occupation restarting around the later 3rd century. This late Roman occupation began with the construction of a large farmhouse with 8 rooms, a corn-dryer and a waterhole. Slightly later, the rectangular enclosure was further partitioned and new paddocks were added. From the mid 4th century the house was further improved and a new

structure was built 35 metres to the east. Eventually the farmhouse is destroyed, though the smaller structure outlives it slightly.

Points of Note

No points of note were flagged up by the excavators.

Classification: A

3. Cotswold Community: SU 031 960

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The multi-period site at Cotswold Community (Figure 4.5) is located on the border between Gloucestershire and Wiltshire in the Upper Thames Valley. It was originally identified through aerial photography and trial trenching, but a 22.8 hectare area was eventually excavated in advance of mineral extraction by Oxford Archaeology between 1999 and 2004. Investigation revealed activity from the early prehistoric until the Saxon period. A large Roman-period farmstead was uncovered with droveways, stone buildings and parallel trackways on either side of the site. Two Roman cemeteries were also found (Poore *et al.* n.d.).

Location in the Landscape

The site is situated about 5km south of Cirencester, straddling the parishes of Somerford Keynes and Ashton Keynes, to the east of the modern village of Shomcote, on gravels overlying Oxford clay. One of the closest sites is Somerford Keynes (included below). Immediately to the north and west of the site is the Shomcote Quarry.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Occupation of Cotswold Community begins in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age with pits, burials and ring ditches, and continues through the Bronze and Iron Ages into the Roman period, though continuity from Iron Age to Roman is not certain. An enclosure existed at that time, and parallel trackways were constructed, possibly at the same time as some other enclosures and droveways inside the central enclosure. In the late 3rd to early 4th century two (possibly more) stone footed buildings, a well and some walls were constructed. The area of the site was redefined when 4 large enclosures and two ditches were constructed. The Roman evidence is dated no later than c.360, and all pottery importation stops around 350, though the site continues to be used until around 410. Saxon evidence comprises 8 posthole structures.

Points of Note

1. One of the Roman period cemeteries was constructed over a Bronze Age ring ditch, the other over an earlier Roman boundary ditch.
2. An open space was noted by the excavators nearby to the domestic area, and could be compared with the central space at Old Shifford (below) and the Y-shaped 'communal' spaces at Yarnton and Appleford.

Classification: A

4. Extramural Alchester: SP 5715 2095

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The extramural site at Alchester (Figure 4.6) was excavated in 1991 in advance of road construction on the A421. Previous to that, aerial photography, evaluation, and rescue excavations had taken place all over the local area. During excavations of the extramural settlement evidence was found for occupation from the Neolithic through the Roman period, and some post-Roman burials were also uncovered. The total occupied area was reckoned to be around 45-50 hectares, though unfortunately not all of this was excavated (Booth *et al.* 2005).

Location in the Landscape

The Roman town of Alchester lies less than 1.5 km south west of the modern city of Bicester. The extramural settlement was close to the line of Roman Akeman Street, and the town itself is thought to have been very close to the western boundary of the Catuvellauni. The local landscape is dotted with streams. Less than 2 km north, two villas are suspected at Kings End Farm (SP 573 227).

Chronology and Site Particulars

The site at Extramural Alchester was split into 4 different sites, lettered A-D. Whilst their chronologies differ slightly, it is safe to say that around 45-80 A.D. an Iron Age occupation level was cut by a large W-S-W to E-N-E ditch. Slightly later (80-140 A.D.) a trackway was established immediately to the north of the large ditch. Around 140-180 activity intensified on the site, and properties or plots were defined. A timber structure was dated to this period. During the late 2nd century and into the middle of the 3rd, stone surfaces were laid and the timber building was altered. Three other structures (of posthole construction) were found at this time. After the mid 3rd century some of the plots were subdivided and construction took place on two circular

structures as well as a number of other stone and timber buildings. From the beginning to middle of the 4th century activity on the site was intensified, with some buildings being rebuilt and others newly erected, and a gatehouse being constructed. A cemetery was also established at this time. After the middle of the 4th century maintenance of cobbled areas took place and more timber buildings were constructed. Also, the cemetery continued to be used. The site was not occupied much after the turn of the 5th century.

Points of Note

1. The excavators note that the construction of the large early Roman ditch was probably concurrent with the construction of Akeman Street just to the north.
2. This site was included at the suggestion of Paul Booth of Oxford Archaeology, who believed it would fit in readily with a rural group, even though it is suburban and not rural.

Classification: A

5. Hatford (Manorhouse Farm): SU 331 955

Site History and Nature of Excavation

Excavations at Manorhouse Farm, Hatford (Figure 4.7) were undertaken in 1991 in advance of mineral extraction, and examined an area of 1 hectare. Evidence was found for occupation from the Middle Iron Age until the early 2nd century A.D (Zeepvat 1993).

Location in the Landscape

The farmstead is located in the Vale of the White Horse, 4 km east of Farringdon and less than a kilometer north of the modern village of Hatford, in the valley of Frogmere Brook. A possible villa is located on the other side of Frogmere Brook from the farmstead, and the Romano-British settlement at Hatford Down is immediately to the East of Manorhouse Farm.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The Late Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Hatford is an open settlement characterised by a N-S droveway and an E-W trackway, associated with a rectangular stone building of uncertain (but assumed early Roman) date.

Points of Note

1. A number of pits within the field system were noted, all filled with domestic debris, and were presumably not used for storing grain, as is usually assumed.
2. Hatford is unusual in that it stays an open settlement in the post-conquest period. However the early date of abandonment may have something to do with this.

Classification: C

6. **Mansfield College, Oxford: SP 516 068**

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The site at Mansfield College (Figure 4.8) was excavated by Oxford Archaeological Unit in 1998 and 1999, in advance of development at Mansfield College in Oxford. Uncovered by the excavations were one pit of Neolithic date, part of Oxford's Civil

War defenses, and a rural Roman settlement based around ditched enclosures (Booth and Hayden 2000).

Location in the Landscape

The site is located in the centre of the city of Oxford, on the second gravel terrace of the Thames. A number of Roman rural sites have been partially excavated in nearby college buildings, and Mansfield College fits fairly well with them both by date and assemblage content. However, it has been noted that the site at Mansfield College may have been on the edge of a dispersed settlement, as there are few known sites to the east.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The occupation at Mansfield College can be divided into 4 phases from the Neolithic to the post-medieval (Civil War) period. The Roman period dates from the later 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. until the 4th century, though there is a break in occupation between the later 2nd and mid 3rd centuries. Attributed to the Roman phases are some subrectangular enclosures with large boundary ditches. Much of the area within the enclosures was outside the excavated area, but a number of pits, postholes and gullies were found, indicating a rectangular structure.

Points of Interest:

The authors of the report did not indicate any particular points of interest.

Classification: A

7. Old Shifford Farm, Standlake: SP 382 022

Site History and Nature of Excavation

Though the area around Standlake and the Windrush Valley has been known to be archaeologically rich since the mid 1800's, the settlement at Old Shifford (Figure 4.9) was not excavated by Oxford Archaeology until 1988-1989, and then only in advance of gravel extraction (Hey 1995). An investigation of c. 15 hectares found an early Roman farmstead and, nearby, a later farmstead in the midst of an extensive trackway and droveway system associated with fields and paddocks. Slight indications of Prehistoric and Neolithic activity were found, but the first evidence of long lived occupation wasn't until the end of the 1st century.

Location in the Landscape

Old Shifford is located on the first gravel terrace on the north bank of the Thames, 300 m north of the river itself, and just 2km upstream of where it meets the river Windrush/Evenlode. The site itself lies on fairly well-drained land, and is less than 6km west-south-west of the settlement at Watkins Farm (included below).

Chronology and Site Particulars

The first occupation of Old Shifford Farm began in the late 1st century B.C., and only lasted until the early 2nd century A.D. This earliest settlement had 2 likely structures located in curvilinear enclosures and ditches, centred on a D-shaped enclosure (containing one of the post-built structures). Later, a large subrectangular enclosure, a subcircular enclosure and a probable waterhole replaced the earlier arrangement. The site was then abandoned until the late 3rd century, when new occupation began 370m northwest of the earlier site. This settlement comprised a number of subrectangular enclosures, trackways and droveways centred around an irregular patch of land that may have been used communally.

Points of Interest:

No points of interest were noted by the excavators.

Classification: A

8. Shakenoak Villa (Site A): SP 374 138

Site History and Nature of Excavation

Shakenoak Villa (Figure 4.10) was discovered sometime before the 1880's, though the first scholarly mention of the site was not until 1939 (V.C.H. Oxfordshire., I: 319). Shakenoak was excavated between 1960 and 1965, and in the area I have focused on (Site A) held a building dating from the first century A.D. until at least 430 A.D. though the site itself is occupied to the 8th century (Brodribb *et al.* 2005).

Location in the Landscape

The site lies in the Wilcote Valley near a tributary of the river Evenlode. Half a mile from the site is a spring called the Lady Well.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The building at Site A began life as an agricultural and/or industrial building. Sometime in the late 2nd century the structure was demolished and a larger domestic building replaced it, though industrial and agricultural activity was still taking place. Then sometime in the mid third century the building was again torn down, and a structure with a bathhouse (almost twice as large as the last building) replaced it. A stone wall and cobbling existed outside the structure. The middle of the 4th century

saw an intensifying of activity, followed immediately by swift decline; by the 5th century only one room in the building was being used for domestic purposes.

Points of Note

1. Evidence of metalworking was found in the form of a deposit of 10km of fused lead.

Classification: B

9. Somerford Keynes, Neigh Bridge: SU 019 945

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The salvage excavations at Somerford Keynes (Figure 4.11) took place between 1986 and 1988, revealing a Iron Age and Romano-British settlement dating from the early 1st century to sometime in the 3rd or 4th century A.D (Miles *et al.* 2007).

Location in the Landscape

Somerford Keynes is located 6km south of Corinium (Cirencester), roughly halfway between the Roman roads of Fosse Way and Ermin Street. Ashton Keynes is the closest known site, though a probable villa does lie just across the river about 5km away.

Chronology and Site Particulars

It is not known whether the site at Somerford Keynes was religious or domestic in nature, as the early occupation (early 1st- early 2nd c. A.D.) is associated with a large number of coins, brooches and fragments of stone sculpture. This period was characterised by curvilinear enclosures, which were replaced in the early 2nd century

by an aisled building and rectangular enclosures. The building was associated with a large amount of tile, which led the excavators to suggest it served as a tile depot.

Points of Interest

1. The large numbers of coins and brooches found on the site have been interpreted as possible 'votive' deposits.

Classification: B

10. Watkins Farm: SP 426 035

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The area in which the site at Watkins Farm (Figure 4.12) is situated (Stanton Harcourt) has been the subject of some study in recent years, and the excavation there was undertaken when two areas of archaeological interest were exposed during preparation for gravel extraction. The site was investigated between 1983 and 1985, uncovering occupation from the later Middle Iron Age until the mid 4th century A.D (Allen 1990).

Location in the Landscape

The site at Watkins farm is located on the first gravel terrace of the river Thames, in the floodplain of both the Thames and Windrush. Nearby settlements include Gravelly Guy (less than 4km north-west on the 2nd gravel terrace) and Old Shifford (less than 6km west-south-west).

Chronology and Site Particulars

Excavation uncovered a later Middle Iron Age settlement with a number of penannular enclosures and at least one (multi-phased) roundhouse surrounded by a complex network of ditches and an elliptical enclosure. This site went out of use around 50 B.C. Later, in the late 1st/Early 2nd century A.D., the Iron Age enclosure was re-used and new ditches were dug respecting the main enclosure. After that a field system was developed, which included a subrectangular enclosure overlying the Iron Age enclosure. Slightly northwest (c. 200 meters), another area was uncovered (dating from the 2nd century). No evidence for structures was found at either site, though the volume of domestic debris clearly suggests domestic occupation.

Points of Note:

1. The author of the report notes that Wytham Hill, 6 or 7km distant, has deposits of numerous varieties of stone which could have been used for querns and other items.
2. The author suggests that the relatively high number of horse bones indicates that horse breeding was 'a significant part of the economy' (Allen 1990: xiii).
3. The environmental evidence suggests that agriculture was not taking place to any significant degree on the site.

Classification: B

11. Yarnton: SP 4711

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The site at Yarnton (Figure 4.13) was excavated between 1989 and 1998 as part of a multi-period landscape study into the confluence of the rivers Thames and Evenlode. Funding came largely from English Heritage, as the threat imposed by gravel

extraction and the lack of any enforced archaeological investigation (pre PPG 16) was considered to be a very great threat. The excavations at Yarnton uncovered an area of 5 hectares, as well as incorporating some survey work. Iron Age, Roman, and Saxon occupations were noted in the excavation area, though further west there are prehistoric and Bronze Age remains (Timby, n.d.).

Location in the Landscape

Yarnton lies in the Upper Thames Valley on the second gravel terrace of the river Thames, 8km northwest of Oxford and 1km east of the confluence of the Thames and Evenlode. Sites in this area were connected by a network of trackways, the closest known site to Yarnton being Worton, just to the west. The Dorchester Silchester Road was 10 kilometres to the east of the site, Akeman Street 8 kilometres to the north, and the Roman town of Alchester was only 13 kilometres distant.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The Roman site at Yarnton is occupied from the Late Iron Age through the Roman period. In the Iron Age Yarnton was an open settlement, immediately adjacent to a site of Middle Iron Age date, and was characterised by circular post-built structures and sub-circular and sub-rectangular ditches and paddocks. The early Roman period saw the construction of more large ditched enclosures (one of them oval), and the amalgamation of some of the Iron Age ditches into the Roman period system, as well as the construction of at least 2 pottery kilns (the others may have lain outside the area of excavation). Later in the Roman period the settlement grew and part of it shifted outside the boundaries of the excavation. The oval enclosure was replaced by rectangular enclosures, one of which held a rectangular post-built structure and a 'kidney shaped' feature. A late Roman cemetery was uncovered with unusual burials. Nearby were curivilinear ditches, a circular building and two corn dryers. Though the

latest dating evidence is c. 375, the site may have been occupied until the end of the Roman period.

Points of Note

No particular points of note were mentioned by the authors of the report.

Classification: B

B. Sussex: Description of Sites

East Sussex

1. Bishopstone: TQ 4675 0072

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The multi-period site at Bishopstone (Figure 5.6) was discovered by chance in 1967 during construction on the west side of the hill (Rookery Hill). Excavation of the site in revealed a Saxon settlement and cemetery, as well as Iron Age and Romano-British settlements. Occupation of the hill spans the third millennium B.C. to the 6th century A.D.

Location in the Landscape

Rookery Hill is located on the South Downs one kilometre from the English Channel. It is not far from either Seaford (approx 2km to the southeast) or Newhaven (less than 3km directly west).

Chronology and Site Particulars

Substantial continuity was noted between the Iron Age and Romano-British periods at Bishopstone. During the Neronian and early Flavian periods importation of samian, terra nigra and terra rubra began. Later a roughly rectangular enclosure was created. By the middle of the 2nd century the enclosure ditches had fallen out of use and were filled. Following this, it is hard to tell if the site was abandoned for a short time, but suffice it to say that there is minimal activity on site until the 4th century, when a corn drying oven was built along with 2 structures. It is not known when the area went out of use, but it was noted that several of the later Roman-period pits were only partially

infilled at the time of the Anglo Saxon occupation, as their upper fills contained Saxon sherds.

Points of Note:

No points of note were flagged up by the excavators.

Classification: B

2. Bodiam: TQ 783 251

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The site at Bodiam (Figure 5.7) was discovered in 1959 when a previously unused piece of land was ploughed and Roman tiles and pottery were found in great numbers. The land was then investigated in 1960 by the Battle and District Historical Society.

Location in the Landscape

The field in which the site lies is bounded on the north by the river Rother in the Rother Valley, and lies on either side of a proposed Roman road linking Watling Street at *Durobrive* (Rochester) to the Sussex ironfields.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The small scale excavation at Bodiam revealed occupation from the mid first century until the mid third century. It was determined by the excavators that the site had held at least eight successive settlements of different sizes; four of which had been destroyed by fire. Indicated by the construction levels are the fact that the site seemed to be semi-permanent until the 2nd century, at which point paths were constructed and walls erected.

Points of Interest:

1. The proximity of the site to both the river and the Roman road leading to Durobrivae, along with the find of a tile stamp of the British Fleet and a figurine of Mercury indicate a strong link to trade, especially in Sussex iron.

Site Classification: D

3. **Newhaven: TQ 446 013**

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The rescue excavations of the Romano-British settlement at Newhaven (Figure 5.8) were precipitated by the construction of a nearby road and building development in the southern area of the town centre of Newhaven. Investigation took place between 1971 and 1974, under the guidance of the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society.

Location in the Landscape

The site at Newhaven is located in the town centre, 180 metres south west of the river Ouse, and 1.3 km from the mouth of the river. According to Margary a Roman route from Newhaven to Dicker crossed the river near the site (1956: 185-6). The area west of the Ouse around Newhaven is a rather dense area of settlement, having a density of (presumably more than) one site every 500 hectares. However the site at Newhaven differs from most of the other sites, being not set on south-facing spurs of downland, but instead in a low-lying position in the floodplain of a river valley; and also having stone buildings on site.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The site at Newhaven was probably occupied from the middle of the 1st until the late 2nd century A.D., and first comprised a rectangular ditch surrounding a number of buildings (a possible granary, two rectangular buildings [one stone, one timber], and possibly two other structures of uncertain function and date). Later, in the first half of the 2nd century, the granary and the aforementioned timber building were demolished, and an enclosure wall was constructed around the site. At this time a bathhouse was likely constructed nearby, and the aforementioned stone building was modified. In the late 2nd century the buildings were demolished.

Points of Interest

1. It has been mentioned by the excavator that the demolition of the site in the second century may coincide with the occupation of a villa further upland, which was found in 1881.
2. A particular note was made of the large amount of rubbish found in the ditch terminals on either side of the entrance to the enclosure.
3. The two structures of unknown date could represent fencing or stockades.

Site Classification: B

4. Ranscombe Hill: NGR 432 089

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The probable farmstead at Ramscombe Hill (Figure 5.9) was excavated in 1976 in advance of the construction of the Lewes bypass, at the foot of Ranscombe Hill. Eleven features including a corn dryer, hearth, gully, postholes and ditches were found.

Location in the Landscape

Ranscombe Hill is 9 kilometres from the coast, and is situated on a spur of Lower Chalk, with a view over the floodplain of the river Ouse. The area is well known for its Iron Age occupation, with Ranscombe Camp one kilometre to the northeast and Mount Caburn two kilometres east.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Results from the excavation point to the site representing part of a Romano-British Farmstead, which was occupied from the 1st-4th centuries. From the limited excavation, it was obvious that the site was agricultural, having both pastoral and arable elements. Unfortunately, an earlier road (laid in the 1960's) destroyed part of the site likely to have held the farmhouse. However, the finds on site indicate a relatively modest farmstead without many imports, and the pottery seems to date from around the same time as the occupation at Mount Caburn was drawing to a close.

Points of Note

1. The finding of marine shells on site indicates that the resources provided by the sea were utilized.

Site Classification: B

5. **Slonk Hill, Shoreham: TQ 226065**

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The settlement at Slonk Hill (Figure 5.10) was first noticed in 1914 when, during the construction of army huts for a British encampment, inhumations and pottery were found. The site was further investigated during the Second World War, and in 1949 the site was investigated and a midden of 2nd to 4th century A.D. was found, along

with pits of the 6th to 3rd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. A Hadrianic cremation was also found at this time. A full investigation of the site took place in 1968 when a diversion of the A27 was necessitated by the building of a new bridge over the Adur. A wide strip more than 200 metres by 80 metres was excavated.

Location in the Landscape

The site of Slonk Hill lies in the parish of Kingston Buci, at the top of a hill overlooking the mouth of the Adur river. The nearest site of interest is Thundersbarrow Hill (less than 5km to the North), which is the probable source of Thundersbarrow ware, a distinctive storage jar which features prominently in assemblages in parts of Sussex after around 250 A.D.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The development of the site at Slonk Hill began sometime in the Bronze Age with the construction of round barrows, but three distinct phases of activity in the Iron Age indicate that that is the period in which major occupation began. However, sometime during the 1st century B.C. occupation of the site was curtailed, and an interval of about two centuries separated the Iron Age and Romano-British occupations. In the late 1st/ early 2nd century a (probable) rectangular ditch was dug around the barrows. Between the later part of the 2nd century and through to the 4th century the Romano-British settlement was centred to the east of the earlier ditch. Sometime later in the 4th century the barrow ditches were filled and a square post-built structure was constructed around the earlier Bronze Age mound. During the life of the site, the nucleus of occupation moved generally westward, and it is suggested by the excavators that perhaps a large Roman settlement lay just outside the western limit of excavation.

Points of Interest

1. The continued maintenance of the area around the Bronze Age barrows through the Iron Age and then into the Roman period suggests that some importance was placed upon the site itself. The construction of a structure or fence around a barrow is not a common practice, though two excavations in Wiltshire also found post holes associated with a barrow. However, at both of those sites the post settings were arranged in a circular and not a square pattern.
2. A deposit of leg bones from lambs and piglets was found cut into the Roman filling of the western barrow ditch, again indicating a possible ritual significance to the maintenance of the barrows.

Site Classification: A

6. West Blatchington: TQ 268 074

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The site at West Blatchington (Figure 5.11) was first discovered and partially excavated in 1818 by Rev. J. Douglas, the vicar of Preston. However it was not until 1947 that the site was properly investigated, and systematic excavation took place for the next two and a half years, uncovering ditches, pits, hearths, pavements, two corn dryers and the foundations of a 'villa'.

Location in the Landscape

The prehistoric and Romano-British site at West Blatchington overlooks the old mouth of the Adur river (on land associated with a small Norman church near Hove), which lies across a spur on the main ridge of the South Downs at Devil's Dyke. A

nearby (modern) trackway follows the line of an ancient road which passes through the site and links to the Old Shoreham road (mentioned by Margary as a probable Roman road (1948)).

Chronology and Site Particulars

The occupation of West Blatchington begins in the late Bronze age, and runs through the Iron Age and into the Roman period, through the 3rd century A.D. The Iron Age and Roman period occupations all centre on the same relative area, with the Bronze Age sites being situated nearby. In the Romano-British period the site comprised pits and yards, as well as straight and curvilinear ditches and a burial group (in the 1st century A.D.), and 11 corn-dryers, a 'hut', a possible ('Basilican') villa, and two burial sites (in the 2nd and 3rd century A.D.).

Points of Interest:

1. When the 11 corn dryers on the site were excavated they gave some indication of being filled with different types of fuel. While this could not be tied to the type of corn-dryer or the date of construction, it may indicate a knowledge of the different burning temperatures needed for different types of grain.
2. Interestingly, the floor plan of the villa did not change over time, indicating a relatively short life. However the building itself seemed to have been built over the location of an Iron Age dwelling.
3. Whilst the villa seemed to have been both constructed and abandoned in the 3rd century, the 'hut' excavated nearby yielded pottery from the early 2nd to the late 3rd/early 4th century. However the only explanation put forth by the excavators is that the hut must have been used as a rubbish dump when the villa was constructed.

Site Classification: C

West Sussex

7. Boxgrove: SU 9220 0845?

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The occupation at Ounces Barn, Boxgrove (Figure 5.12) was excavated over two seasons in 1982-3 by (the then) Field Archaeology Unit of the Institute of Archaeology, in advance of quarrying activity. An area of approximately 70 by 74 metres was investigated. Particular importance was placed on the dating of the site because of its proximity to the Chichester Entrenchments. The investigation recorded the eastern terminal of the ditch as well as part of a small late Iron Age enclosure and many Romano-British features.

Location in the Landscape

The site lies at the foot of the chalk escarpment on a south facing slope along the upper Coastal Plain. The site is less than 600 metres to the southeast of Stane Street.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Whilst a number of prehistoric/Bronze Age flints were found, the first reliable evidence of occupation is Iron Age in date. Continuity from the Iron Age into the post-conquest period cannot be proven conclusively, but is a possibility. Sometime in the 1st century the Entrenchments were re-cut/redefined (for the last time), along with the development of several enclosures, a trackway, gravelled yards and other features. Though no certain evidence was found for a building, it is probable that postholes represent the remains of a timber structure of the mid 1st to mid 2nd centuries- possibly continuing at a reduced level into the 3rd or 4th century.

Points of Note:

1. No points of note were flagged by the excavators.

Site Classification: A

8. Burgess Hill: TQ 296 188

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Romano-British site at Burgess Hill (Figure 5.13) was excavated in 1996 after a routine watching brief on the site uncovered prehistoric and Roman period activity. The site covers an area of approximately 145 by 125 metres.

Location in the Landscape

The site is located in the Low Weald, to the west of Burgess Hill itself. The London to Brighton Roman road (which runs through the hill) passes by to the east.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Though more than 150 pieces of worked flint were found on site there was no other evidence of prehistoric activity. In fact, though the Romano-British finds date the site between the 1st and 4th centuries, most of the material is specifically 4th century in date. A corn-drying oven of this period was excavated. Two ditches were found on site, one containing pottery of the 1st to 3rd centuries, and the other having material of the 4th and early 5th century present. Though a number of hearths were found (6), only one produced pottery (of early Roman-period date). Another of the hearths had evidence of secondary ironworking. Only two sherds of Saxon pottery were found.

Points of Note:

1. It is noted by the excavators that the corn drying oven lacked any burnt deposits, and therefore may never have been used.

Site Classification: C

9. Carne's Seat, Goodwood: SU 8876 0945

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The subrectanglar "banjo" enclosure at Goodwood (Figure 5.14) was first recognised in 1976 by aerial photography. Sample excavations and a fieldwalking survey in 1984 produced material from the Bronze Age until the late 4th century A.D.

Location in the Landscape

The enclosure is located on a south-west facing slope of the Downs, less than 5km northwest of Chichester, and between 1 and 2km north of a section of the Chicheser Entrenchments. It is also less than 3km from Stane Street as it heads northeast from Chichester.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Though evidence of Bronze Age activity was found, the two central concentric enclosures were middle Iron Age in date and were associated with much domestic debris. Roman evidence on site was limited to finds and pottery of the 1st-4th centuries, as no Roman-period features were found within the enclosures. However, it is probable that the focus of domestic activity moved elsewhere after the Iron Age, and that the enclosures could have been used as part of a larger 'farmyard' complex.

Points of Interest:

1. So-called "Banjo" enclosures of the type at Goodwood are rare in Sussex, but much more common in Hampshire, Wiltshire and Dorset (Perry 1970; 39).

Site Classification: D

10. **Chilgrove I: SU 834 125**

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The villas at Chilgrove (Figure 5.15) were discovered in 1963 during ploughing, and a rectangular cropmark was photographed by air later that year. Trial excavations uncovered a villa, and a long-lived research project (the Chilgrove Valley Landscape Project) grew out of the excavations. The life span of the villas (early Flavian to early 5th century) have been contrasted and compared with the occupation of nearby Chichester (Noviomagus).

Location in the Landscape

Chilgrove I is located along the side of Bow Hill in the Chilgrove Valley (just south of the South Downs), along the B2141 between Chichester and Petersfield. It is located very near to the Iron Age enclosure at Goosehill Camp, and less than a mile from the site of a Romano-British temple. The Roman road between Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum) and Chichester (Noviomagus) runs in a line east of the villa, and a trackway leading from the villa to the Roman road has been located.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Excavations at Chilgrove I found evidence for activity in the Neolithic and Mesolithic periods, but occupation of the site in earnest began in the century preceding the

Roman invasion, probably linked to the nearby enclosure at Goosehill Camp. Limited occupation of the site presumably continued, but no traces of buildings were found until sometime later (but before the end of the third century). The first buildings were built from timber and included a domestic building (possibly of 'corridor' type), some stores or granaries to the north, and some other outbuildings to the south. A fence or stockade also may have been in use at this time.

In the late 3rd century the domestic building was re-built in masonry with the addition of a bathhouse. The stockade was rebuilt partly in stone, and outbuildings in stone were attached. The 4th century saw modifications of the bathhouse, and mosaics were installed. However by the end of the 4th century part of the villa had been burnt down and a forge for iron working had been installed in one of the rooms. However the corndryers in the yard continued to be used well after 'formal' occupation ended.

Points of Note:

1. Even though Chilgrove I lies close to an Iron Age settlement and some activity can be seen to be transitional in date, the placement of the 'villa enclosure' overlies the Iron Age field system at a different angle.

Site Classification: B

11. Chilgrove II: SU 842 137

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The villa at Chilgrove II (Figure 5.16) was identified in 1964 by the same farmer as Chilgrove I, who noted that the tiles he found a mile away were similar to those being taken from excavations at Chilgrove I. Investigations of the villa began in 1965 and were concurrent with the investigation at Chilgrove I.

Location in the Landscape

Chilgrove II is located on the west slope of a small valley branching off the main Chilgrove valley to the northeast. It is located approximately 1 mile northeast of the villa at Chilgrove I. The Roman road to Silchester is situated only a few hundred meters away to the east, and the main range of buildings face the road.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The earliest occupation at Chilgrove II dates to the 2nd century, with two timber buildings surrounded by a ditched enclosure. Sometime after that the building was rebuilt in a 'corridor' style, and an outbuilding was added. In the late 3rd/early 4th century the main domestic building (Building 1) was rebuilt in masonry with slight modifications, and the enclosure ditch was replaced by a slightly smaller wall or stockade. Before the middle of the 4th century it was again enlarged and tessellated floors and a mosaic were added. The outbuilding to the north (Building 2) was replaced by another aisled building, which also had a tessellated floor in one of the rooms. The other outbuildings were also rebuilt in masonry and connected as a 'wing', and a new outbuilding was built along the stockyard wall. In the late 4th century the occupation changes, with Building 2 being modified with more rooms and the insertion of ovens and hearths. Also part of the bathhouse in Building 1 may have been turned over to corn drying. Sometime after the late 4th century a fire destroyed most of Building 2 and part of Building 1- but the bathhouse was still used, with evidence of hearths on the floors and the penning of livestock.

Points of Note:

No points of note were flagged up by the excavators.

Site Classification: B

12. Elsted: SU 813 191

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The farmstead at Elsted (Figure 5.17) was discovered in 1974 during a field survey of the area, and was investigated on behalf of the Sussex Archaeological Field Unit sponsored by the Department of the Environment. Aerial photography and a resistivity survey were performed along with the excavation.

Location in the Landscape

The site is located just north of the South Downs on a chalk outcrop along the Greensand Way.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The first activity on the site was possibly in the Neolithic or Bronze Age, but occupation began there around the 3rd century B.C. and continued into the Roman period until the early 4th century. No Iron Age features were found, but during the Roman period an enclosed and cobbled courtyard was present, associated with a rectangular stone building to the north (unexcavated). A systematic survey of pottery in the courtyard did not flag up any patterns in space, but finds from the ditch surrounding the courtyard did indicate that it served as a field boundary as well as an

enclosure ditch. Also, postholes within the courtyard could have been associated with agricultural structures. An infant burial was found within the courtyard amongst postholes, and dated to the 2nd century.

Points of Note:

There were no points of note flagged up by the authors of the report.

Site Classification: B

13. Fishbourne Creek (Chichester Harbour): SU 83610424

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Romano-British buildings (Figure 5.18) at Chichester Harbour (Fishbourne Channel) were discovered during drainage work on private land. Due to the proximity of the land to Fishbourne Palace, the site was excavated in 1982 and 1983 as part of a rescue programme to avoid further damage, and to gain further knowledge about the local area surrounding the palace.

Location in the Landscape

The buildings at Fishbourne Harbour are approximately 400 metres southwest from Fishbourne palace, and roughly 40 metres from the western shore of Fishbourne channel/Chichester harbour.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Two main periods of activity were recognised at Fishbourne Harbour. The first consisted of the erection, occupation and destruction of a timber-framed building, dated around 75 – 150 A.D. The excavation of the rectangular timber building showed

evidence for a central courtyard or aisle. The use of the building seemed to be primarily domestic, though at the end of its life one of the rooms was used for the storage of used tesserae.

The second period of occupation consisted of the replacement of the timber building with a large aisled masonry structure on a different alignment. It was suggested by the excavators that the building was later internally subdivided, and a hypocaust was added. Five hearths found in the western half of the building could indicate some sort of industrial activity on site, though this was not confirmed.

Points of Note:

1. The timber building was constructed soon after Fishbourne Palace and the eventual masonry building outlived it, to be abandoned at about the same time as those buildings east of the palace.

Site Classification: B

14. Lambs Lea: SU 916154

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The site of Lambs Lea (Figure 5.19) was discovered by aerial photograph, and was excavated in 1953-54 by the West Sussex excavation group under the guidance of P.A.M. Keef.

Location in the Landscape

The probable farmsted at Lambs Lea is located along a spur of land facing southwards along the South Downs not far from Graffham.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The building at Lambs Lea was rectangular in shape and likely timber in construction, with a chalk (cob) flooring which was the only surviving indication of the structure. Associated with the building was a t-shaped corn dryer. From the limited finds recovered during the excavation it seems probable that the house and corn dryer were in use during the 4th century A.D.

Points of Note:

1. Two complete pottery vessels (a small jar and a deep dish) were found on the floor of the kiln (associated with the backfilling), and their deposition could have been ritual in nature.
2. All of the finds from the original excavation have been lost. Proportions were mentioned in the text, though without total counts.

Site Classification: D

15. Middleton-on-Sea: SU 974 430 0352

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The excavation of the field boundary at Middleton-on-Sea (Figure 5.20) took place in advance of a housing development in the summer of 2000. Initial evaluation uncovered a pit full of oyster shells and a linear feature of Roman date.

Location in the Landscape

The site (at 'Greenfields') is around 400 metres away from the sea on the West Sussex coastal plain, though erosion since the Roman period means that it probably would have been almost a kilometre inland at that time. The West Sussex coastal

plain is an area rich in prehistoric remains, but without many settlements in the immediate area of the site. However, some evidence for Romano-British activity on the plain comes in the form of recent work at Yapton (900 meters north of Nalgo Lodge) Angmering (Griffin 2004) and Bognor Regis (Sibun 1998).

Chronology and Site Particulars

Whilst the earliest activity on the site is likely Late Bronze/Early Iron Age, the ditches on site (though probably laying on the same alignment as earlier features) date to the early 2nd century A.D through the 4th century A.D. Finds include both local and imported material. It is assumed that this small excavation uncovered part of the field system of the nearby Nalgo Lodge (immediately adjacent). Medieval and Post-Medieval field systems overlay the site.

Points of Interest

1. The site of Moraunt Drive (included in this study) 500 meters to the north-west also shows a main period of activity in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D, and contains in its pottery assemblage the same types of pottery found at 'Greenfields' and Nalgo Lodge.

Site Classification: C

16. Park Brow:

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Romano-British site at Park Brow (Figure 5.21) was first mentioned (along with a Bronze Age occupation) in a report in 1926 detailing excavation of the Iron Age settlement there. The periods of occupation on Park Brow Hill were physically

distinct, and therefore excavation of the hill was in essence an excavation of three separate but presumably (somewhat) related sites.

Location in the Landscape

Park Brow Hill is located not far from the ring at Cissbury, and is around 2km east of the modern town of Findon.

Chronology and Site Particulars

An attempt was made during the excavation on Park Brow Hill to link the different periods of occupation, and some amount of continuity was discovered between the Iron Age and Romano-British settlements on site. The Roman occupation has been said to date from the 2nd century A.D, but evidence was found of occupation in the 'Roman area' dating back three hundred years before the Roman invasion. Eight Iron Age pits were found in the area, as well as what the excavator calls a, "Roman-Celtic trench", which contained Iron Age pottery as well as Roman-period finds and ceramics. A change in diet during the Roman period was noted, as oyster and edible snail shells were found only in Roman contexts. The Roman-period occupation of the site encompassed five farm houses, ditches, and a large drainage pit.

Points of Note:

1. The pottery found on Park Brow Hill strongly suggests not only some continuity from the Iron Age into the Roman period, but also strong trade links with the continent.

Site Classification: B

17. **Upmarden: SU 797 124**

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The villa (Compton) at Pitlands Farm, Upmarden (Figure 5.22) was discovered by Mrs. Huxham, a farmer's wife, who whilst visiting Bignor villa noticed that the tiles on display were similar to those she was finding in her garden. Excavation on the garden and adjoining paddock was carried out from 1966- 1969; though the limited space meant that only one wing of the villa, a small section of stockyard and part of an outbuilding were uncovered.

Location in the Landscape

The villa at Upmarden is located halfway up a small valley, two and a half miles to the east of Chilgrove I. The site at West Marden is less than two miles to the west.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The earliest period at the villa was determined by samian ware of Flavian date. Two phases of construction can be seen in the remains of the bathhouse, both after the 3rd century, and the villa itself seemed to continue on into the 4th century, with Oxford and New Forest products being found in abundance.

Points of Note:

1. The limited excavation at Upmarden did not allow for many conclusions to be drawn about the villa there. However it was noted by the excavators that the bath suite at Upmarden showed superior workmanship to that of Chilgrove I and II.

Site Classification: B

C. Yorkshire: Description of sites

East Yorkshire (1-9)

1. Birdsall High Barn Farmstead: SE 844 644

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The rectilinear enclosure at Birdsall High Barn (Figure 6.4) was first suspected by fieldwalking, and in 1984 a magnetometer survey confirmed its existence. It is in an area of the Yorkshire Wolds extensively studied in a survey of the parish of Wharram Percy published by Colin Hayfield in 1987. The excavation took place in 1985, and encompassed the exploration of 11 trenches placed in strategic locations chosen from the results of the magnetometer survey (Hayfield 1987).

Location in the Landscape

The site itself is roughly 6km southeast of Malton, and about 3km southwest of Wharram le Street. It is also not more than 150m away from the Birdsall Brow linear system.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Though Birdsall High Barn Farmstead is very close to, and on a similar alignment to the Birdsall Brow linear system, it is thought to be of a very different construction and nature; more like a villa-type enclosure. Though many sub-divisions of the enclosure were detected, as well as hearths, pits and occupation floors, no structures were identified. From the limited excavations it was determined that Birdsall High Barn Farm was continuously occupied from at least the late Iron Age until the Early/Middle Saxon period, and possibly beyond.

Points of Interest

1. The morphological similarity of the enclosure system to that of Wharram Le Street and Wharram Grange led the excavators to believe that the aggregation of villas in the area may not have been coincidental.
2. The enclosure was placed at the roadside, just apart from the Birdsall Brow linear system. However such a marked difference in construction may be indicative of social rather than material considerations.
3. The Birdsall Brow linear system is aligned with what the excavators posit as a pre-historic earthwork, of a type fairly typical on the Yorkshire Wolds. However Birdsall High Barn Farmstead is on a slightly different alignment, which could be significant.

Site Classification: D

2. Hawling Road: SE 873 412

Site History and Nature of Excavation

A possible ladder settlement at Hawling Road (Figure 6.5) was excavated in 1989 in advance of a bypass around the town of Market Weighton. The site was in one of ten areas at that time deemed to be 'of archaeological interest', and the excavation was determined by the line of the road under construction. An area approximately 190 metres long by 15 metres wide was investigated (Creighton 1999).

Location in the Landscape

The area of investigation skirts the eastern flank of the Vale of York, and is itself is only 2.5 km from the Roman settlement at Shiptonthorpe. During the Iron Age this site would have been in the region known for 'Arras Culture' burials and in the Late Iron Age, for bog-ore extraction and smelting (Creighton 1999; 168).

Chronology and Site Particulars

The settlement at Hawling Road was established in the Iron Age and possibly occupied until the later 4th century, with the settlement shifting slightly southwards over time. No structures were located, but changes to the enclosure systems and an extremely large and varied assemblage of ceramics, finds, animal bone and floral data informed on the character of the settlement over time.

Points of Interest

1. There was clear zoning of activities over the excavated area, and strong spatial trends determined by the enclosures.
2. There was strong evidence for continuity in ritual practice from the late Iron Age through the 2nd century, with the burial of a child being respected and 're visited' at certain points.
3. There was a significant contrast in ceramics between Hawling Road and its closest market centre, Shiptonthorpe, indicating that "…there was little integration in the supply between at least some rural sites and their market centre." (Creighton 1999: 183).

Site Classification: A

3. High Wold: TA 1815 6930

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The rectilinear enclosure at High Wold (Bempton Lane, Bridlington) was first located by aerial photography, and later confirmed by geophysical survey and trial trenching. In 2002 an open area excavation (Figure 6.6) was carried out in advance of housing development, investigating 1.4 hectares (Roberts *et al.* 2009).

Location in the Landscape

The site is located on the Yorkshire Wolds on the Northern edge of the modern town of Bridlington; less than 2 kilometers from coast along the North Sea. The town of Bridlington itself is seen as a probable port during the Roman period. There are a number of sites in Bridlington's hinterland, including 4 Roman-period villas, but closest is the roughly contemporary site of Sewerby Cottage Farm, less than half a kilometre east of High Wold.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The excavation recorded four main settlement phases, the first (approximately L.P.R.I.A.- 75 A.D.) unenclosed and consisting of ±9 roundhouses and 3 other features of uncertain use. The second phase (approximately 75-199 A.D.) saw the creation of a ditched enclosure complex with a single roundhouse in the largest sub-rectangular enclosure. This enclosure has been strongly linked to a domestic function, while the smaller enclosures seem to have been more agricultural in nature. The third phase (approximately 175-210 A.D.) saw the first possible rectangular structure on site, two possible rectangular granaries, and a significant shuffling of the enclosures, as well as 6 infant burials. The last phase, 4, (approximately 210-250 A.D.) relates to the construction of another enclosure, seemingly (somewhat) respecting the previous enclosures and possibly representing a change in focus on site rather than a deliberate 'move' or 'upgrade'. The site seems, over time, to become slightly more concerned with arable agriculture, and there is some evidence to suggest a concurrent shift to cattle rather than sheep.

Points of Interest

1. It is noted by the authors of the report that Phase 2 has less 'Roman' material

than Phase 1, though the material that is present is widely distributed over the site (Roberts *et al*. 2009: 89-90).

2. Evidence of feasting has been found in features associated with phase 2.

3. The lack of adult burials on site led the excavators to look for a possible connection with Sewerby Cottage Farm, where a number of Roman cremations were found (Fenton-Thomas 2009)

Site Classification: A

4. Melton: SE 975 264

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The ladder settlement at Melton (Figure 6.7) was previously recorded on aerial photographs (1945, 1976, 1991). Ten trial trenches were opened in an evaluation prior to proposed junction improvements on the A63. The excavation area was chosen to test the results of a previous geophysical survey (Geo-Services International 1993), and indicated substantial pre-historic enclosure systems. The 10 trenches at Melton comprised a total area of 1065m², which was thought to be less than two per cent of the total area of the known site (Johnston 1994).

Location in the Landscape

The site at Melton is comfortably situated nearby the villa at Welton Wold (≈ 1.2km to the north) and Brough-on-Humber (≈3.5km to the west). It is approximately 1.3 kilometres north of the River Humber (as the crow flies), where a Roman 'entrepot' site, Redcliff, was located.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Activity on the site is centred around the intersection of a north-south and an east-west trackway, and continuity from the late Iron Age through the mid second century is strongly suggested. At least five structures were located on the site, three of them being roundhouses of the Iron-Age/ transitional period, two being rectangular structures; one of early Roman date, the other undated. A possible Iron Age cemetery was also located nearby (Bishop *et al*. 1999).

Points of Interest

1. Though ceramic, faunal, and building changes occur over time, continuity is suggested by the continued maintenance of certain areas of the site.
2. The date of abandonment lies somewhere in the mid to late second century, which ties in with the establishment of the villa at Welton Wold, indicating a possible link between the inhabitants of the Melton site.
3. A number of Gallo-Belgic wares found on site place Melton in a small group of sites along the Humber which have evidence for political/trade relations between Rome and the northern tribes before the crossing of the Humber in A.D. 71. Another of these sites is included in my survey: Old Winteringham (Included below).

Site Classification: A

5. Old Winteringham: SE 945 212

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The site at Old Winteringham (Figure 6.8) was first known through accounts written in 1724, and though finds of coins, burials and other material culture was recovered

from the area, the site itself was not properly investigated until the 1960's (Stead 1976).

Location in the Landscape

Old Winteringham is less than half a mile south of the river Humber between the rivers Ancholme and Trent. The site lies very close to a (assumed) Roman road which connects to Ermine street heading southwest.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The investigation of the site in 1964-5 uncovered two rectangular buildings of mid-Roman date (presumably constructed around 200 A.D.), a complex network of ditches, and two roads, excavated but not traced further than the site. Around the time of the conquest (before the building of the two rectangular structures), strong military links are assumed from the makeup of the pottery assemblage, possible timber structures and the roads. The later buildings, however, were most certainly civilian in nature, having ample domestic evidence in the form of 'furnaces', hearths and a wide range of ceramic forms. There were also 22 infant and 4 adult burials found. The two buildings uncovered are contemporary, but one goes out of use and the other is occupied well into the 4th century.

Points of Interest

1. The extremely varied nature of the pottery assemblage, along with the other military links have led the author to presume an early military base at Old Winteringham, likely going out of use around A.D. 100.
2. The later occupation on the site also has a fair range of pottery forms and other

associated finds, which (along with the proximity to the river and the road system) could be evidence that Old Winteringham may have been a small market centre.

Site Classification: A

6. Stamford Bridge: SE 708 545

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The site at Stamford Bridge (Figure 6.9) was investigated prior to the construction of a water pipeline and an area of land approximately 5-10m x 300m was investigated (Yorkshire Archaeological Society 2004).

Location in the Landscape

The route of the proposed pipeline itself was approximately 60 metres south of a Romano-British town (suggested by the excavators to be *Derventio*). The excavation was focused upon two areas: one which bisected the known alignment of a Roman road, and the other along the former edge of the floodplain of the River Derwent. The road was cobbled and could represent another section of the Stamford Bridge to Market Weighton Roman Road.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The features uncovered included a number of parallel ditches presumably defining rear property boundaries (of dwellings in *Derventio*, presumably), and produced finds and features (dating roughly between the 1st and 4th centuries A.D.) of a domestic nature, though no structures. 5 inhumations and 2 cremations were found on the site, all seemingly unrelated.

Points of Interest

The site report did not flag up any points of particular interest.

Site Classification: C

7. Wharram Grange Villa: SE 846 657

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Roman site ate Wharram Grange (Figure 6.10) has been studied using aerial photography, fieldwalking and magnetometry, and was partially excavated as part of the Wharram Percey Research Project in 1979. The discovery and excavation of the site at Wharram Grange preceeded the discovery and excavation of nearby Wharram Le Street (Hayfield 1987).

Location in the Landscape

Wharram Grange is situated on the Yorkshire Wolds. However, it is unlike the nearby Wharram Le Street in being situated on high ground, rather than in a valley. Like many of the sites in the parish of Wharram Percey it had access to (two) nearby springs. The settlement was located about 8 miles from Malton, but was less than 2 from the Roman road near Wharram Le Street. The closest known ceramic center (as with Wharram Le Street) was at Norton, just to the east of the fort at Malton.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The fieldwalking, survey and excavation uncovered a series of enclosures and ditches making up a large site with several phases of activity (though due to the limited excavation not much specific information is known about the phases). The rectangular buildings were located in the central area of the enclosures, though there could have been additional ranges nearby, perhaps along the trackway to the south of the site. It is

thought that earlier timber buildings were replaced with stone at some point during the Roman phase. Evidence of mosaics was found, as well as box flue tile, indicative of bathing complexes. Chalk and flag flooring were also uncovered and small amounts of painted wall plaster. From the limited excavation, the site was dated from the mid 2nd century until the late 4th century A.D, though it is possible that the occupation started well before that, in the L.P.R.I.A., or even before.

Points of Interest

No points of interest were identified in the site report.

Site Classification: C

8. Wharram Le Street Villa: SE 867 667

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The villa enclosure at Wharram Le Street (Figure 6.11) was discovered by aerial photography, fieldwalking and magnetometry, and was partially excavated as part of the Wharram Percey Research Project in 1979 (Hayfield 1987).

Location in the Landscape

The site is located in the Wolds, approximately 2 kilometres from the site at Wharram Grange along a (presumably) Roman Road. The closest known ceramic center was at Norton, just to the east of the fort at Malton, some 8 miles away. Prehistoric occupation at the site likely centred around a spring, but the Roman period occupation was slightly further to the southwest.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The site itself is a rectilinear enclosure bounded on two, or possibly three sides by a road or trackway. Outside the central square enclosure are a complex series of ditches (leading well outside the limits of the excavation) and significant evidence for industrial activity, including a dump of ferrous material near a furnace or corndryer. However there is also evidence for a high standard of living, as evidenced by mosaic pavements and a glass bangle, among other finds like samian and other imported ceramics. The rough dating of the site from the finds and pottery uncovered indicates occupation between the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.

Points of Interest

1. That the site may have had some religious or ritual significance because of its proximity to the spring.
2. That the seemingly deliberate deposition of an articulated dog skeleton only metres away from the only child burial (in the main enclosure ditch) could also represent ritual behaviour.

Site Classification: B

9. Winterton Villa: SE 91041813

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Roman villa at Winterton (Fig 6.12) was found in 1747 after the uncovering of a number of mosaic pavements; but was not fully excavated until 1958 (Stead 1976).

Location in the Landscape

The site is situated roughly halfway between the rivers Ancholme and Trent less than 3 miles south of the river Humber, and roughly 2 miles from Ermine Street. Winterton is very close (less than half a mile) from the pottery at Thealby, and just over a mile from Roxby.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The site was first occupied (in the L.P.R.I.A. or very early in the Roman period) by unenclosed roundhouses until early in the second century, when two rectangular buildings (of an industrial nature) were constructed. As the rectangular buildings were enlarged and added-to over time, the roundhouses went out of use and an ailed villa plan emerged, linking more than 11 structures (including baths) together around A.D. 250. The site was in use until the late 4th century. As well as a large quantity of pottery and small finds, 5 probable 'ritual' deposits were found on site, as well as 8 adult and 26 infant burials.

Points of Interest

1. Winterton's three roundhouses were occupied well into the 2nd century, and were finished with quarter round moulding inside as well as masonry and concrete flooring, showing an adoption of some Roman building practices but not others.
2. There is a seemingly deliberate placement over one of the roundhouses of the main domestic area of the villa, suggesting either a very desirable situation or possibly some continuity?
3. The building is only one of a few large villas known with 2nd century mosaics.

Site Classification: A

North Yorkshire (10-18)

10. Blansby Park (Park Gate Site): SE 8083 8575

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Roman villa at Blansby Park (Pickering) is located in a former deer park associated with Pickering Castle, about 17km northwest of the Roman fort at Malton (Figure 6.13). The grounds of Pickering castle have long been investigated for their archaeological interest, and have yielded material of Neolithic to post-medieval date. The Park Gate site was excavated in 2000 (Watts *et al*. 2003), but previous to that a geophysical survey was conducted in 1995 through the National Park. The excavation in 2000 involved two trenches placed in strategic locations indicated by the 1995 survey.

Location in the Landscape

The site itself is less than 20km west of the coast along the North Sea, just south east of Cawthorn. The Pickering Beck runs between 10 and 50m southeast of the site.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The result was the 2000 excavation was the uncovering of a previously unknown hypocaust system associated with a Roman period building of 3rd to 4th century date. 5 querns were found, along with 760 tesserae, a small statue, lime mortar, wall plaster (of 9 various colours), window glass and other finds and coins were found.

Points of Interest

No particular points of interest were identified from the report.

Site Classification: D

11. Bonney Grove Farm: NZ 5257 1420

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Roman site at Bonney Grove Farm (Figure 6.14) was excavated in advance of development, and 35 trenches were opened for excavation in 1992 (Annis 1992).

Location in the Landscape

Bonney Grove is located near a tributary of the Marton Westbeck southwest of Middlesborough (about 5km north of the northern edge of the North York Moors).

Chronology and Site Particulars

The structural evidence at Bonney Grove is less than that of Dixon's bank, having only two lengths of ditch, two gullies and a *in situ* rotary quern; however the ceramic evidence dates the occupation roughly between the later Iron Age and A.D. 350.

Points of Interest

No particular points of interest were identified in the report.

Site Classification: D

12. Crab Lane, Crossgates : TA 0275 8350

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The enclosures at Crab Lane (Crossgates) was discovered during a programme of fieldwork planned in advance of a proposed housing development in the city of Seamer (Figure 6.15). Aerial photography identified a settlement alongside an Iron Age/Roman period field system, and geophysical survey confirmed both a square and

a rectangular enclosure the rectangular enclosure was not investigated, however (Stephens 2000).

Location in the Landscape

The site itself is located on the southern side of the Vale of Pickering, which is an area fairly rich in Iron Age and Romano-British features.

Chronology and Site Particulars

The square enclosure at Crab Lane most likely originated in the Iron Age, but was remodelled in the later first century A.D. when a cobbled surface was laid inside the entrance to the enclosure and a (probable) gatehouse built. A rectangular limestone footed building was also constructed at this time, most likely replacing a post-built timber structure in the same area. The most datable finds were those of the Antonine period (A.D. 138-192), and included brooches, bone toggles, a lead spindle whorl and Dressel 20 amphorae.

Points of Interest

1. At Crab Lane, no traces of roofing material were found (either stone or ceramic), suggesting an alternate form of covering like thatch was in use here.
2. The bone toggle, along with the organic roofing, lack of coins and the seemingly short life of the building lead the author to believe that the inhabitants lacked the impetus to evolve into a 'villa' – suggesting a late 2nd century change of settlement pattern as the probable cause.

Site Classification: D

13. Dalton on Tees (Chapel House Farm) : NZ 3008 0822

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Romano-British villa complex at Chapel House Farm (Figure 6.16) was recognised during an aerial survey in the early 1990's, but not fully investigated until 1996 as part of the Mid Tees Valley Project (Brown 1999). The survey area of the project was between the tidal limit (of the Tees River) at Worsall and the line of Dere Street, with investigation on both sides of the river. Extensive fieldwalking of the area was carried out by the Teesside Archaeological Society, discovering a rough area of about 6-10 acres that was rich in Romano-British finds.

Location in the Landscape

The site itself is located on the east of the modern village of Dalton on Tees, on a scarp roughly 35m above the river.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Along with a number of geophysical surveys, excavation revealed three rectangular sandstone buildings (A,B,C), two of them being of the 'aisled villa' type (A,B), and one being more like an outbuilding or agricultural building(C). Another possible building (un-investigated) was octagonal in shape. Running through the site was a complex triple ditch system, one of the ditches running underneath two of the buildings. Close to Building C or possibly inside it, was a large well. Demolition deposits inside the ditch system date the site from the mid 2nd century until the end of the Roman period.

Points of Interest

1. The lack of querns on site is quite unusual for what from the circumstantial evidence seemed to be an agricultural complex.
2. The life of building A seems significantly shorter than the others, and A is not inside the triple-ditch system as are the other features.
3. The stone tiles used for roofing are unusual, and along with the red sandstone used in the buildings and the well, have few parallels.

Site Classification: B

14. Dixon's Bank: NZ 5279 1451

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The site at Dixon's Bank (Figure 6.17) was undertaken during a programme of fieldwalking and trial trenching in advance of development proposals. This site and the site of Bonney Grove Farm are located in the area of Coulby Newham, Cleveland, and were found in the 1980's, but not excavated until 1992 (Annis 1992).

Location in the Landscape

Dixon's Bank is located near a tributary of the Marton Westbeck southwest of Middlesborough (about 5km north of the northern edge of the North York Moors).

Chronology and Site Particulars

Seven trenches were opened on the site, revealing deposits dating from the L.P.R.I.A. until the mid 4th century. From the excavation it was determined that a large ditch may have enclosed or defended the site and parts of two stock enclosures were found nearby. No houses or structures were visible, but a possible corn-dryer or industrial

furnace was located near the supposed boundary ditch. A number of discrete pits were also excavated, along with a few gullies and what is likely to be a fence line near the boundary of the site. The crop evidence found is similar to that from Ingleby Barwick, Teeside, and though only a small amount of pottery was recovered, the assemblage was largely 'Romano-British' in nature.

Points of Interest

No points of particular interest were identified from the publication.

Site Classification: D

15. Ingleby Barwick: NZ 437 151

Site History and Nature of Excavation

In 1970 a series of crop marks were identified from aerial photographs, and limited excavation took place a few years later, identifying the area as having remains of L.P.R.I.A. and Romano-British date.

Location in the Landscape

The Roman villa and settlement at Quarry Farm (Figure 6.18) is located 350m south of the Tees river on the edge of Ingleby Barwick.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Geophysical survey and trial trenching of the area recognised that the cropmarks were associated with three stone-footed buildings (facing east, south, and north) forming a rough 'courtyard' villa plan (Carne 2001). The enclosure complex surrounding the villas was also investigated, revealing at least two trackways/droveways associated

therewith. The extensive rectilinear enclosures, though cutting each other, seemed all to be on the same alignment, with some recutting. Inside the enclosures there were round stone and timber structures, a rectangular timber structure and other trenches, gulleys or postholes indicating either boundary features or more structures. All the features associated with the enclosures were of Roman date, and likely themselves associated with the nearby villa complex. Large amounts of spelt chaff among other grains give strong indication for the processing of cereal crops on or near the site. Most of the pottery on site was described as being of the 'Iron Age' tradition, though roughly 33% of the material was from 'Romanised' vessels. Though the Roman ceramics are dated from A.D. 120-400, the entire pottery assemblage is dated from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 400.

Points of Interest

1. There is a complete absence of tile on the site, indicating that perhaps another form of roofing was being used.
2. The enclosure complex, though changed and maintained over time, remains firmly on the same alignment as the villa complex.
3. While items like amphora and samian are represented on site, other material finds are scarce, though botanical evidence is plentiful.

Site Classification: B

16. Stonygate: SE 8334 8795

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Romano-British site at Stonygate (Figure 6.19) was discovered and partially investigated in 1977. Though 12 trenches were opened, no evidence of a building was found.

Location in the Landscape

It is located 4.8 km north of Pickering at the foot of Crossdale spring, to the west of the Pickering Beck across from Blansby Park (Hayes 1988).

Chronology and Site Particulars

Though no building was found, a good deal of evidence was recovered (Tile, flint, building rubble, opus signinum, Romano-British pottery, mortaria, slag, shells and a jet bangle to name a few of the finds). The burial of a middle aged man was also found on site. From the pottery a rough date of 300-425 was estimated, though occupation in the area could presumably have been much earlier (due to the proximity to the Crossdale spring). An interesting point raised by the author is:

Points of Interest

1. The lack of any structural remains on site could be the result of severe flooding damage. It is noted in the report that a thick layer of dark soil covered the area (in fact this is how the site was found in the first place). This homogenous dark layer, coupled with the lack of stone footings seems to indicate that either the domestic activity taking place was not immediately in the area, or that the building evidence had been washed away or dispersed completely in seasonal flooding over many years.

Site Classification: D

17. Wheldrake: SE 688 443

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The settlement at Wheldrake (Millfield Farm) was discovered in 2002 during construction of the Yorkshire Derwent Aqueduct water pipeline between Elvington and Riccall (Figure 6.20). Wheldrake was one of 26 archaeological sites identified in the area during construction. Based on results from fieldwalking and geophysical survey excavation was recommended (Robinson 2009).

Location in the Landscape

The site at Wheldrake is situated some 10 km southeast of York, 750m southwest of a town of the same name. It lies about 1.6 kilometres from the projected line of a Roman road leading southeast from York to the Holme on Spalding Moor potteries (Ramm 1980). Unlike other sites in North Yorkshire Wheldrake is in an area devoid of previously known sites or artefacts, the closest Romano-British site (a ladder settlement at Sutton Hall) lies some 4km to the southeast.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Excavation of the site uncovered 3 rough phases of occupation around the time of the Roman period - the first a series of intercutting ring ditches in use during the L.P.R.I.A. and early Roman period, followed by a trackway, 'cemetery' (2-3 adult burials) and gullies (indicating rectangular buildings) pre-dating the late 3rd century. In the late 3rd to 4th century the enclosures were re-ordered and the area of the cemetery re-used, though the trackway showed continued traffic. Metalworking debris in the form of smelting and smithing slags. Along with finds typical of small rural assemblages were small amounts of Nene Valley ware, Samian and Dressel 20 amphorae, beads, along with a pipeclay figurine. Building rubble indicative of a villa was also found in the area, though it was likely not sited at Wheldrake.

Points of Interest

1. The majority of the pottery brought on site was from the Holme-on-Spalding Moor industries (some 30 km away) and not the York market, which is much closer.
2. The site lies on an area which was surrounded by lowland, prone to flooding. (Perhaps the reason for the lack of other Roman period sites in the area?)

Site Classification: B

18. Womersley: SE 524 196

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The site at Womersley (Figure 6.21) was found in advance of quarrying, when a quantity of pottery and two beehive querns were brought to the Doncaster Museum in 1968. When examined in the 1960's, it was found that most of the site had been destroyed by previous quarrying, but the small part remaining was excavated and recorded. Approximately 45 metres west of the site a large ditch was found and investigated, uncovering 4 infant burials and building rubble (Buckland *et al.* 1987).

Location in the Landscape

The site at itself lies about 1km northwest of the modern village of the same name, along the outcrop of Magnesian Limestone stretching northwards from Nottinghamshire to Durham.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Interpretation of the surviving features was significantly hampered by the destruction of most of the site, however a large corn-dryer and a length of walling possibly representing a bank around the site were found, the bank also having two flagged

entrance ways. No enclosure ditch was found, nor any evidence for a structure-though inside the proposed bank, limestone flagging and clay flooring represent a hearth which could not have survived outdoors. Pottery from the site was dated between the Iron Age and the mid fourth century. South Yorkshire products, mortaria, Roman grey ware, Central Gaulish samian and a bronze penannular brooch were recovered.

Points of Interest

No points of particular interest were identified in the excavation report.

Site Classification: D

South Yorkshire (19-20)

19. Sandtoft: SE 735 090

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The Romano-British settlement at Sandtoft (Figure 6.22), along with a number of other sites was found during the aerial survey performed in 1974, and two adjoining rectangular enclosures only metres from the former course of the river Idle were excavated (Samuels and Buckland 1978).

Location in the Landscape

The site lies between the isle of Axholme and Doncaster in the area known as Hatfield Chase, not far from the confluence of the Don and Idle rivers.

Chronology and Site Particulars

At least one structure was suggested from the pictures, but was not located. However, environmental evidence indicated both domestic and agricultural buildings were likely present at one time. The Roman site, though likely prone to flooding, was occupied earlier, with the square enclosures having cut through earlier features associated with at least two roundhouses. In fact, the square enclosures were themselves cut by a later enclosure ditch on a slightly different alignment. Associated mainly with the Roman period enclosures were nine discrete pits that have been described by the author to be probable hearths or corn-dryers . The Roman period occupation only spanned the 4th century, though no mention was made of the date of the earlier occupation.

Points of Interest

1. The continued flooding of the site has been suggested by the authors to be part of the wider environmental change on the Fens in the late Roman period. That being said, the site must have been in a strategic location is evidenced by its multi-period occupation and the range of pottery and finds uncovered there. This may have been the case if Sandtoft was a 'market centre' for the other sites in the area.

Site Classification: D

20. Thurnscoe (Billingley Drive): SE 452 052

Site History and Nature of Excavation

The farmstead at Billingley Drive, Thurnscoe (Figure 6.23) was investigated in 1999 in advance of a housing development adjacent to the village of Thurnscoe. A

geophysical survey in 1999 was followed by limited excavation (Neal and Fraser 2004).

Location in the Landscape

Cropmark and earthwork evidence in the Doncaster area indicates that farming was being practiced extensively by the L.P.R.I.A. and into the Roman period. Within a 4km radius of Thurnscoe eleven cropmarks of sub-rectangular or D-shaped dimensions have been identified. A Roman road also passed by the western edge of the town.

Chronology and Site Particulars

Excavation identified overlapping ditched enclosures making up a multi-phase settlement. The first phase included two adjacent enclosures oriented north-south, with the southern enclosure having probable subrectangular structures and other features- and the north likely being used for agricultural purposes. The second phase of settlement involved the replacement of the two small enclosures by a larger complex, comprising a 'funnel-ended' droveway leading to one roughly square enclosure (doubling the area of the previous two small enclosures), and a D-Shaped enclosure. The square enclosure likely had fences to partition the space, and was evidently agricultural in nature. In the mouth of the droveway leading to the square enclosure was a corn-dryer full of carbonised spelt. The D-Shaped enclosure was likely more for domestic use, having a number of intercutting pits likely representing at least 4 roundhouses as well as 2nd and 3rd century pottery. 4 likely graves were found in line with the D Shaped enclosure ditch, though no human remains were recovered. The final phase at Thurnscoe sees the filling of the ditches around the later 3rd or 4th century, though settlement activity continues in the same area. A hearth or kiln is dug into the backfilled enclosure, and a possible formal cemetery established,

with seven graves clustered together and aligned east to west. Nine other graves of the same period but more widely dispersed were found on different alignments. The pottery recovered from the site was of a very high volume for South Yorkshire, and dated the site roughly from the 2nd – 4th centuries.

Points of Interest

1. Plate hammerscale was found deposited in a few areas and more generally was dispersed across the site, though no structural indications of a smithy were found.
2. The find of a snaffle bit in one of the ditch terminals has been interpreted as a placed deposit, possibly relating to the high numbers of horses on site.

Site Classification: A